

PETITION SIGNATURES IN SUPPORT OF NYSLA LICENSE

The following undersigned residents of the premises and surrounding buildings support the issuance of an on-premises full liquor license to the following

FLA GROUP LLC (DBA TBD) applicant/establishment:

Name

187 Orchard Street Ground Floor

Address



This will be a TAVERN with operating hours: Sunday 5PM-12AM, Monday-Tuesday 5PM-2AM, Wednesday-Saturday 5PM-4AM

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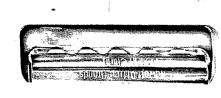
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	to the following applicant/establishme		
	Address of premises: 187 C	orchard Street	
	This business will be a: (circle) Bar	Restaurant Other:	
	The hours of operation will be:		
	SUNDAY SPM-120	n; Monday-Tuesday Spm-	2 am; Wednesday to Saturday
	PLEASE NOTE: Signatures should be frestreet.	om <u>residents</u> of building, adjoining bui	Idings, and within 2-blocks on the same
	Other information regarding the licens	e: (b)	
	Name	Signature	Address and Apt # (required)
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0	Andrew Sorota	Ch &	130 Ochand I

Petition to Support Proposed Liquor License

Date: August 15, 2025

The following undersigned residents of the area support the following liquor license (indicate the type of license such as full-liquor or beer-wine) In premises (indicate the type of license such to the following applicant/establishment (company and/or trade name)

Fla Group LLC

Address of premises: 187 Orcherd Street

This business will be a: (circle) Bar Re

Restaurant Other:

The hours of operation will be:

SUNDAY SpM-12 am; Monday-Tuesday Spm-2am; Wednesday to Saturday

PLEASE NOTE: Signatures should be from <u>residents</u> of building, adjoining buildings, and within 2-blocks on the same street.

Other information regarding the license:

	*		
	Name	Signature	Address and Apt # (required)
(1)	Abigoil mayonado JOHUAN ANDERSON	D.H.	192 orchard 5+ #1 Go 0214APD 57 #4
, ·	SHAWN KittlES		182 ORCHland St F12
	SEP-RODEIGUEZ	878	60 2ND AVE
	Madisan Barritt	Moder Baroth	174 Orchard St
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# (6)	Ch.15 Apfleman	Eli Aff	150 orchard 5+#5
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Petition to Support Proposed Liquor License Date: August 15, 2025 The following undersigned residents of the area support the following liquor license (indicate the type of license such as full-liquor or beer-wine) In preniss liquor to the following applicant/establishment (company and/or trade name) Fla Group LLC Address of premises: 187 Orchard Street This business will be a: (circle) Bar Restaurant Other: The hours of operation will be: SUNDAY SpM-12 am; Monday-Tuesday SpM- 2am; Wednesday to Saturday PLEASE NOTE: Signatures should be from residents of building, adjoining buildings, and within 2-blocks on the s street. 0 Other information regarding the license: Name Address and Apt # (required) TAMIE VALENTINE 139 NORFOLKST, 2A 148 Orchard

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***************************************				
DATE	NAME	ADDRESS		SIGNATURE
5/3	Elliebury	194 orchard	Apt # 49	1 20
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DATE	NAME	ADDRESS	Indicated positionals	SIGNATURE
8/31/2023	Christopher Burdick	199 ORCHARD STREET Apt#	25 **	Christophur Eurlick
9/1/2023	bylan Black	199 ORCHARD STREET	# 2RN	— Articonizarianos — Docuesigned by:
9/6/2023	Matthew Mirkovic	199 ORCHARD STREET	Apt# 2RS	— Barthard by: Mafflew Mirkovic
9/4/2023	John Morris	199 ORCHARD STREET Apt	Apt# 3C	Doeusigned by: Jolda, Morris
8/31/2023	John Elrod	156 ORCHARD ST Apt	Apt# 58	— Thirtica and the contraction of the contraction o
9/4/2023	VAN DER PLAS GALLERY I, LLC	156 ORCHARD ST.	Apt# STORE	— Occusioned by:
8/31/2023	Danielle Pringle	156 ORCHARD ST Apt	AM# 1F	— CENTACE BRITATES  DOCUSIONED DE
9/4/2023	Mariya Diaz-Proyss	156 ORCHARD ST Apt	Apt# 28	Docusigned by:
9/4/2023	John-Paul Yezzo	156 ORCHARD ST Apt a	Apt# 3A	Docusigned by.

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DATE.	Accession of the	ADDRESS		SIGNATURE
8/31/2023	Erin E.Schaubel	181 EAST HOUSTON STREET	Apt # 3A	Frin E Stanbil
9/6/2023	Ellen McCollam	181 EAST HOUSTON STREET	Apt# 4A	Doousigned by:
8/31/2023	Garrett Ludwig	181 EAST HOUSTON STREET	Au# 4F	— Docustined by:
9/6/2023	RAYMOND BYRON	181 EAST HOUSTON STREET	AP # 6E	Documing by:
9/4/2023	MATT - THE MODERN CHEMIST	MIST 181 EAST HOUSTON STREET	Apt # STORE	Docusigned by:
9/7/2023	Camryn Christenson	181 EAST HOUSTON STREET	Apt# 3A	Docusigned by: (Lampyle, Christerson.
8/31/2023	8/31/2023 ERAN COHEN	90 RIVINGTON ST Apt# 3B	Apt# 38	Docusiques by:
8/31/2023	ALEXANDER RICHMOND	90 RIVINGTON ST	Apt# 58	Docustigned by:
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and and an	Apt# 4FS	Apt# 5FS	Apt# SFN	Apt# SFN	Apl # 5RS		Apt#	Apt#	Apt.#	Apt#	Ant #
ADDRESS	186 ORCHARD ST	186 ORCHARD ST	186 ОКСНАКО ST	186 ORCHARD ST	186 ORCHARD ST						
NAME	Andrea Scioli	Thomas Lower	Weredith McBride	Eva Boyes	Sarah Tortorich					ма достига до	
DATE	9/4/2023	8/31/2023	8/31/2023	9/5/2023	8/31/2023		AMMON PROCESSOR CONTRACTOR CONTRA	The second secon			

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DATE	, 1/6	· d/7	から	i d'i	0/1	-						:		



19 Mercer Street, New York, NY 10013 (212) 925-1365 acoustilog1@verizon.net

August 28, 2023

Mr. Tom Moore FLA Group, LLC 187 Orchard Street New York, NY 10002

Re: Soundproofing for Bar/Lounge with Live Music on 2 levels

Dear Mr. Moore,

Pursuant to your request, I studied the noise issues at the above premises on August 23, 2023.

# SUMMARY

The new establishment will consist of a ground-level lounge with un-amplified live jazz music with occasional ambient-level recorded music and a cellar-level, 65-person capacity live music venue with amplification. There is an existing stage from the previous live music venue in the cellar which will not be altered significantly. The former venue was run from 2013 until recently.

# DBA VS ONE-THIRD OCTAVE BAND MUSIC LEVELS

One way that the sound levels were measured was using the A-weighting decibel scale. The dB (A) decibel scale (see Noise Code Section §24-231 a1) is the most common type of sound measurement, which represents an overall measurement of all frequencies, but with a strong tendency to ignore the low-frequency "bass" sounds. The A-weighted decibels require only a simple sound level meter to measure them. DBA is what "a City DEP inspectors usually use and they normally consider anything above 42 dBA to be a shle.

C-weighted decibels or dBC (see Noise Code Section & measurement of all frequencies, but this measurement "bass" sounds. However, dBC readings pick up so may usually do not distinguish between normal backgrour

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time that they

One-third-octave band sound level readings were a a2). These are measured in decibels, or dB. Sound a2). These are measured in decibels, or dB. Sound alled low frequencies or bass, which sound like the frequencies is addressed in the Noise Code regulation neighbor complaints. Bass and drums usually case sounds require a complex spectrum analyzer to

Section §24-231 50 Hertz are ange of low st likely to cause ancy ranges. These

The loudest sounds produced by music are in the low tree

# THE NOISE CODE - MUSIC

§24-231 Commercial music.

(a) No person shall make or cause or permit to be made or caused any music originating from or in connection with the operation of any commercial

Page 1 of 11

Acoustilog, Inc.

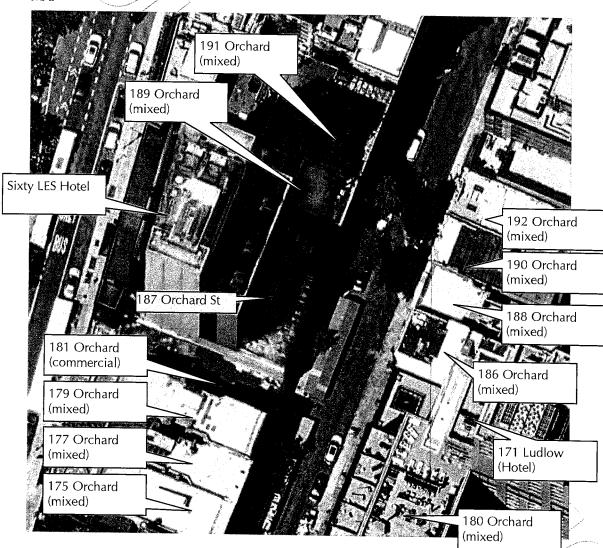
email: acoustilog1@verizon.net

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establishment or enterprise when the level of sound attributable to such music, as measured inside any receiving property dwelling unit:

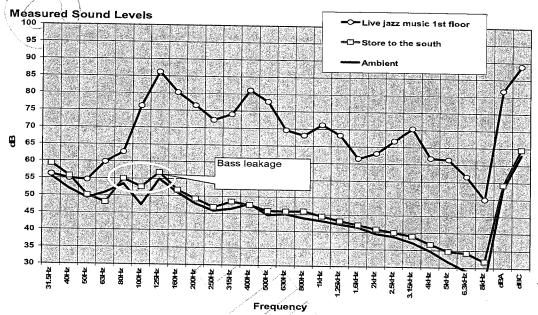
- (1) is in excess of 42 dB(A) as measured with a sound level meter; or
- (2) is in excess of 45 dB in any one-third octave band having a center frequency between 63 hertz and 500 hertz (ANSI bands numbers 18 through 27, Inclusive), in accordance with American National Standards Institute standard S1.6-1984; or
- (3) causes a 6 dBC or more increase in the total sound level above the ambient sound level as measured in decibels in the "C" weighting network provided that the ambient sound level is in excess of 62 dBC.

MAP

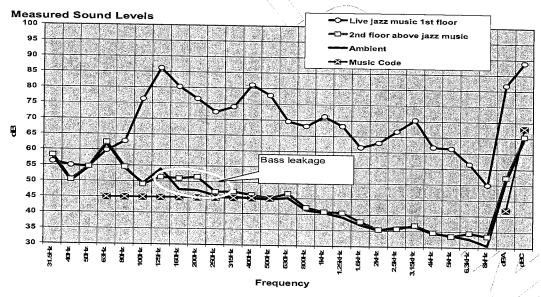


Page 2 of 11 Acoustilog, Inc This page alone is not a complete report.

Sound levels were tested using a loudspeaker simulating live jazz music as well as loud amplified band music. In the first floor, the sound level was set to read 89 dBC, measured 10 ft from the test speaker. In the restaurant to the south, which was closed for business, the sound leakage was very low. When open and with customers, the sound leakage would be inaudible.

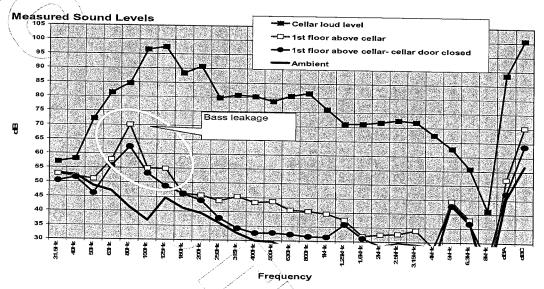


The next graph shows the level of sound going upstairs from the live jazz music into the unoccupied room of the restaurant above. The leakage would be inaudible when occupied.

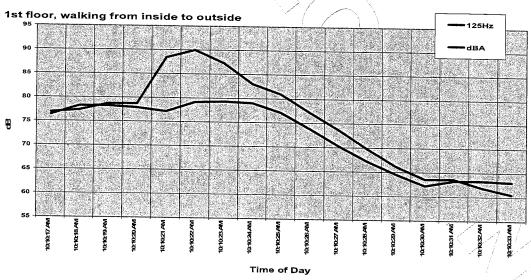


Page 3 of 11 Acoustilog, Inc This page alone is not a complete report.

The graph below shows loud music, 101 dBC, being played in the basement with the cellar door open and closed, and the resultant leakage into the future 1st floor restaurant space. This is not a soundproof door at present, and the leakage was louder with the door open, showing that the door which leads to the stairway is the primary sound path. With a better door and a sound lock this would be reduced even further, even with higher levels downstairs.



Note that the leakage from the cellar, which reaches 62 decibels at 80 Hertz on the 1st floor with the door closed, is lower than the sound level of the light live jazz music that is planned for the 1st floor. Therefore, I tested to see how much sound leakage would come from the first floor and out into the street. From left to right, the chart below shows the moment-by-moment sound levels as I walked from the inside of the restaurant space with the jazz music playing and out onto the street where the music was virtually inaudible, even with very little traffic on the street.



Page 4 of 11 Acoustilog, Inc This page alone is not a complete report.

# **ANALYSIS**

The nearest residential apartment is on the 2nd floor in the building to the north. There is a 1" gap between the buildings which is visible from the front sidewalk. The noise was tested at that same level also on the 2nd floor, in the same 187 Orchard building.

There are sprinklers in the space on both floors.

The low-frequency sound leakage indicates that 10 decibels of additional low-frequency soundproofing is required in order to comply with the Noise Code limits. Since there is no visible connection to the building to the north through the isolation slot, it is likely that the recommendations will change with further testing.

# RECOMMENDATIONS

# **HUNG CEILING**

- 1. It may be helpful to install the cellar ceiling soundproofing as shown in the enclosed diagram.
  - a. The new ceiling would consist of 3 staggered-seam layers of 5/8" sheetrock (on the bottom side only), hung from the structural ceiling with Kinetics Wave hangers.
  - b. Kinetics products are available from Vibration Products, 201 569 7400. The Kinetics website is www.kineticsnoise.com, where there are links to their products and ratings.
  - c. If your contractor sends them a layout of the space, the Vibration Products people will determine the proper type and mix for the order to provide the required .44" static deflection (this does not have to be exact).
  - d. The goal is to provide approximately .44 inches of deflection to the hangers, so the spacing should be adjusted to fit that loading. For example, 3 layers of 5/8" sheetrock weigh 7.5 pounds per square foot, and the .44 inch deflection will occur with 44 lbs. per hanger. Therefore, each hanger would support 44/7.5 = 5.8 square feet of ceiling. The hanger spacing would thus be adjusted to provide approximately 5.8 square feet per hanger.
  - e. The new ceiling framing channels and sheetrock must not rigidly touch the existing ceiling structure or the sprinkler pipes.
  - f. The air space above the new sheetrock ceiling must be filled completely with fibrous insulation. Thermafiber SAFB, 2.5 pound density, is the best insulation to use here, lightly compressed to fill the cavity. Do not stuff in the insulation tightly. Data attached.
  - g. There should be no openings in the sheetrock hung ceiling through which sound can pass. Do not tape the seams between adjoining layers of sheetrock; only the final layer needs taping. In addition, each layer of sheetrock should be staggered in both directions, so that the seams do not line up with those of the previous layer. This will further reduce sound traveling through the seams.
  - h. The hung ceiling must not tie in to the existing walls rigidly. Rather, leave a 1/4" gap all around and line it with black 1/4" neoprene sponge, available from Canal Rubber Supply, 329 Canal St, phone number (212) 226-7339. Ask for Marty, and say you want the Black SCE42 Closed Cell Neoprene Sponge. The metal and

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Acoustilog, Inc
email: acoustilog1@verizon.net

the sheetrock of the hung ceiling will essentially be "floating" near the top of the walls. Caulk the bottom of the gap with a 3/8" depth of silicone caulk.

# **NÉW FLOATING WALL**

- 2. You should consider building new cellar sheetrock inner liner walls which rigidly rest on the floor.
- 3. This would only be helpful in front of the walls exposed to the loud sound. This could include the wall around the stairs, part of which will become a sound lock.
  - a. The wall would attach directly to the underside of the new hung ceiling, which should be built first.
  - b. 2 layers of 5/8" staggered-seam sheetrock would be installed only on the room side of the new studs.
  - c. For the north wall adjacent to the next building only, but not around the stairs, 3 layers would be used.
  - d. The studs can be metal 2x4, but must not touch the existing walls; leave a 1" gap. Put the studs on 24" centers, not 16" centers. To save 2" of wall thickness, the studs can be turned on flat.
  - e. Fill the wall cavities loosely but completely with Thermafiber.

# **PIPES AND RODS**

4. Any pipes and rods which penetrate the new hung ceiling and floating walls should not connect rigidly. Do not use flush-mounted sprinkler heads; exposed sprinkler pipes and heads are preferable. Recessed items such as lights or outlets are not recommended. See the attached pipe-penetration detail.

# DOORS AND SOUND LOCK

- 5. The stairs should incorporate a sound lock at the cellar level. 2 doors are needed to block sound going into the stairwell. They should be heavy, with a solid core, and should have door seals.
  - a. Acoustical Surfaces Studio 3D doors with at least an STC-50 rating can be used. They come with their own seals. Data attached.
  - b. The 2 doors will be at least 3 feet apart.
  - c. Put automatic closers on these doors.
- 6. Treat as much of the ceiling and walls of the sound lock vestibule as possible with absorbing material.
  - a. This should be 2" thick Owens Corning SelectSound Black Acoustic Board, attached directly to the sheetrock on the ceiling. This is available by calling Owens Corning at 1-800-438-7465 to reach a local distributor. This is a superior treatment to ordinary fiberglass due to its increased density.
  - b. A SelectSound equivalent is SilentCeiling Black, 2" thick 3 lb. density from Sound Acoustic Solutions, 877 399 9697. Data attached.

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- c. For a more durable treatment where people might rub against the walls, use 1" or 2" Kinetics Hardside panels. Data attached. Kinetics products are available from Vibration Products, 201 569 7400. The Kinetics website is www.kineticsnoise.com, where there are links to their products and ratings.
- 7. The sidewalk door should not be propped open to avoid Noise Code violations.

# HVÁC

8. The mechanical equipment exists and you are planning to continue to use it. If there are changes to the system, call me to discuss to make sure there are no noise issues created such as ducts leading outside.

# SOUND SYSTEM

- 9. The music level must be effectively in the space. Therefore, an important step is to properly design the sound system.
  - a. Distributed speakers are recommended to provide an even and distributed sound.
  - b. On the first floor, for non-live music, small speakers such as Behringer Monitor 1 or JBL Control 1 should be used, with woofers no larger than 6 inches. Do not use subwoofers.
  - c. In the cellar, standard live sound speakers or distributed speakers can be used. There is no limit on the woofer size and you can use subwoofers
  - d. No special resilient speaker mounts are required on either floor. However, if bass speakers are hung from the cellar ceiling, spring isolators with 1" deflection will help reduce interference to the live jázz upstairs.
- 10. The systems should be set up in stereo. Stereo sounds louder to the customers without actually increasing the overall sound level. Alternate the speakers left/right.
- 11. The sound systems will incorporate an equalizer. The equalizer will then feed into a limiter. Both functions can be accomplished with a DBX DriveRack PA processor, which is a deterrent to volume-abusing employees. Installed in the system right before the amplifiers and locked with a password, it will prevent the sound system from exceeding a pre-determined sound level, set by the sound installer. If the sound system is turned up too high, the limiter will activate and guarantee that the actual sound never exceeds the desired maximum.
  - a. Each amplifier should be set to the maximum level during this process so it cannot be turned up further at a later time.
  - b. **On the first floor**, for non-live music, using the graphic equalizer section, attenuate (lower) all frequencies 125 Hertz and below. Use a hi-pass filter, set to 125 Hertz with a cutoff slope of 12 dB/octave.
    - i. Set the compressor Ratio control to infinity, Over-Easy to off, and the Threshold control so as to normally limit only 3 decibels during typical music playing. If the music tries to get louder for any reason, the sound will stay at the same volume.
    - ii. Using the compressor Output level control to set the sound level 3 feet from any speaker to 89 dBC Slow. The sound installer can do this with a simple Radio Shack sound level meter. Set the meter to read "C", and

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- "Slow". This will be a good starting point from which to operate the sound system.
- iii. The live jazz music on the first floor should not exceed 89 dBC, 10 feet away from the musicians.
- c. Live music in the cellar must run through a processor and should be limited to 110 dBC, 10 feet away from the musicians. Use a hi-pass filter, set to 63 Hertz with a cutoff slope of 24 dB/octave.
- d. This unit can also be set in conjunction with tests made of noise levels in the neighboring spaces.
- e. To ensure accuracy of the meter, you can bring it my office to be calibrated.

# ACOUSTIC SURFACE TREATMENTS

12. There are existing acoustic absorption panels hanging from the ceilings in the space. The rooms are not overly reverberant and these panels can be reused. If you wish to change the room acoustics, contact me for acceptable substitutes.

If I can be of further assistance, please call.

It is strongly recommended that all complicated construction projects get regular inspection visits at critical times, to make sure the system performs properly. This is an optional service which I can provide. All Acoustilog, Inc.-designed information supplied is for the original client and may not be copied in any way for different projects by any architect, consultant, engineer or other party. Copyright Acoustilog, Inc. © 2023. All rights reserved. No reproduction of any type permitted without written permission of Acoustilog, Inc.

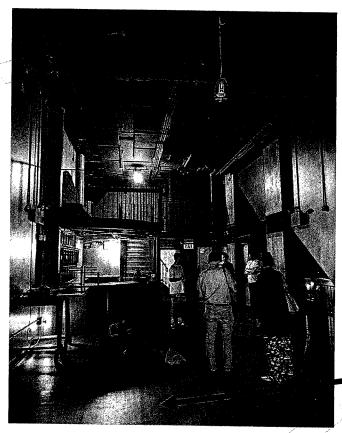
Yours Truly,

Alan Fierstein

President acoustilog1@verizon.net

All readings re: .0002 microbar and to Code. Readings taken with Bruel & Kjaer 2250/2260/2270 Analyzer, Bruel & Kjaer 4134, 4135, 4145, 4155, 4165, 4189 or 4190 Microphone, Acoustilog 232A Reverberation Timer. Calibrated to Bruel & Kjaer 4220 Sound Source or Quest CA-15.

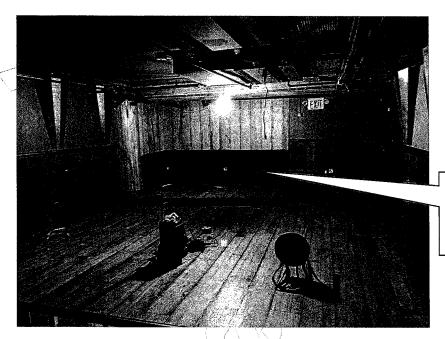
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Low volume acoustic music such as a jazz combo will play in the front of the 1st floor future restaurant space.



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Loud live music will be played in the cellar. There is an existing stage from the previous live music venue.



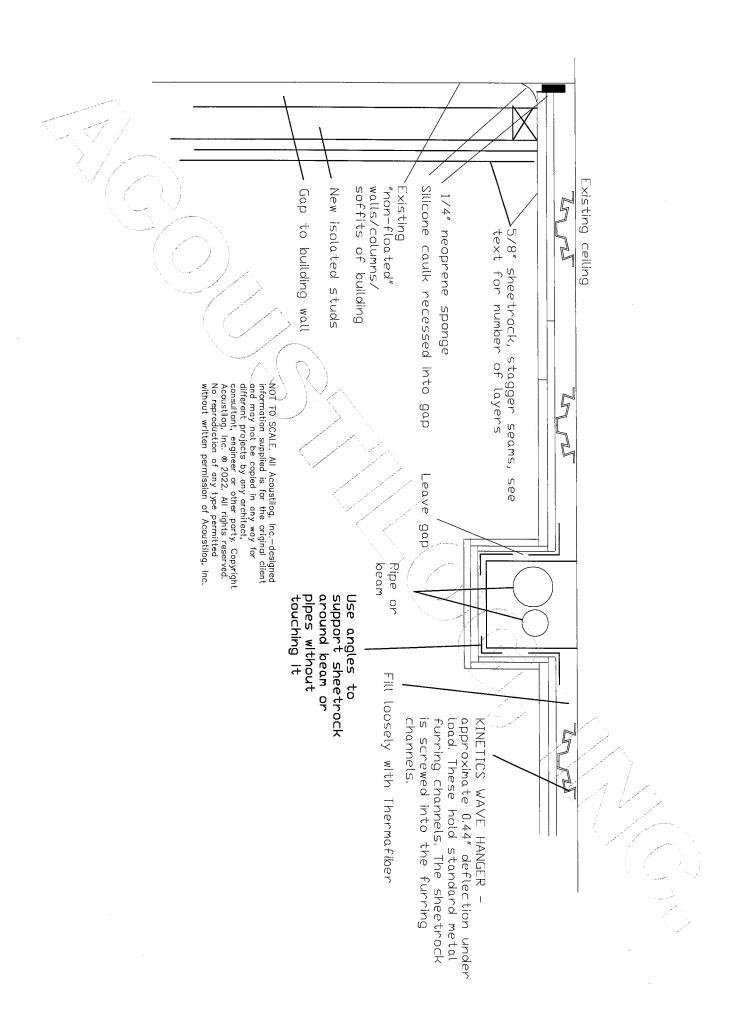
Sound was tested going upstairs from the live jazz music into the restaurant above as well as in the next building.

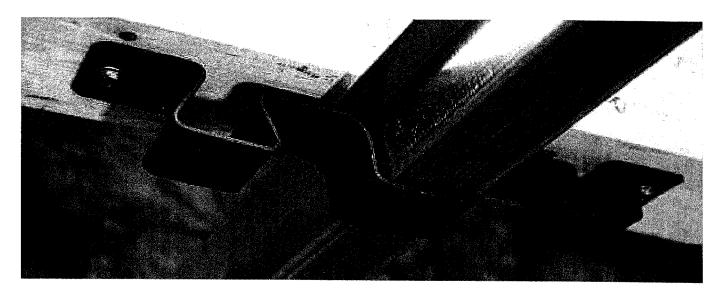
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The nearest residential apartment is on the 2nd floor in the building to the north. There is a 1" gap between the buildings visible from the front sidewalk. The noise was tested in the corresponding floor in the same building as the restaurant, on the 2nd floor.

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# KINETICS™ WAVE Hanger Noise Control Ceiling Hanger

Patent No. 8,549,809

KINETICS<sup>1M</sup> WAVE Hanger is an essential component for "better than code" noise reduction in wood-framed projects. The innovative leaf spring design cradles drywall furring channel and quickly attaches to the bottom-side of any wood structural member delivering exceptional noise control at annoying lower frequencies. Uniquely designed and easily installed, the WAVE Hanger is the preferred high performance, low cost ceiling hanger for substantially reduced sound transmission through floor/ceiling and roof/ceiling construction in wood-framed construction.

# **Acoustical Performance**

- Greatly outperforms resilient channel in controlling "thuds" (Low Frequency)
  - 18-dB ISPL (impact) improvement over resilient channel at 50-Hz
  - 6-dB TL (airborne) improvement over resilient channel at 50-Hz
- Two IIC 56+, STC 60 assemblies, without gypsum/ lightweight concrete
- Ues with KINETICS™ isoLayment QT (3-mm) noise control floor underlayment

# Easy, Reliable Installation

- Fast and simple No more pinching furring channel into clips!
- Easy to follow guidelines for any isolated ceiling installation
- Fasteners supplied with WAVE Hangers

# Simple Floor/Ceiling Designs

- Highest performance-to-cost value for wood-framed floor/ceilings
- Fastens to all wood structural framing
- Fire-rated assemblies cover all types of typical wood joists/trusses: ICC-ES ESR #3207
- Cement board buildup not required beneath ceramic tile
- Seismic categories: A, B, C, D, E, F



# Acoustical Test Reports



WAVE Hanger was tested at RAL vs. RC Deluxe in multiple floor/ceiling wood composites. Download the complete set of test reports at kineticsnoise.com/arch/wave.html.

# Highlights:

- No lightweight gypsum concrete used
- Tested with ultra-thin resilient underlayments
- IIC 57 STC 60: Engineered wood filoor, 3-mm isoLayment QT, 3/4" sheath, 12" joists, R19 batt, WAVE, 2-layers Type X gyp-board
- IIC 56 STC 61: Ceramic tile floor, 3-mm IsoLayment QT, 5/8" ply, 3/4" sheath, 12" joists, R19 batt, WAVE, 2-layers Type X gyp-board

# Fire Test Report (ASTM E1234-06) and ICC-ESR



WAVE Hanger was tested in a wood-framed floor-ceiling composite at SwRI and obtained a one-hour (1-hr.) fire rating for an unrestrained assembly. ICC-ESR Report 333 and the fire test summary report can be downloaded at kineticsnoise.com/arch/wave.html.

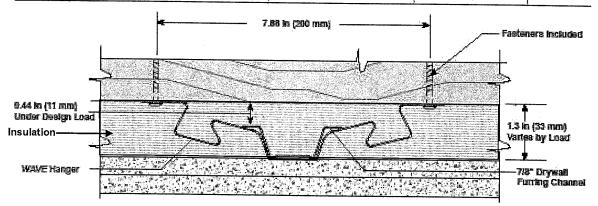
# Highlights:

- No lightweight gypsum concrete used
- No extra channel required at butt joints
- Low-profile construction



# **Product Specs**

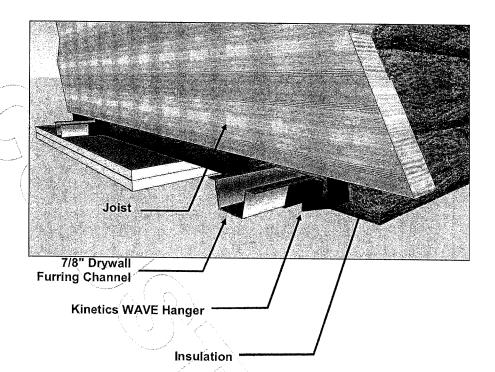
Model	Capacity	Usage	Deflection at Design Load	Seismic Categories	f. (max)
WAVE 44	44 lbs	Mid-room and perimeter			
WAVE 22	22 lbs	Room comers	0.44 in	A, B, C, D, E, F	5-Hz





kineticsnoise.com/arch/wave.html sales@kineticsnoise.com 1-800-959-1229

Manufacturing facilities in Ohio, USA; California, USA; and Ontario, Canada. Sales offices worldwide.



# Sound Control Insulation Thermafiber® SAFB™

- Excéptional sound and noise absorption
- → Excellent Thermal Performance (R-value) of 3.7 per inch!)
- + Adds STC value to wall and floor-ceiling assemblies
- + Provides life saving fire protection in rated assemblies
- Fire resistant to temperatures above 2,000°F (1,093°C)
- ♣ Conserves energy, reduces Greenhouse gas and carbon emissions
- Mold Resistant

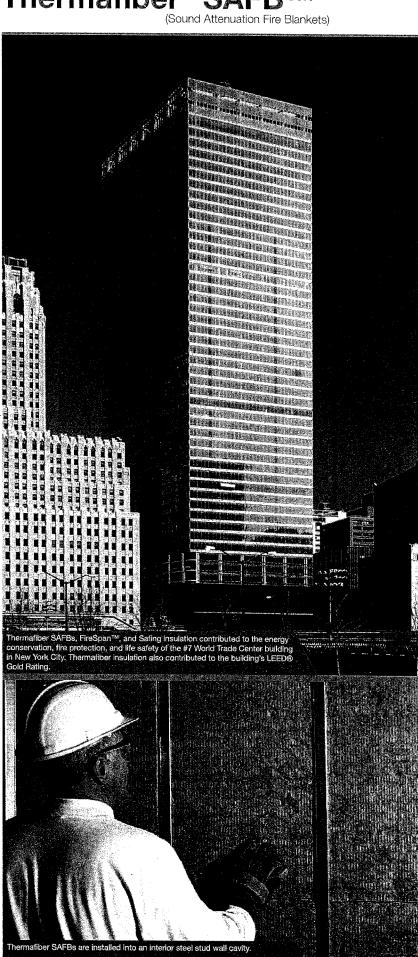
A BUIL DING	LEED*	Green E	Building (	Credits
THE T	Energy & Atmosphere	2	Indoor Environmental Quality	Innovation in Design
Up to	1	2.1, 2.2	3.1, 3.2	· 1
00°/	3	3.1, 3.2	9	
JU /0		4.1, 4.2		
Recycled	3	5.1, 5.2		
Content	Contributes :	to 33 LEED c	redits across 4	4 categories.











# Thermafiber® SAFB<sup>TM</sup> (Sound Attenuation Fire Blankets)

Description:

THERMAFIBER Sound Attenuation Fire Blankets (SAFB) are mineral wool batts designed to stop sound, conserve energy, and provide life saving fire protection. These products are noncombustible, moisture-resistant, noncorrosive, nondeteriorating, mildew-proof and verminproof. Thermafiber SAFBs provide acoustical control, thermal insulation, and fire protection in many different UL fire rated wall and floorceiling assemblies, SAFBs resist temperatures over 2000°F as compared to fiberglass insulation that melts around 1000°F. SAFBs add STCs to wall and floor-ceiling assemblies. See Thermafiber's SAFB Brochure (TF885) for more detail on STC and fire ratings for multiple wall and floor-ceiling assemblies.

Product Options:

- Standard SAFB
- Creased SAFB Made 1" wider than standard stud spacing to bow in the stud cavity for increased sound absorption.
- Recycled Content Options1:

Special "Green" Fiber ..... ..... 90% EPA Choice Fiber (US Government Buildings)...... 75% Standard Fiber ...... 70%

<sup>1</sup>Recycled content options other than standard must be specified at time of order.

Installation:

- interior Stud Cavity Friction fit SAFBs securely between studs. Butt ends of blankets closely together and fill all voids.
- Creased SAFB Bow the blankets slightly to fit into stud cavity. Slit the blankets vertically 1" deep with a utility knife.
- Floor-Ceiling Friction fit SAFBs securely between floor joists.
- Ceiling Overlayment Lay SAFBs over ceiling panels extending 48" beyond all partitions. Tightly fit around all hangers, obstructions, and penetrations.

Standard Sizes:

	Thickness*	Widths**	Lengths**
SAFB 2.5 pcf	1-1/2"- 6"	16", 17", 24", 25"	48"
SAFB 4.0 pcf	1"	16", 17", 24", 25"	48"
Tolerances	+1/4" - 1/8"	±1/8"	+1/2"

Technical Data:

· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	Z	<u> </u>		Tested to	ASTM E 84
		Tested to A	Unfaced		
Product Designation	Nominal Density	"k" @ 75° [24°C] BTU.in/hr.sq. ft. °F	"R" value per inch of thickness***	Flame Spread	Smoke Developed
SAFB	2.5 pcf/	0.27	3.7	0	0
SAFB	4.0 pcf	(0.24)	4.2	0	0
***R = thickness divided by	'k' ∀				······································

Acoustical Performance:

	Coefficeints at Frequencies Per ASTM 423								
·	Thickness	125 Hz	250 Hz	500 Hz	1000 Hz	2000 Hz	4000 Hz	NRC	
	2"	0.34	0.61 /	1.07	1.09	1.07	1.10	0.95	
SAFB 2.5 pcf	3"	0.51	0.99	_1.18 /	1.03	0.99	0.96	1.05	
Density	4"	0.83	1.19	_1.27/	1.12	• 1.12	1.13	1.20	
	6"	1,37	1.32	1.23	1,16	1,12	1.12	1.20	

Standards Compliance:

SAFB Insulation meets the following:

**NFPA 101** Class A rated interior finish

ASTM C 665 Type I, per Federal Specification HH-I-521F

**ASTM E 136** Rated Non-combustible per NFPA Standard 220

ASTM C 1104 Absorbs less than 1% by volume

SAFB products are approved by: New York City Board of Standards & Appeals - (under BSA 35-66-SM, 173-77-M, 249-74-SM, 34-66-SM, & accepted by MEA 207-82-M, Vol. 2)

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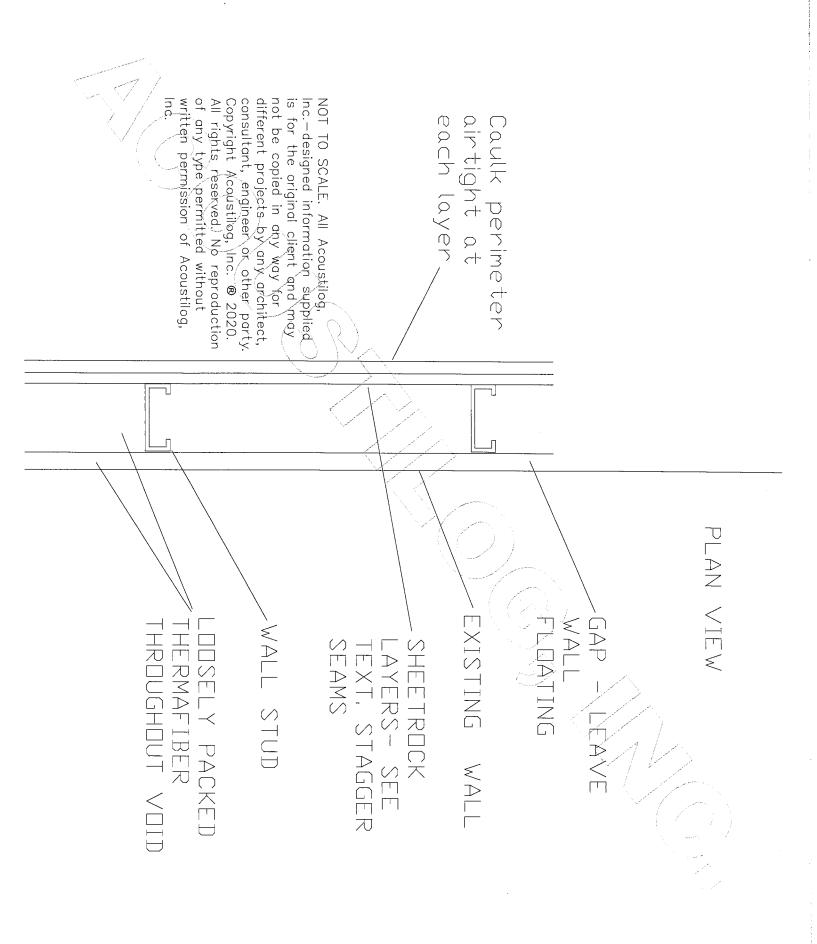


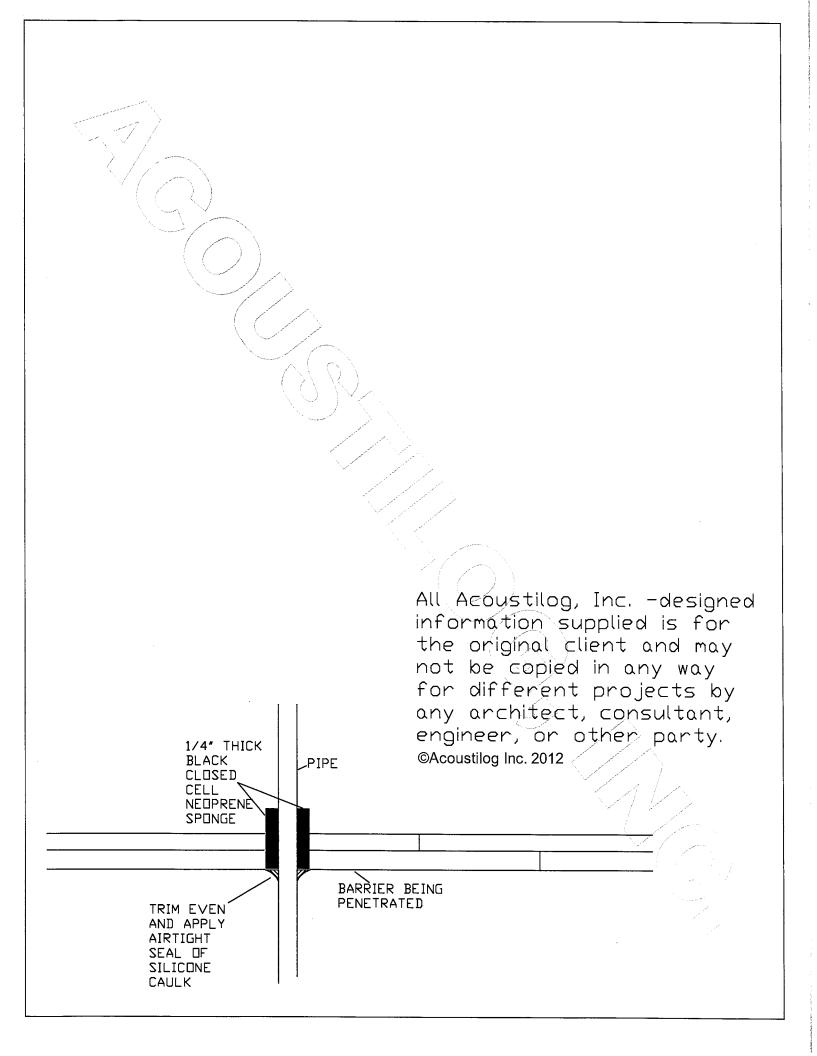
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Contractor

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Date







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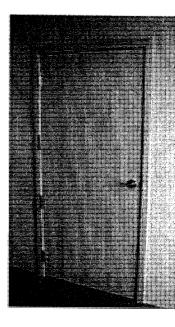
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- SOUND ABSORBING FOAM
- HANGING ACOUSTICAL BAFFLES
- SONEX™ FOAM PRODUCTS
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- SEALANTS ADHESIVES GREEN GLUE
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- T-MOLD SYSTEM™
- ACOUSTICAL FABRIC SELECTION
- ADJUSTABLE CUTTERS SPRINKLER CUTTER
- BUY NOW PAY LATER

STATEMENT OF WARRANTY



# STUDIO 3D - NOISE S.T.O.P.™ SOUNDPROOF INTERIOR DOORS

ASI is proud to offer the markets first affordable soundproof interior door. Our sound control doors have an STC value up to 56. The Studio 3D sound proof doors are ideal for recording studios, offices, band rooms, hotels, dorm rooms, conference rooms or any application where a soundproof interior door is required. The doors come in oak ready to stain with Nickel or brass hardware and other custom options are available. Blast proof and bullet proof options are also available.

- Low cost High performance
- STC Ratings Up To 56
- Products Tested Per ASTM E-90
- Custom Manufactured Acoustic Door to any size specifications
- · Appx. 300 pound door assembly
- 2 3/4" 13 Layer door assembly
- · Comes pre-hung and assembled
- Adjustable soundproof jams and seals
- Ready to stain / paint to match your decor
- Best performance wood / metal finished door assembly available
- Automatic sill
- · Heavy duty hinges (4)
- · 3-point latching system

Click on sheet.



icon to download product CSI 3 Part Spec

# DOOR AND FRAME FEATURES:

**STC Ratings:** Stop Noise acoustical doors are available with ratings up to STC-56, and acoustical windows up to STC-56 Studio 6.

**Testing:** Stop Noise Door products are tested in accordance with the most recent ASTM E90 standards at accredited Acoustical Laboratories.

Frame Configuration: In addition to our standard frame designs, we can engineer special frame profiles to complement wall construction and architectural style.

**Services:** ASI offers various installation services and will provide the necessary shop drawings, certification of test results and assistance with compliance for all industry standards.

**Guarantee:** Studio 3D doors are guaranteed to be free of defects in workmanship and quality for a period of two years.

# DOOR SPECIFIC FEATURES:

**Configuration:** Doors are available in a flush design or with vision elite and as single or pairs of hinged doors.

**Sizes:** Select from standard, or custom pairs as large as 8' w x 10' h.

Hardware: Door, frame, trim, handle, hinges, perimeter sound seals and door bottom are supplied as part of the tested assembly. Dead bolt or mortise locks available.

**Finishes:** Oak ready to stain. Optional maple, cherry, birch and any wood species are available. Optional primed metal finish.

Hardware Color: Satin Chrome standard. 7 additional custom order finishes available.

# Required Installation kit Includes:

- 2 Packs of Shims
- 4 Heavy Duty Jamb Screws Backer Rod
- 1 Tube Acoustical Sealant

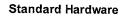


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National Energy Coalition





Venice - Passage Only



Venice - Thumb Turn Deadbolt



Venice - Keyed Deadbolt

# **Download Hardware Options**

Download Old Hardware Guide

Specifications subject to change with out notice.

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# Click on images to enlarge



2 3/4" Door Thickness



Mortise Drop Seal & Strike Plate



Exposed jam kit



Wood Caps Over Jam Kit



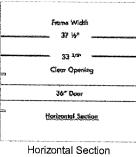
Window Lite Kit

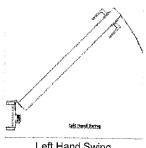


Double Door

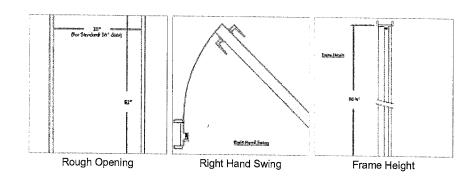


Door Elevation





Left Hand Swing



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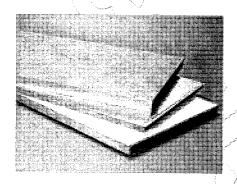
123 Columbia Court North • Suite 201 • Chaska, MN 55318 • Tel: (952)-448-5300 Fax: (952)-448-2613 • 1-(800)-854-2948 • Email: sales@acousticalsurfaces.com

**NOISE CONTROL HELP LINE 1-(800)-854-2948** 

## Submittal Sheet



# Fiberglas® 700 Series Insulations



Type	<i>7</i> 01	Type	<b>704</b>
Type	<b>702</b>	Туре	<i>7</i> 05
Type	<i>7</i> 03	Type	<i>7</i> 0 <i>7</i>
		Type	<i>7</i> 11

## Description

These insulations are made of inorganic glass fibers with a thermosetting resin binder and formed into flexible, semi-rigid or rigid rectangular boards of varying densities. Types 703, 704 and 705 are available with factory-applied FRK or ASJ facings. Both facings are vapor retarders and provide a neat, finished appearance in mechanical applications.

#### Uses

701, 702, 711 – Lightweight, resilient, flexible insulation in sheet form, used on vessels with irregular surfaces where an exterior finish will be supported mechanically. 703, 704 – Semi-rigid boards for use on equipment, vessels and air conditioning ductwork. 705 – A high strength rigid board for use on chillers, hot and cold equipment, and heating and air conditioning ductwork where high abuse resistance and good appearance are required. 707 – For use in acoustical wall panels and specialized ceiling applications.

### **Availability**

Fiberglas® 700 Series Insulations are available in standard 24"x48" (610mm x 1219mm) boards in thicknesses from 1" (25mm) to 4" (102mm) in 1/2" (13mm) increments. Maximum thickness, Type 705, is 3" (76mm). Types 702 and 704 are made-to-order products.

## Features/Benefits

#### Thermal Efficiency

Fiberglas 700 Series Insulations save energy and reduce heat transfer, lowering operating costs. Available in five densities, providing a selection of products to meet specific performance, appearance and economic requirements.

## **Structural Integrity**

Fiberglas 700 Series Insulations resist damage and maintain structural integrity and efficiency. Thickness stays uniform.

#### **Excellent Acoustical Properties**

This versatile group of *Fiberglas* insulation boards efficiently reduces sound transmission.

## **Specification Compliance**

- ASTM C 553, Mineral Fiber Blanket Thermal Insulation, Type III Type 701, 711
- ASTM C 612, Mineral Fiber Block & Board Thermal Insulation, Types IA, IB Types 702, 703, 704, 705, 707
- ASTM C 795, Phermal Insulation For Use Over Austenitic Stainless Steel\*
- ASTM C 1/36, Flexible Low Permeance Vapor Retarders for Thermal Insulation, Type I: ASJ: Type II: FRK
- Nuclear Regulatory Commission Guide 1.36, Non-Metallic Thermal Insulation\*
- New York City MEA No. 227-83 Types 703 & 705, plain and FRK-faced
- CAN/CGSB-51-10 Type I, Class I Types 703, 704
- NFPA 90A and 90B
- California Insulation Quality Standards CA-T052
- \* Preproduction qualification testing complete and on file. Chemical analysis of each production lot required for total conformance.

## **Physical Property Data**

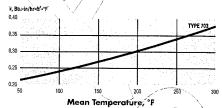
Property	Test Method	Value
Equipment operating temperature limitation	ASTM C 411	0 to 450°F* (-18°C to 232°C)*
Insulation jacket temperature limitation	ASTM C 1136	-20°F to 150°F (-29°C to 66°C)
Jacket permeance	ASTM E 96, Proc. A	- 0.02 perm
Jacket puncture resistance	ASTM D 781	FRK: 25 units; ASJ: 50 units
Compressive strength (minimum) at 10% deformation at 25% deformation	ASTM C 165	Type Type Type 703 704 705 25 lb/ft² 60 lb/ft² 200 lb/ft² (1197 Pa) (2873 Pa) (9576 Pa) 90 lb/ft² 225 lb/ft²
Water vapor sorption	ASTM C 1104	(4309 Pa) (10.8 kPa) <2% by weight at 120°F (49°C), 95% R.H.
Nominal density	ASTM C 167 ASTM C 303	Type 701: 1,5 pcf (24 kg/m³) 711: 1.65 pcf (26 kg/m³) 702: 2,3 pcf (37 kg/m³) 703: 3.0 pcf (48 kg/m³) 704: 4.2 pcf (67 kg/m³) 705: 6.0 pcf (96 kg/m³) 707: 7.0 pcf (112 kg/m³)
Surface burning characteristics	UL 723,** ASTM E 84 or CAN/ULC-S102-M**	Flame spread 25** Smoke developed 50

<sup>\*</sup> Maximum thickness at 450°F (232°C): Type 701, 702: 6" (152 mm); Type 703, 704, 705: 4" (102 mm).

\*\* The surface burning characteristics of these products have been determined in accordance with UL 723, ASTM E 84 or CAN/
ULC-S102-M. This standard should be used to measure and describe the properties of materials, products or assemblies in response to heat and flame under controlled laboratory conditions and should not be used to describe or appraise the fire hazard or fire risk of materials, products or assemblies under actual fire conditions. However, results of this test may be used as elements of a fire risk assessment which takes into account all of the factors which are pertinent to an assessment of the fire hazard of a particular end use. Values are reported to the nearest 5 rating.

# Fiberglas® 700 Series Insulations

## Thermal Conductivity



Apparent thermal conductivity curve determined in accordance with ASTM Practice C 1045 with data obtained by ASTM Test Method C 177. Values are nominal, subject to normal testing and manufacturing tolerances.

Mean		k, E	Stu•in/h	r•ft²•°F		Mean		λ,	W/m•	°C	
Temp.°F	<i>7</i> 01	702	703	704	705	Temp.°C	701	702	703	704	705
50	0.22	0.21	0.21	0.22	0.22	10	0.032	0.030	0.030	0.032	0.032
75	0.24	0.23	0.23	0.23	0.23	25	0.035	0.032	0.033	0.034	0.034
100	0.26	0.24	0.24	0.25	0.25	50	0.040	0.036	0.036	0.038	0.037
150	0.30	0.27	0.27	0.28	0.27	75	0.045	0.041	0.040	0.042	0.041
200	0.35	0.31	0.30	0.31	0.30	100	0.052	0.046	0.045	0.046	0.045
250	0.40	0.36	0.34	0.35	0.33	125	0.059	0.053	0.050	0.051	0.049
300	0.46	0.41	0.38	0.39	0.37	150	0.067	0.060	0.055	0.056	0.053

## Thermal Performance, ASTM C 680 (Type 703)

Thic	kness,	250 (	121)	300 (	perai 149)	ing Temp 350 (	eratui 1 <i>77</i> )	re, °F (°C 400		450 (	232)
in.	(mm)	HL	ST	HL	ST	HL	ST	HL	ST	HL `	ST
1.0	(25)	27	98	42	106	√57	114	75	123	95	133
1.5	(38)	19	93	29	99	/ 40 \	105	52	112	66	119
2.0	(5I)	15	90	22	95	\ 31	100	√ <u>,40</u> ,	105	50	111
2.5	(64)	12	88	18	92	25	96	32	√101	41	106
3.0	(76)	10	87	15	91	21	94	27	98	34	102
3.5	(89)	9	86	13	89	18	92	/ 23 /	96	30	99
4.0	(102)	8	86	11	88	16	91	_21	94	26	97

The above table provides approximate heat loss values (HL), Buthur-ft², and Surface Temperatures (ST), T, for flat surfaces. Values are based on horizontal heat flow, vertical flat surface, 80°F ambient temperature, still air. ASJ jacket. To convert heat loss values to W/m², multiply values by 3.15. To convert surface temperatures, use the formula  $^{\circ}$  C =  $^{\circ}$ F-32/1.8. For similar information using other assumptions, contact your Owens Corning Representative.

## Sound Absorption Coefficients, ASTM C 423

Mounting: Type A – Material placed against a solid backing.

Product Type	Thiclin.	(mess, (mm)	125	250	Octave 500	Band Cente 1000	r Freque 2000	ncies, Hz 4000	NRC
701, plain	$\frac{1}{2}$	(25) (51)	.17 .22	.33 .67	.64 .98	.83 1.02	.90 .98	.92 1.00	.70 .90
703, plain	1	(25)	.11	.28	.68	.90	.93	.96	.70
	2	(51)	.17	.86	1.14	1.07	1.02	.98	1.00
705, plain	1	(25)	.02	.27	.63	.85	.93	.95	.65
	2	(51)	.16	.71	1.02	1.01	.99	.99	.95
703, FRK	1	(25)	.18	.75	.58	.72	.62	.35	.65
	2	(51)	.63	.56	.95	.79	.60	.35	.75
705, FRK	1	(25)	.27	.66	.33	.66	.51	.41	.55
	2	(51)	.60	.50	.63	.82	.45	.34	.60
703, ASJ	1	(25)	.17	.71	.59	.68	.54	.30	.65
	2	(51)	.47	.62	1.01	.81	.51	.32	.75
705, ASJ	1	(25)	.20	.64	.33	.56	.54	.33	.50
	2	(51)	.58	.49	.73	.76	.55	.35	.65

Values given are for design approximations only; production and test variabilities will alter results. Specific designs should be evaluated in end-use configurations.



OWENS CORNING INSULATING SYSTEMS, LLC

ONE OWENS CORNING PARKWAY TOLEDO, OHIO 43659

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## **Application Recommendations**

Types 701 and 702 are lightweight, unfaced, flexible insulations in batt form for use on vessels having irregular surfaces, where the compressive strength is not a performance criterion. Types 703, 704 and 705 are board insulations usually impaled over welded pins on flat surfaces. They are cut in segments and banded in place on irregular surfaces. Unfaced boards are normally finished with reinforced insulating cement or weatherproof mastic.

ASJ- or FRK-faced insulation boards shall be applied using mechanical fasteners such as weld pins or speed clips. Fasteners shall be located not less than 3" (75mm) from each edge or corner of the board. Pin spacing along the equipment should be no greater than 12" (300mm) on centers. Additional pins or clips may be required to hold the insulation tightly against the surface where cross breaking is used for stiffening. Weld pin lengths must be selected to ensure tight fit but avoid "oil-canning."

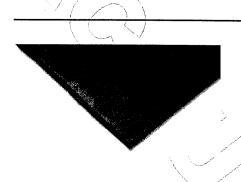
In multiple layer applications, use faced material on outer layer only. Where a vapor retarder is required, cover pins and clips with vapor sealing, pressure-sensitive patches matching insulation facing. Rub hard with a plastic sealing tool to ensure a tight bond and a vapor seal.

All insulation joints should be sealed with pressure-sensitive joint sealing tape to match the insulation facing. Rub hard with a plastic sealing tool to effect a tight bond. Recommended practice suggests 3" (76 mm) wide tape on flat surfaces or where edges are shiplapped and stapled. Use 5" (102 mm) wide tape in lieu of shiplapping. If insulation is being applied to sheet metal duct work, all sheet metal joints must be sealed prior to insulating. Glass fabric and mastic may be used in lieu of pressure-sensitive tape.

## Submittal Sheet



## SelectSound™ Black Acoustic Board



## **Superior Acoustical Performance**

SelectSound Black acoustic board provides excellent acoustical performance for multiplex theaters, sound studios and performing arts centers. Depending on specified thickness, SelectSound Black acoustic board absorbs up to 100% of the sound striking its surface.

SelectSound Black acoustic board helps provide the highest quality audio reproduction by reducing sound reverberation within spaces. Sound transfer from space to space is also noticeably reduced.

## **Durable Material Composition**

SelectSound Black acoustic board is dimensionally stable and will not shrink or warp. The board's resilient composition resists job-site damage. When necessary, the durable black mat facing may be cleaned by vacuuming. SelectSound Black acoustic board, composed of inorganic glass fibers, will not rot or mildew and is noncorrosive to steel, copper and aluminum.

## Fast, High Quality Installation

Lightweight and resilient, SelectSound Black acoustic board is easy to handle, fabricate and install. Both stick pins and adhesives can be used to secure boards to drywall, concrete block or precast concrete.

## Size Availability

SelectSound Black acoustic board is available in 48" x 96" size. SelectSound Black acoustic board can also be supplied precut in sizes up to 48" x 96" to fit specific dimensional requirements. Precut boards improve labor productivity by speeding installation.

#### Black Core with Dark Black Finish Surface

SelectSound Black acoustic board has an all-black core wih a deep black mat finish with very low light reflectivity. The black surface is ideal for eliminating screen light reflections and preventing insulation from showing through most surface treatments.

## **Design Considerations**

Acoustical performance of interior surfaces can generally be improved by increasing acoustical material thickness. *SelectSound* Black acoustic board can be specified for use in conjunction with other Owens Corning acoustical materials to provide additional performance.

Owens Corning also manufactures *SelectSound* Black theater blanket. This roll product is ideal for use behind fabric on theater walls, in sound studios and performing arts centers.

## **Applicable Standards**

The noise reduction coefficients of SelectSound Black acoustic board were derived from tests conducted in accordance with ASTM C 423 on a Type A mounting.

#### **Installation Procedure**

SelectSound Black acoustic board can be installed on drywall, concrete block or precast concrete using impaling pins or appropriate adhesives.

When installing insulation with adhesive, follow adhesive manufacturer's recommendations for surface preparation and pattern.

When using impaling pins, follow the pin manufacturer's recommendations for surface preparation, location and amount of pins. Pin length should be selected to ensure tight fit. Where subject to physical contact, protect pin tips.

Keep product dry during shipping, storage and installation.

## **Physical Property Data**

Compressive strength (minimum) at 10% deformation at 25% deformation	ASTM C 165	25 lb/ft² (1197 Pa) 90 lb/ft² (4309 Pa)
Water vapor sorption	ASTM C 1104	<3% by weight at 120°F (49°C), 95% R.H.
Fungi resistance	ASTM C 1338	Meets requirement
Nominal density	ASTM C 303	3.0 pcf (48 kg/m³)
Corrosiveness	ASTM C 665 Corrosiveness Test	Will not cause corrosion greater thar that caused by sterile cotton on aluminum or steel*
Surface burning characteristics	ASTM E 84 CAN/ULC-S102**	Flame spread 25** Smoke developed 50

<sup>\*</sup> When wet, coated surfaces in contact with galvanized steel may cause discoloration of the sheet metal.

<sup>\*\*</sup> The surface burning characteristics of these products have been determined in accordance with UL 723 and CAN/ULC-S102-M. These standards should be used to measure and describe the properties of materials, products or assemblies in response to heat and flame under controlled laboratory conditions and should not be used to describe or appraise the fire hazard or fire risk of materials, products or assemblies under actual fire conditions. However, results of this test may be used as elements of a fire risk assessment which takes into account all of the factors which are pertinent to an assessment of the fire hazard of a particular end use. Values are reported to the nearest 5 rating.

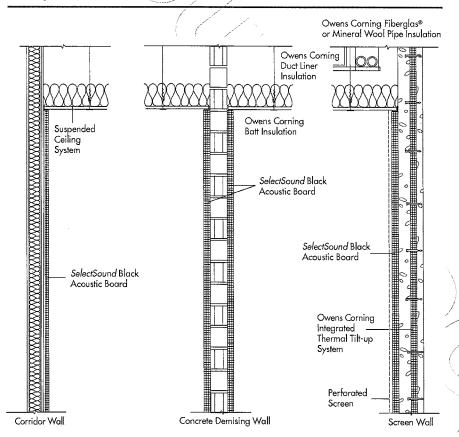
# SelectSound™ Black Acoustic Board

## Acoustical Performance

Product Type & Thickness	, pcf (	Den (kg/m³)	sity Mounting				Center 1000		ncies, H 4000		Thermal Resistance* R-Value (hr•ft²•°F)/Btu
1" Mat faced	3.0	(48)	A	.06	.25	.62	.91	.99	.98	.70	4.3
2" Mat faced	3.0~	(48)	A	.18	.71	1.12	1.12	1.03	1.02	1.00	8.6

Derived from test conducted in accordance with ASTM C 423, Type A mounting (material placed against a solid backing such as a block wall).

## **Conceptual Details**



For CSI type sample specification, please contact your local Owens Corning representative.



Owens Corning reserves the right to change this product as needed,

#### **OWENS CORNING WORLD HEADQUARTERS**

ONE OWENS CORNING PARKWAY TOLEDO, OHIO, USA 43659

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www.owenscorning.com

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INQUIRY FORM

## 2 x 2 Black Acoustic Ceiling Tile

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 $2 \times 2$  Black Acoustic Ceiling Tiles are sold under our SilentCeiling<sup>TM</sup> brand. Drop in to an existing grid celing these panels offers excellent sound absorption properties at an affordable price. Finished with a crisp, matte black fabric and as available in a 2'  $\times$  2' square format. Enjoy FREE SHIPPING from us on these panels.

In both residential and commercial applications, theese tiles creates a "disappearing" acaustical tile ceiling that has a sharp and attractive look. Achieve NRC values of .75 by easily installing these lightweight grid ceiling tiles.

- Packages of 1" Boards will cover 80 sq. ft.
- Packages of 2" Boards will caver 40 sq. ft.
- Available in 2'x2'
- High NRC up to 1.00
- · Lightweight and easy to cut with a utility knife
- 3# Density
- Spec-equivalent for Owens-Corning Select Sound Black Acoustic Board
- Class A fire rated

Effective Saund Absorption: SilentCeiling™ Black Acoustic Ceiling Tiles eliminate unwanted ceiling boundary reflections and control excessive room reverberation. SilentCeiling™ Black Acoustical Ceiling Tiles eliminate slap-echo between parallel floor and ceiling surfaces. Additionally, these tiles visually and audibly "disappear" by improving signal-to-noise ratio for listening, recording, and conversation.

Easy Installation: Available as a 2'x2' grid ceiling tile. SilentCeiling™ Black Acoustical Ceiling Tiles are designed to be installed in a standard drop ceiling grid. Sound Acoustic Solutions offers all of the <u>supplies</u> you will need to install a sound absorbing tile ceiling.

Applications: Residential and commercial - any space where reverberation ar reflected noise is an issue.

- Hame theatres\*, media raams
- Recarding and broadcast studies
- Clubs, restaurants, entertainment facilities
- Theatres and performing arts spaces

\*Learn more about hame theatre application aptions using Acaustical Ceiling Tiles in our Acoustical Blog.

Please note: SilentCeiling™ Acoustical Ceiling Tiles are not meant to uphold ceiling products such as recessed lighting. Make sure to install recessed lighting using the grid of the ceiling to support the weight of the lights, not the tiles themselves.\*

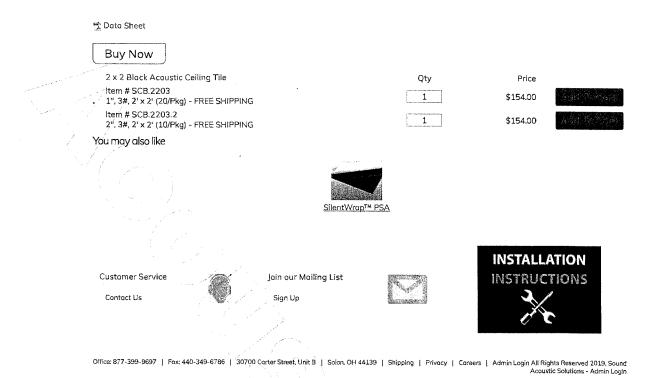
Need a large amount of SilentCeiling™ Acoustical Ceiling Tiles? Call us at 877-399-9697 for a custam wholesale quote!

## Product Info

#### Acaustic Performance

Thickness	pcf					Center Freque			
10 1100 AND TO 1 10 AND TO A SECURE AND A SE		125	250	500	1000	2000	4000	NRC	R-Value
1"	3	0.06	0.25	0.62	0.91	0.99	0.98	0.7	4.3
2"	3	0.18	0.71	1.12	1.12	1.03	1.02	1	8.6
1"	6	0.3	0.34	0.68	0.87	0.97	1.06	0.7	4.3
2"	6	0.39	0.63	1.06	1.13	1.09	1.1	1	8.6

Documentation





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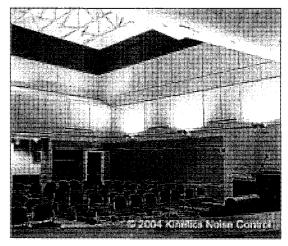
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<u>Home</u> > <u>Interior Room Acoustics</u> > HardSide Acoustical Wall Panels

## Kinetics™

HardSide Acoustical Wall Panels



A combination of great appearance, superior acoustical performance, and design flexibility makes HardSide Acoustical Wall Panels the perfect solution for many interior reverberant noise problems.

The traditional acoustical wall panel, HardSide offers design versatility. A variety of shaped edges and panel thicknesses allow you to design for the desired appearance and acoustics. The perfect solution for many reverberant noise problems this panel offers superior performance in both wall and ceiling applications.

The core of this panel is a 5-7 PCF fiberglass board. The edges are chemically hardened for durability. Fabric facing, from the  $\underline{\mathsf{FR}}$  701 collection from Guilford of Maine or factory-approved, customer-selected fabric, is stretched over the panel, wrapped and bonded around the edges for a crisp, finished look. Vinyl finishes are also available.

Design for panel sizes up to a maximum 4 ft.  $\times$  10 ft. or custom shaped panels with angled or contoured perimeter cuts.

## **Photo Gallery**

Select the image to open a larger view in a new window.



#### Description

A versatile fiberglass acoustical wall panel wrapped in a wide selection of fabrics or vinyls. Available with hardened shaped edges. Engineered sound control with thicknesses from 1 to 4 inches and sizes up to 4 ft.  $\times$  10 ft.

## HardSide Acoustical Wall Panels

W Specification

**Data Sheet** 

## **Fabric Selection**

Guilford of Maine FR701, Style 2100

## **Installation Guidelines**

 **Adhesive Only** 

HS Clips with Adhesive

T Clips with Adhesive

DS-90 Clip

Edgemount Clip

Z-Clip

Z-Clips with Velcro

Z-Clips with Brackets

Velcro & Grip-Lock

Ceiling Panel Installation

Ceiling Panels with Butted Seams (First Panel)

Ceiling Panels with Butted Seams (Middle Panel)

Ceiling Panels with Butted Seams
(Last Panel)

Field-Cut & Rewrap

Inside Corner Field-Cut & Rewrap

Electrial Outlet Extension Installation

Round Hole Field Cut

## **Pricing and Quotations**

Your local Kinetics Interiors
representative will assist you with
pricing and quotations

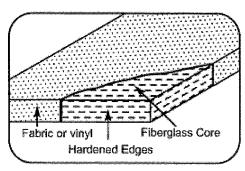
M Tell a Friend

Composition

• 5-7 PCF density fiberglass core

• Chemically hardened edges

 Fabric faced with factory in-stock fabric by <u>Guilford of Maine</u>, or factoryapproved customer-selected material



Click here to E-Mail this page link to a friend

## **Acoustical Performance**

Sound Absorption per ASTM C-423. Type A Mounting

	***************************************						
Frequency, Hz	125	250	500	1000	2000	4000	NRC
1" Thick Panel	0.05	0.32	0.82	1.04	1.02	1.01	0.80
2" Thick Panel	0.29	0.82	1.10	1.04	1.01	1.02	1.00
4" Thick Panel	0.61	1.05	1.11	1.11	1.08	1.04	1.10

## Fire Class Rating

Class A per ASTM E84

## **Applications**

- Interior surfaces where superior acoustical performance is required
- Conference Rooms
- Schools/Classrooms
- Auditoriums
- Media Rooms
- Multi-Purpose Rooms
- Churches
- Office Spaces
- · Reception Areas
- Home Theatres
- Pro Theatres

## Mounting

- HardSide Impaling Clips with Adhesive
- EdgeMount Clips
- Z-Clips movable
- Velcro movable

See <u>HardSide Cloud Panels</u> for ceiling suspension.

## **Edge Options**

Square



Bevel



Radius



Pencil



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#### ALL YOU NEED TO GET THE MOST FROM YOUR PA. NOW WITH COMPLETE CONTROL FROM YOUR MOBILE DEVICE.

The DriveRack® PA2 provides all the processing you need between your mixer and amplifiers to optimize and protect your loudspeakers. With the latest advancements in dbx's proprietary AutoEQ™ and AFS™ algorithms, a new input delay module for delaying the FOH system to the backline, Ethernet control via an Android®, iOS®, Mac®, or Windows® device, and updated Wizards, the DriveRack PA2 continues the DriveRack legacy of great-sounding, powerful, and affordable loudspeaker management processors, for a whole new generation.





#### AUTOEQ™

New, improved AutoEQ algorithm ensures an extremely accurate, fast, and non-intrusive automatic EQ experience.

With the RTA Mic "listening" to your room, the new, updated DriveRack PA2 AutoEQ algorithm sets speaker levels and room EQ automatically in a matter of seconds. This means room adjustments can now be made very quickly, without subjecting the audience to annoying, lengthy broadcasts of pink noise.

#### ENHANCED AFS™ FEEDBACK ELIMINATION

Enhanced AFS™ algorithm for faster, more precise feedback elimination, without adversely aftecting your system's tone.

Nothing turns audiences away like annoying and potentially painful audio feedback Fortunately, dbx engineers have revisited their already-stellar Advanced Feedback Suppression algorithm and made it work even better. The DriveRack PA2 listens for and anticipates feedback and adjusts speaker output automatically before it even has a chance, while never altering your sound.

#### **UPDATED WIZARD SETUP FUNCTIONS**

Updated Wizards make initial set up easy, while ensuring speaker tunings and other settings are up-to-date.

Wizard functions on the DriveRack PA2 guide you through easy, step-by-step processes to help you get the most from your loudspeaker system. Helps you easily configure level balancing, AutoEO, Advanced Feedback Suppression, and provides access to built-in and constantly updating speaker tunings from most major speaker manufacturers.

#### AVAILABLE INPUT PROCESSING

- > dbx Compression
- > AFS™ (Advanced Feedback Suppression)
- Graphic EO
- 8-Band Parametric EQ (adjusted when using the AutoEQ)
- > Subharmonic Synthesis

#### AVAILABLE OUTPUT PROCESSING

- > Crossover (supports full range, 2-way, and 3-way systems)
- > 8-Band Parametric EQs (used for speaker tunings)
- > Driver Alignment Delays

# DriveRack PA2

Complete Loudspeaker Management System

MSRP \$824.94 \$399.95 SAVE \$224.99!

Buy It Now

#### OVERVIEW

经实际会员与优先的组织推荐不具有经验。 SISCHEDATIONS

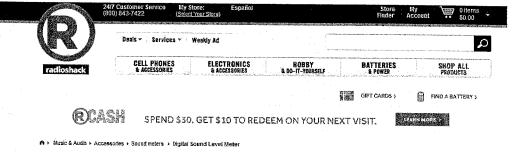






## **Features**

- > All New Setup Wizard
- > Streamlined AutoEQ™
- → All New AFS™ (Advanced Feedback Suppression)
- > Mobile Control (Android®, iOS®, Mac®, Windows®)
- dbx Compression
- Graphic EQ
- > 8-Band Parametric EQ (adjusted when using the AutoEQ) Input
- > Subharmonic Synthesis
- > Crossover (supports full range, 2-way, and 3-way systems)
- > 8-Band Parametric EOs (used for speaker tunings) Output
- > dbx Limiting
- > Driver Alignment Delays





## **Product Summary**

#### Fine-tune your audio.

Fine-tune your PA or stereo systems audio response to match the acoustic environment with this Digital Sound Level Meter. It comes with a carrying case for travel and features an easy-to-read display.

- Carrying case protects the meter when traveling
- Easy-to-read display, sound range 30-130db, digit LCD display
- You can fine-tune your PA or stereo systems audio response to match the acoustic environment

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#### Serrano Solutions

28-07 Jackson Avenue 5th Fl Long Island City NY 11101 Ana@serranosecurity.com

To Whom It May Concern at CB3,

My name is Ana K. Guzman, Co-Founder and Principal of Serano Solutions, a New York State licensed security contracting firm based here in New York City. My business partner & I have a combined experience of 20 years providing a wide range of security services for performance spaces, VIPs, security training, NYC fire code training, bars, restaurants, and high capacity places of assembly. I have known Tom of Jazz Café (FLA Group, LLC) since 2017 and we have worked closely together for many years.

Jazz Café's project at 187 Orchard is a business I am confident my company will be able to keep secure, orderly, and safe during its operation. On the attached floor plan, you can see the area I've highlighted inside the premises that can hold queues for guests inside, an exceptional dedication of square footage in a small space to abate lines & patron chatter. I also know that Jazz Café's past experiences in operating places of assembly mean they are well equipped to manage flows of people entering & exiting in slow, orderly fashions. Since the ground floor area will always be open to the public with free entry, there will also be no crowd-forming traffic jams caused by people shuffling to find ticket barcodes and emails—all tickets will be scanned and/or purchased indoors. This is all to say little of the type of Jazz & art-focused programming Tom & Billy plan on having, which in all my years of experience has attracted a more respectful, quiet, & local audience that any neighborhood would be thrilled to have.

My employees will check IDs at the front door on Orchard Street using ID scanners and years of experience to ensure that no minors are ever within their means to access alcohol. Using the scanners also means that queues, if they form, can be eased efficiently. All of my guards are certified and trained to New York State standards & laws, and every shift will have at least one lead guard with extra training and years of experience to ensure a professional, safe, and pleasant environment for all.

Best,

Ana K. Guzman

and he way



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# The spatial value of live music: Performing, (re)developing and narrating urban spaces



Arno van der Hoeven\*, Erik Hitters

Erasmus Research Centre for Media, Communication and Culture, Erasmus University Rotterdam, the Netherlands

#### ARTICLE INFO

Keywords: Live music Spatial value Urban (re)development Gentrification Urban densification Placemaking

#### ABSTRACT

This paper examines the spatial value of live popular music by adopting an inter-disciplinary approach grounded in urban and music studies. What is understood of the relationship between live music and the built environment is improved, with a focus on how this cultural form contributes to performing, (re)developing and narrating urban spaces. The post-industrial city has become a stage for events that serve a wide range of social, cultural, economic and spatial objectives. However, the densification of the built environment has led to a debate about the extent to which live music's positive outcomes outweigh the nuisance experienced by residents in terms of noise and the unavailability of public spaces. Furthermore, small venues in many cities are struggling with issues of gentrification, implying that the spatial value of music is part of wider concerns about who owns the city and which forms of culture can be produced and consumed in urban centres. Against this background, the paper asks the following questions concerning the spatial value of live music: how can it be defined? What are the challenges to achieving it? How can it be supported in urban planning? The study is grounded in a qualitative content analysis of 24 live music reports and strategies, as well as 10 in-depth interviews with policymakers, festival organisers and venue owners. Also discussed is how the spatial value of live music can be supported in urban policies by building interdisciplinary networks, establishing strategies, and creating and sustaining places for live music events.

## 1. Introduction

This article examines the spatial value of live popular music, with a focus on how this cultural form contributes to performing, (re)developing and narrating urban spaces. Music events occur in diverse places, which vary in terms of their size, organisation and level of professionalism, and include bars and community centres, as well as big festivals and arenas. As we will argue in this paper, live music concerts should not be dismissed as just temporary forms of entertainment: they can have a long-term impact on the built environment and the way in which people experience the urban landscape (Wynn, 2015; Nunes, 2019; Richards, 2017).

In recent years, the role of the cultural form of live music has been more prominent in both the music industries and urban policy. Indeed, as the revenues from recorded music declined, that performed live became central to the former's business models (Mazierska et al., 2020). Roberts (2015, p. 7). This reminds us that recorded and live music have different geographies, with the latter literally requiring more space in cities: "[It] is in urban areas that the live music industry has carved out its augmented geography over the past decade." New venues, like

flagship music arenas, are testament to live music's value in urban development (Kronenburg, 2019). Indeed, the post-industrial city has become a stage for a growing number of events that serve a wide range of goals, including urban branding and increasing cultural vibrancy (Jakob, 2013; Van der Hoeven & Hitters, 2019; Wynn, 2015).

Nevertheless, live music's embeddedness in cities poses multiple spatial challenges: the densification of the built environment has led to a debate about the extent to which live music's positive outcomes outweigh the nuisance caused to residents in terms of noise and, for instance, the accessibility, or even unavailability, of public parks; the privatisation of urban spaces, which constrains the opportunities for live music events to be held in some cities (Cohen, 2007; Kronenburg, 2020); and many musicians and small music venues are struggling to cope with increasing rents (Shaw, 2013). This all suggests that the spatial value of music is part of a wider concern about who owns the city and which forms of culture can be produced and consumed in urban centres (Roberts, 2015; Sassen, 2017). Against this background, this paper answers the following questions in relation to the spatial value of live music: How can it be defined? What are the challenges to achieving it? How can it be supported in urban planning?

<sup>\*</sup> Corresponding author at: Burgemeester Oudlaan 50, 3062 PA Rotterdam, the Netherlands. E-mail addresses: vanderhoeven@eshcc.eur.nl (A. van der Hoeven), hitters@eshcc.eur.nl (E. Hitters).

The project contributes to the development of the concept of live music's spatial value and examines how this can be achieved. It also adds to the field of urban studies by exploring the relationship between live music and the urban space. In doing so, we build on previous research on live music's materiality, geography and architecture (e.g., Wood et al., 2007; Kronenburg, 2019). This enables readers to understand how the connections between musical performances and urban space develop and can be supported. While earlier studies have paid attention to the social, cultural and economic value of live music to cites (Behr et al., 2016a; Van der Hoeven & Hitters, 2019), this project takes a different approach by examining the impact on the built environment in its own right. Our scope is limited to popular styles of live music in cities in order to improve the focus of the study. We do, however, acknowledge that other forms of music have a spatial impact and their performance is not exclusive to cities.

Our article demonstrates that the concept of spatial value is contested and complex, being shaped by a wide range of different actors with conflicting interests. Moreover, the spatial value of live music needs to be understood in relation to wider political and economic forces that affect how and where it is performed and with what effects. These findings are grounded in 10 interviews with event organisers, directors of music venues and real estate experts in the Netherlands. We have also analysed 24 live music reports and strategies from eight different countries.

The next section discusses the existing literature on the relationship between music and urban space, enabling us to conceptualise spatial value. There is then a description of the research project and its methodology, followed by a discussion of the challenges to achieving spatial value. This distinguishes between the impact of and on the urban environment in which live music is embedded. Finally, we address how spatial value can be supported in urban planning and policymaking. Here, we discuss three vital steps for strengthening urban live music ecologies: 1) building inter-disciplinary networks; 2) establishing urban strategies; and 3) creating and sustaining places for live music.

#### 2. Conceptualising spatial value

This section provides a conceptualisation of spatial value that is grounded in the existing literature on the relationship between music and the built environment. The concept of 'value' is used to achieve an understanding of the various benefits of urban live music ecologies, which can be understood as the networks of venues, festivals and social actors that support live music performances (Behr et al., 2016a; Van der Hoeven & Hitters, 2019). The importance of the intrinsic value of live music as an end in itself should be understood before turning to the values of live music ecologies. This intrinsic value is a necessary condition for realising any of music's more instrumental effects (Behr et al., 2016b). In other words, our discussion of the uses of live music in cities is not intended to deny the rich personal, communal and aesthetic experiences involved in the enjoyment of this cultural form.

The spatial value of live music is understood as an addition to three other values that have been defined in earlier research (Van der Hoeven & Hitters, 2019): 1) social value refers to live music's contribution to social relationships (i.e., social capital), the public engagement of live music organisations (e.g., charity, volunteering and activities for the neighbourhood) and a sense of identity; 2) cultural value is connected to musical creativity, talent development and cultural vibrancy in cities; and 3) economic value concerns financial benefits and the relevance of live music for cities in monetary terms (e.g., increased tourism and job growth).

Conceptualising spatial value is necessary if there is to be a more comprehensive understanding of how live music shapes, and is shaped by, urban spaces. As we will argue in this literature review, live music's spatial value concerns the relationship between live music and the built environment, as constituted by the dimensions of performing, (re)developing and narrating the urban space (see Table 1).

#### 2.1. Performing urban space

According to Adhitya (2017), the city is a stage for urban performances. The architecture and urban design shape the rhythms of our movements, just like music. Urban planners, Adhitya explains, compose how we go about our everyday lives in urban spaces. The literature in this section of our article supports the argument that music has an impact on how cities are used and performed (Connell & Gibson, 2003). Indeed, the musical activities taking place in dedicated venues or the urban environment, with street music (Bennett & Rogers, 2014; Bywater, 2007) and festivals being examples (Kronenburg, 2020), shape how we experience urban space.

Arguably, one of the most significant places in people's experiences of music are the stages where performers and audiences meet. Here, we can make a distinction between festivals as temporary stages and permanent bricks and mortar venues.1 In relation to the former, Wynn (2015) observes a trend of festivalisation, in which an increasing number of temporary events are organised to achieve different spatial, socio-cultural, symbolic (e.g., urban branding) and economic objectives. Festivals often provide a spatio-temporal platform for alternative lifestyles (Friesen et al., 2014; Kearns, 2014), addressing issues of inclusivity (e.g., all-age festivals and openness to cultural diversity) and sustainability (e.g., waste reduction). Wynn identifies three different spatial patterns for festivals, with varying levels of spatial control and consolidation. These include the citadel pattern in a bounded space with a single event, the more open core pattern, in which activities take place in and around a particular area, and the confetti pattern, where events are spread about a city in diverse locations. Fenced-off festivals in particular, which each have their own stage lay-outs and facilities, can be experienced as a different world (Kearns, 2014). In contrast, those without fences have a stronger connection to their urban surroundings. In terms of venues, Kronenburg (2011, 2019) makes a useful distinction between adopted, adapted and dedicated buildings for musical performances. Adopted venues are places that are not intended to be used for music events, but can be if only a few changes are made to an existing building. In the case of adapted venues, the original building is modified significantly, while dedicated venues are, in contrast, specifically designed and built as places for musical performances.

It is clear that the physical locations where music is performed greatly affect the relationship between live music and the built environment. In a study of the connections between performance and the geography of music, Wood et al. (2007: 869) argue that musical activities have a strong material dimension: "Music making is a material practice: it is embodied and technologised; it is staged; it takes place." Different event and building types each have their drawbacks and benefits; for example, the main problem with using existing buildings for live music is that they are not normally designed to optimise acoustics and service the needs of audiences. An advantage, however, is that they do not have to take the usually larger economic risks associated with dedicated music venues, which require significant investment (Kronenburg, 2019). Furthermore, adapted buildings like factories actually often add to the atmosphere of a concert through their character and historical associations (Bottà, 2012; Kronenburg, 2019). Indeed, the venue's materiality in terms of smell, size, temperature and building materials shapes the live music experience (Behr et al., 2016a).

Notwithstanding the specificities of individual venues, it is the diversity of music stages that ultimately matters for a city's live music ecology (Webster & Behr, 2013). As Mercado-Celis (2017) reminds us, the different stages form a spatially-dispersed network of both public and private actors. Rather than focusing on individual stages, his focus is on the mobilities between them. Indeed, the career of a musician can be understood as a spatial trajectory through the city, progressively

 $<sup>^{\</sup>rm 1}$  However, it should be noted that festivals can, of course, also take place inside venues.

Table 1
Three dimensions of live music's spatial value.

	Performing urban spaces	(Re)developing urban spaces	Narrating urban spaces
Definition	The physical uses of space to stage concerts (Connell & Gibson, 2003; Kronenburg, 2019) and create musical pathways (Finnegan, 2007).	The role of live music in making and regenerating space (Cohen, 2013; Roberts, 2015; Richards, 2017; Wynn, 2015).	Live music as part of the stories told about cities.
Key activities	Communities claiming spaces, music in the public space (e.g., street music) and identification with music spaces.	Place-making activities, partnerships between live music organisations and organisations focused on urban development.	Urban branding, media attention, popular music heritage (Bottà, 2008; Lashua, Cohen & Schofield, 2009; Van der Hoeven, 2018).

moving from small and informal types of musical activity to more formal organisations (Cohen, 2012).

Finnegan's (2007) concept of musical pathways enables an understanding of how music becomes part of the urban landscape. In her work, Finnegan focuses on amateur musicians, whose pathways consist of musical landmarks like places where they have rehearsed and performed (e.g., studios and music venues). These pathways are often invisible to others, but nevertheless have great meaning to specific groups or people:

"Such pathways form one important - if often unstated - framework for people's participation in urban life, something overlapping with, but more permanent and structured than, the personal networks in which individuals also participate. They form broad routes set out, as it were, across and through the city." (Finnegan, 2007: 323)

Although Finnegan developed the concept of musical pathways by studying amateur musicians, it is also relevant for understanding how other groups make sense of their urban experience through music (Espinosa, 2016). As an example, music is vital for migrants negotiating a collective identity in a new urban environment, which they do through performances and the creation of social spaces (Sánchez-Fuarros, 2013). A study of the Pasifika Festival in Auckland demonstrates its role in the identity-building of migrants from the Pacific islands, promoting wellbeing and celebrating the contributions of Pacific peoples to the socio-cultural life of the city in which they now reside (Friesen et al., 2014).

Musical pathways are not static (Cohen, 2012): they evolve through changes in music scenes, artistic developments and new sounds brought about by migration. In that sense, places are relational, since they develop through connections to other localities (Andrews et al., 2014). Similarly, festivals bring a wide range of global influences and styles together in a bounded space (Kearns, 2014). In raising awareness of the evolving musical histories of cities, Cohen (2007:10) argues that urban spaces are marked by the physical and affective traces of the musical past, which turn the material environment into a "palimpsest space that offers chronological layers of musical significance, one superimposed upon another, with new layers coexisting with, rather than effacing, the earlier ones." Cities are thus a rich setting for personal and collective memories associated with music-making and consumption. Urban trajectories become meaningful through, for example, songs about specific streets, knowledge of the location of album cover photos, and memorable concerts (Bottà, 2008; Brunow, 2019; Espinosa, 2016).

Similarly, the diverse urban spaces used for music performances are rich in meanings for audiences and participants in music scenes. Over the years, they are imbued with particular ideologies and memories, offering a sense of place to specific communities (Wood et al., 2007; Andrews et al., 2014). Alternative do-it-yourself scenes have always been drawn to undesirable and disbanded places like vacant factories, squats or the tunnels used for raves (Connell & Gibson, 2003; Kronenburg, 2020). Underground music scenes, which set themselves apart from society's 'mainstream', often find their way to a city's hidden spaces, where they can avoid the control and surveillance taking place in the public realm (Brunner, 2013). As Bottà (2012, p. 123) argues

about the use of urban space by the punk sub-culture:

"Punk scenes in industrial cities were able to rearticulate the private vacant industrial spaces, into public ones, both materially (by gathering in them) and at the imaginary level (by using them in pictures, lyrics and sounds). However, they also occupied public spaces and made them 'private', winning them as sub-cultural territories."

While many venues have their roots in sub-cultural movements and youth culture, the relatively recent phenomenon of new dedicated buildings for live popular music marks a shift in its ideological underpinnings (Kronenburg, 2019). Large arenas not only provide an improved experience for both audiences and artists; they also serve wider goals associated with their flagship status, such as attracting tourists and city branding (Holt & Wergin, 2013). In this case, music venues have developed from counter-cultural spaces to highly professional organisations that are used as valuable instruments by urban planning authorities to promote their city. This role of music in urban development is discussed further in the next section.

#### 2.2. Developing urban space

The effects of live music performances reverberate beyond the venues and festivals where they take place, leaving an impact on their urban surroundings. Places where music is performed attract social and cultural activity in their vicinity, thus becoming social hubs for groups of people or central nodes in particular creative networks (Cohen, 2007; Florida & Jackson, 2010).

Music events are often used in placemaking efforts to improve the quality of a location (Richards, 2017; Wynn, 2015). According to Kronenburg (2020: 139), live popular music concerts can be a catalyst for change by transforming the familiar:

"The location takes on a different character – it becomes, temporarily, a different sort of space, a place that is activated by the shared experience of an audience engaging together with a performer. Rather than a place of transition (to move through from one place to another), it becomes a place to linger (to wait and watch)."

In post-industrial cities grappling with urban decay and a loss of social cohesion, cultural experiences, festivals and mega-events therefore became one of the tools used by urban planners to regenerate a location (Hitters, 2007; Jakob, 2013).

Many post-industrial cities redefined themselves as centres of experience, consumption, creativity and cultural activity in order to attract a population of middle-class professionals with sufficient spending power (Brown et al., 2000; Cohen, 2013; Holt & Wergin, 2013; Jakob, 2013). In this context of competition between cities, the staging of experiences has resulted in an 'eventification' of place. It has also had the effect that experience-based planning schemes not only include as vital assets investments in hard infrastructure, but also a full and diverse events calendar (Jakob, 2013; Marlet, 2010). Indeed, popular music events can enhance the (inter)national reputation of a city (Kearns, 2014) and provide economic advantages, particularly when

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one of its concert locations is included in the world tours of high-profile artists (Baker, 2017; Short et al., 1996). Urban regeneration has thus provided an important rationale for investing in a thriving live music ecology, as it supports urban branding, tourism and gentrification (Bottà, 2008). Venues in landmark buildings designed by 'starchitects' further bolster these economic goals (Van Schaik, 2018). Along with this physical music infrastructure, festivals are increasingly used as temporary events to stimulate sociocultural, economic and spatial objectives (Nunes, 2019; Van der Hoeven & Hitters, 2019). Venues and festivals are therefore often located strategically in derelict neighbourhoods, with the aim being to make them more attractive to future investors and developers. In doing so, live music puts places on the mental maps of potential residents, tourists and property investors.

Although this implies that live music is now a solid aspect of urban policies, various researchers have actually raised awareness of the negative consequences of using music in places under development. Wynn and Yetis-Bayraktar (2016: 204) state that the "the marriage of music culture and urban placemaking" results in a commercialization of urban life, for example in the case of the corporate branding of music festivals. Consequently, places allegedly become so polished and sterile that this is hard to reconcile with popular notions of creativity and authenticity (Cohen, 2007). Furthermore, due to rising rents in gentrifying areas ironically often the places popularised by creatives - musicians and small-scale venues are struggling to make ends meet (Gibson and Homan, 2004; Grodach, 2012). As Roberts (2015: 2) argues, music is often used in a process of normalisation that benefits commercial and state actors in a city:

"An exploration of the process of normalisation involves a critical examination of music's relationship with forms of urban hegemony and the processes though which hegemonic actors both shape and benefit from the production of uneven urban geographies. [...] I theorise urban normalisation as a set of spatial processes which reproduce the dominant position of both commercial and state actors within the city."

In his research, Roberts documents how particular music styles (e.g., indie music) have been normalised in the city of Birmingham, while the cultural expressions of disadvantaged youth (e.g., grime) are marginalised. Writing about a festival in Lisbon, Nunes (2019) finds that cultural expressions associated with the margins of the city, like graffiti and slams between rappers, can actually also be brought to upper-class neighbourhoods during official events. In this case, the culture of minorities (e.g., migrants and LGBTQ people) is institutionalised. Nunes (2019: 160) describes this as practices of 'social control', whereby the cultural expressions of marginalised groups are brought centre-stage "to keep the center far away from the margin." This illustrates how music's role in urban development is connected to the representation of different groups and their socio-spatial identities.

#### 2.3. Narrating urban space

As well as using and developing urban space, live music also plays a role in how cities are represented and imagined through narratives. Music performances, venues and festivals are part of the stories that are told about cities by media, local governments and citizens. Narratives give meaning to places by connecting their past, present and future (Jensen, 2007; Van der Hoeven, 2018). Urban branding and heritage activities are discussed in this article as two narrative practices in which live music often figures prominently. In both cases, it is important to acknowledge the multiplicity of narratives and the range of 'story-tellers' involved, including official actors (e.g., urban marketing departments) and grassroots initiatives (e.g., city guides) (Brunow, 2019). Furthermore, narratives can also use a range of media (e.g., social media, documentaries and radio shows) to mark spaces as connected to localised meanings and identities (Maalsen & McLean, 2016; Wood et al., 2007).

Urban regeneration is not just about physical interventions in cities; it also has important intangible dimensions such as the ways in which urban spaces are narrated and perceived. So, in order to develop derelict neighbourhoods, for example, it is vital that they are considered to be potentially attractive places in which to live, visit, or invest. Urban branding uses positive representations of a city to shape such perceptions, foregrounding the possibilities of a particular place. Bottà (2008), for instance, explains how Helsinki was portrayed in its urban branding as a 'rock city' with a lively underground scene. This way of narrating the city aimed to also put 'non-tourist districts' on the map as interesting places to visit, thus diversifying how it is understood. According to Bottà (2008: 310), this helps to overcome a division between a "culturally loaded city centre" and its "not culturally loaded" surroundings: "The city's cultural territory is extended well beyond the usual borders, both in a symbolic and geographic dimension." Similarly, cultural events such as festivals can be used to increase the awareness and appeal of particular urban areas for future development: for example, the European Union's European Capital of Culture programme uses cultural events in its urban branding of cities (Cohen, 2013).

Such urban branding practices often tie in with the popular music heritage of cities (Oakes & Warnaby, 2011), which relates to the tangible and intangible elements of the music cultures with which people identify and seek to preserve and pass on to future generations (Bennett, 2009). Examples are venues with a strong legacy and particular festivals that have become annual traditions. The popular music heritage of cities can be narrated through mediums like tourist brochures, exhibitions and documentaries. This heritage fosters a sense of belonging and place attachment (Van der Hoeven & Brandellero, 2015). Indeed, the heritage value of a venue can be an argument for its preservation when it is threatened by encroaching development or gentrification (Ross, 2017).

It is vital to recognise the plurality of narratives associated with a place in relation to both music's role in urban branding and music heritage (Brunow, 2019; Jensen, 2007). Otherwise, the dominant narratives of a city overshadow other representations and understandings of value. In Liverpool, for example, the histories associated with three popular music venues (the Cavern Club, Eric's Club and Cream) dominate accounts of its popular music heritage:

"These venues provide landmarks that have come to represent significant moments in Liverpool's musical heritage, linked closely to the city's social, cultural and economic landscapes during the 1960s, 1970s and 1990s." (Lashua et al., 2009).

The authors argue that this perspective neglects other narratives, such as those associated with minorities or emerging scenes. Similarly, Mercado-Celis (2017) contends that memories are often attached to iconic venues, meaning that the rich musical activities taking place outside the central neighbourhoods are overlooked.

Acknowledging the plurality of narratives is essential, because these representations feed back into how cities are performed and developed. The urban branding and popular music heritage of cities become part of people's musical pathways and the promotion of neighbourhoods. The stories told about cities thus ultimately shape how they are redeveloped and for whom, suggesting that the three dimensions of live music's spatial value are interrelated and dynamic.

## 3. Background to the study

This study is part of a bigger project on live music, and builds on our earlier research on its social and cultural values in an urban context (Van der Hoeven & Hitters, 2019). That research involved an analysis

 $<sup>^2\</sup>mbox{See}$  the project website www.poplive.nl for further information about the project.

of 20 live music strategies and policy documents from different countries. The documents revealed how diverse actors (e.g., local governments, consultancy firms and music industry organisations) understand the value of live music and the ways in which it can be supported. Our analysis identified the emergence of a separate value representing the impact of live music on our experiences of urban spaces, and this has therefore been conceptualised further in the current study.

We have added four reports to our previous sample (Appendix A). We have also conducted 10 in-depth interviews with event organisers, directors of venues hosting popular music and real estate experts (Appendix B). A purposive sampling strategy was adopted to select respondents with relevant expertise on the issues arising from our research questions. In particular, we aimed to have a diverse sample to reflect the interdisciplinary nature of the notion of spatial value itself. These interviews allowed us to achieve a more in-depth understanding of the connections between live music and the built environment. In accordance with our university's ethical guidelines, we agreed to not disclose the respondents' names.

The reports and interviews were subjected to a thematic analysis using the qualitative data analysis software, Atlas.ti. Our analysis was informed by the ecological approach to live music adopted in our project. This is a holistic perspective on urban live music ecologies, with the focus on the relationships between different actors, both in and outside the live music sector (Behr et al., 2016a; Van der Hoeven & Hitters, 2019). In particular, we concentrated on the different factors that enable and constrain spatial value. These were coded using an open-coding strategy in which we labelled relevant segments from the text (Boeije, 2010). In the next step of the axial coding, we grouped related codes and created categories, before going on to integrate the results. This produced several main themes, which we discuss in this paper (see Table 2). Our analysis is used to examine challenges to spatial value (i.e., the impact of and on the environment) and measures to support it (i.e., building networks, establishing strategies and creating and sustaining places for live music performances).

#### 4.1. Impact of the environment

The changing uses of urban space around live music stages has a significant effect on the opportunities to perform. In the process of gentrification, affluent people and businesses find their way to popular neighbourhoods. This leads to rising rents, which is particularly challenging to grassroots venues working with small budgets (Webster et al., 2018). The following quote from Rotterdam's popular music policy illustrates how the growing popularity of this city puts pressure on cultural uses of urban space:

"This city used to have sufficient affordable spaces for artists and other creatives. However, the development of Rotterdam and its growing popularity has an impact on the real estate market." (City Government of Rotterdam, 2019: 17)<sup>3</sup>

The Mastering of a Music City report, published by the International Federation of the Phonographic Industry (IFPI) and Music Canada to support musical activities in cities, argues that this development might result in fewer opportunities to perform:

"In many areas, redevelopment has led to the closure of iconic venues – even some world famous ones – that draw tourists. This has a two-fold negative impact. First, it threatens to eliminate key differentiators that help a city stand out. Second, it reduces the spaces available for performance, impacting the overall level of live music activity." (Terrill et al., 2015: 84)

Even though culture has a positive social and cultural impact on cities, it is difficult to sustain cultural venues in an environment focused on commercial gain. Residences have a higher return on investment than cultural uses, with the consequence that the number of affordable buildings available for cultural functions falls. According to Shaw (2013: 351): "The driving neoliberal imperative for highest and best use of land is anathema to creative subcultures." As a real estate expert explains in the following quotation, the profits from buildings are more important to private developers than their wider cultural impact:

Table 2 Main research findings.

Main themes	Dimensions	Manifestations in the data
Challenges to achieving spatial	Impact of the environment	• Gentrification
value		Lack of affordable spaces
		Lack of activity around venues
	Impact on the environment	Noise issues
		<ul> <li>Unavailability of public spaces during events</li> </ul>
		Negative impact on flora and fauna
Supporting spatial value	Building networks	<ul> <li>Connecting actors with different interests and identifying common ground</li> </ul>
		<ul> <li>Creating interdisciplinary networks through lobbying by music advisory boards</li> </ul>
	Establishing strategies	Mapping live music stages
		Creating dedicated policies
		<ul> <li>Allocating resources and having a single point of contact at town halls</li> </ul>
	Creating and sustaining places for	Securing spaces and finding under-used spaces
	live music	<ul> <li>Including music in the plans for new developments</li> </ul>
		<ul> <li>Addressing noise issues (e.g., the agent of change principle, informing prospective neighbours, and mediation between venues and neighbours)</li> </ul>
		<ul> <li>Measures to mitigate the effects of gentrification (i.e., supporting socio-cultural values instead of maximising profits; imposing conditions when selling buildings)</li> </ul>
		<ul> <li>Using special designations (i.e., a heritage status or creating entertainment precincts)</li> </ul>

## 4. Challenges to achieving spatial value

The spatial value of live music emerges in the interplay between live music stages and its urban environment, which is both enabling and constraining. Live music always takes place *somewhere* and so is affected by its environment. As a result, this section discusses the challenges to achieving spatial value, distinguishing between the impact *of* and *on* the urban environment in which live music is embedded.

"That's a vital difference between commercial developers and what we do in the projects commissioned by municipalities. For a commercial developer, the value of the spin-off is in fact value for someone else, unless they can develop a lot around the plot as well." (Interviewee 9, real estate consultant)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> All Dutch quotations have been translated by the authors.

In other words, unless there is a recognition that culture may actually increase the appeal of a place, there is no great commercial incentive to invest in less profitable cultural uses.

These challenges of gentrification are most likely to arise in popular areas in central districts. In contrast, venues in less popular neighbourhoods may have the opposite problem of a lack of activity around their buildings. Mixed uses in areas are thus essential for generating enough vibrancy and street level activity (Brown et al., 2000). Less accessible public transport may also be an issue in the urban periphery, where there are also fewer bars and restaurants. Indeed, it has been found that the (lack of) availability of parking spaces and public transport options at night affects decisions about whether to go to concerts (Whiting & Carter, 2016).

#### 4.2. Impact on the environment

The popularity of inner-city living increases densification, causing tensions between residents and live music activities (Shaw, 2013). As argued in the Mastering of a Music City report (Terrill, Hogarth, Clement & Francis, 2015: 41): "Beyond the challenge of gentrification, [...] the music businesses that initially made an area attractive are often perceived as unwanted neighbours." Indeed, the issue of noise is a recurring theme in both the reports and interviews analysed for our study. Open-air concerts or performances in venues with poor sound insulation often cause a nuisance to residents. Even the loading and unloading of equipment can cause problems, as this venue owner explains:

"In every new venue, trucks can park inside to load and unload. Well, we don't have that and you know for a fact that people, even if they haven't been drinking, they have performed, they will have a beer or just sit with a soft drink. As soon as they pack their stuff it's already past midnight. Well, then they're standing outside, actually shouting because they've been in a noisy environment the whole night." (Interviewee 4, director of a music venue)

Beyond noise, concerts can also cause parking problems in neighbourhoods or lead to anti-social behaviour by attendees. Indeed, regardless of whether these issues are actually relevant, venues often have a negative reputation, making residents hesitant about live music activities.

Open-air concerts in public parks and on greenfields cause a specific set of problems. In Rotterdam, for example, there are discussions about the unavailability of public parks because of the growing number of festivals, with commercial events in particular meaning that these locations are no longer accessible to residents for the duration of a festival (Venema, 2019). Furthermore, some have concerns about the negative impact of live music on flora and fauna; for example, festival sites can experience damage to plants and wildlife may be disturbed (Webster & McKay, 2016).

## 5. Supporting the spatial value of live music

The previous section demonstrates that spatial value cannot be taken for granted and is not self-evident. Indeed, if live music's spatial embedding is to be enhanced, its values need to be recognised by, among others, residents and urban developers. The following sections therefore discuss how the spatial value of live music can be supported in urban planning and policymaking by building inter-disciplinary networks, establishing strategies, and sustaining places for live music.

#### 5.1. Building networks

Providing support for spatial value requires a multifaceted approach, because the dimensions of performing, developing and narrating the urban space rely on a wide range of different actors. As well as physical facilities, cultural industries need a 'soft infrastructure' that

connects people and organisations (Brown et al., 2000: 447). Urban live music ecologies have a networked structure, in which different actors participate to value live music (Van der Hoeven et al., 2020). This involves negotiation with people inside the music sector (e.g., bookers and managers), as well actors in other domains (e.g., regulators and policymakers) (Behr et al., 2016a). Spatial value can be linked to different departments, even within local governments. According to Rotterdam's music strategy (2019: 8):

"Popular music (pop culture) connects not only different parties or cultural makers, but also different policy domains: culture, spatial planning, economy, city marketing, tourism, wellbeing, youth, education and integration."

These different departments can have conflicting interests, such as supporting talent development (culture), increasing the housing stock (spatial planning) and tourism (economy and city marketing), or improving citizens' social capital (wellbeing, youth, education and integration).

Our analysis found that supporting live music's spatial value requires people and organisations to find common ground between the interests of actors within diverse networks, including those like policymakers, business and the cultural industries (Grodach, 2012). Although the actors in these urban networks may have different goals, they often share an attachment to a city. Various respondents stressed that a shared sense of pride in local accomplishments is a good starting point for conversations about the value of culture.

"Not everyone's interested in [the value of culture] of course. That has to do with education as well. I mean, I'm not going into that issue, but I do try to show how it can benefit them. For me, the most important thing is what it can mean for the city. That's the common denominator, the way of getting different parties together. Why are we doing this? Not for ourselves, but for the city." (Interviewee 5, creative producer)

"Interviewer: In the policy plan it said you told companies about the contribution of culture to urban development. I guess that's not an easy story to tell?"

Respondent: Well, we focused on the gut feeling, the sense of pride in the city that many companies also have. We were trying to address this gut feeling: 'we're located here in this legendary neighbourhood, which has reached its nadir, a no-go zone at the moment. We're going to do pioneering work and you're going to help. We're going to make it better again by means of a theatre.' That's what we really focused on. Of course, it helped [that] they knew me and, I guess, trusted me." (Interviewee 6, director of a theatre)

Of course, connecting the interests of different actors through a shared attachment to a place is only possible if the people involved identify with it. For this reason, some interviewees stressed the risks posed by foreign investors, who may buy buildings without feeling responsible for the direct surroundings. Similarly, event organisers based in a city away from where, for example, a festival is taking place might be less inclined to care about the concerns of local actors. It is, however, important to invest in the relationship with a neighbourhood if complaints are to be avoided and the social impact of events enhanced. Indeed, there is a need to also include residents in any multidisciplinary networks. Our respondents stressed the importance of communication about activities and, if possible, involving residents in any planning. This is a long-term process, because there is a risk of losing support without pro-active communication in the early phases of projects. One real estate expert discussed how residents may use social media to protest about new venues:

"All of a sudden there might be a neighbourhood coalition against your plans. If that's the time you start your communication, it's already 0–3 to them, let's say." (Interviewee 3, senior project manager real estate sector)

A common strategy for representing the interests of the music sector in these networks is to establish music advisory boards and/or appoint night mayors or night czars. Such boards are advocacy organisations comprised of a range of actors from within the music sector, while night mayors or night czars are individuals who liaise between different stakeholders in the night-time economy (e.g., venues, residents and local government). The Mastering of a Music City report argues that music advisory boards have three core functions: creating a consensus within the music sector, providing advice on regulation and acting as a contact point for stakeholders:

"[I]f there is no consensus and collaboration in the music community, it is inevitably harder for governments to understand the unique challenges faced by the sector, and governments will be far less motivated to make positive changes." (Terrill et al., 2015: 66)

In other words, music boards can be central actors in linking the various stakeholders involved in negotiating the spatial value of live music.

#### 5.2. Establishing strategies

In the view of our respondents, the challenges discussed in this paper require long-term strategies: without dedicated policies on the connections between music and the urban space, the availability of stages for events is often at risk, as discussed above. City strategies on popular music help to ensure that new talent has the space to experiment and be inspired by other musicians. Of course, the music advisory boards discussed in the previous section can also play a vital role in establishing such strategies.

An important starting point is to map the places that currently exist for performances (Terrill, Hogarth, Clement & Francis, 2015). This allows stock to be taken of the diversity of stages in terms of venue size, genres and location. This data can be substantiated by interviews with relevant stakeholders in order to understand the challenges present in specific live music ecologies. This provides insight into how, for example, various regulations, including those related to parking permits, opening hours and alcohol licences, can have an impact on music businesses.

A strategy can propose specific policies and financial measures based on a needs assessment. A common policy instrument is to use subsidies, tax-breaks or micro-loans to sustain specific segments of music ecologies. These are particularly useful for supporting the grassroots level of the music sector. Showcase festivals, award shows, small venues and talent development organisations are important for emerging musicians wanting to develop their skills and build-up a following. However, organisations focusing on young musicians tend to operate on small budgets, as is also the case for music organisations with a social mission that involves community work.

It is helpful to have a dedicated department or music office within a municipality when it comes to implementing any music strategy. A single point of contact makes it easier for the music community to navigate regulatory issues (Terrill, Hogarth, Clement & Francis, 2015), while such a department can also oversee a city's music policy and liaise with the relevant board. Some cities even have a specific department focusing on events. In Rotterdam, for example, Rotterdam Festivals supports cultural organisations by conducting research on audiences, managing the festival calendar, providing subsidies and sharing relevant information. They have also created location profiles that contain conditions and instructions on how specific spaces in the city can be used for events.

Notwithstanding the importance of a music strategy, our analysis has demonstrated that there is a sense of contingency in how this is actually played out in cities. Of course, not everything can be approached from the top down. Indeed, in reality, a music strategy needs to support the bottom-up creativity of cultural entrepreneurs and organisations. Ultimately, it is the music community that is best placed to

connect to audiences and their tastes, not a municipality. Furthermore, the contingency of achieving spatial value follows on from the reliance on wider political and economic conditions. Of course, investments in culture require political support from city councils. In this context, culture is in competition with other policy domains like healthcare and housing, making it more difficult to allocate money to culture at times of economic austerity. Nevertheless, to some extent, the 2007–2010 financial crisis also proved to be helpful for realising spatial value. The following quote exemplifies how there were more empty spaces available for temporary use, such as pop-up programmes on cultural events:

"The financial crisis meant that commercial property developers and investors couldn't carry on with the transformation of buildings, because they weren't able to acquire the necessary loan capital. This meant that all those buildings owned by investors, developers and social housing corporations were put on hold. Well, so if you had a good network [as an organisation supporting creative incubators], you could make deals with commercial developers." (Interviewee 3, senior project manager, real estate sector)

Similarly, a director of a venue in an adapted building commissioned by the local municipality explains how construction companies worked for much lower prices during the financial crisis:

"The local government was able to get this venue at a good time. They invited the tenders almost 11 years ago. This was exactly the moment the financial crisis began, so all the construction companies were looking for work. This meant they were willing to work for lower amounts. The local government got a very nice building for relatively little money." (Interviewee 10, director of a music venue)

During subsequent periods of economic growth, the number of vacant spaces declined again, making it more difficult to find cheap areas for the performance of culture. At the same time, the many new developments in a booming property market compound the existing pressure on the urban space. The final section of this article will therefore focus on how places for performing live music can be created and sustained.

#### 5.3. Creating and sustaining places for performing live music

As discussed in the literature review, the spatial value dimension of performing in the urban space relies on the availability of music stages. As a result, the most important way of supporting spatial value is creating and sustaining such spaces. Of course, this vision should be part of the music strategy discussed above. This will be discussed separately in this final section, given its key role in supporting spatial value. Creating and sustaining places for live music goes beyond music and cultural policy, influenced as this is by urban planning decisions. This section will consequently focus on opportunities to secure spaces, address noise issues, limit gentrification and introduce special designations for live music spaces.

The strategies discussed in the previous section begin with the mapping of the places that already exist for the performance of live music. The results of such an inventory may highlight the need to identify new spaces where venues can be created or festivals hosted. One way of doing this is to use government-managed buildings for creative purposes (Hollands, 2019). Amsterdam, for example, facilitates cultural breeding spaces as a way to retain cultural activities in the gentrifying city (Shaw, 2013). Another approach is the mapping of underused spaces, with areas marked for future development lent to live music organisations on a temporary basis, but for enough time to ensure that investments can be recouped by cultural entrepreneurs. Music can also form part of new urban developments right from the start, but it is essential that cultural spaces are included in initial plans and negotiations, otherwise the incentive is for commercial developers to focus on more profitable residential spaces. As the literature review on developing the urban space demonstrates, live music can increase the appeal of new developments. This is underscored by the following respondent, who talks about a neighbourhood which, in her view, lacks cultural facilities:

"Nothing happens there, only living and working. Not even working, almost only residential buildings in fact. It's a really sleepy neighbourhood, which should really be avoided. Mixed neighbourhoods are important." (Interviewee 5, creative producer)

Similarly, live music can also be taken into consideration in the construction of public spaces (Auckland UNESCO City of Music, 2018; Live Music Taskforce, 2017), for example by installing a base level of infrastructure for outdoor concerts.

Noise issues are the most common problem when it comes to existing spaces for live music, as discussed in the section concerning the challenges that must be faced before achieving spatial value. It is increasingly recognised that encroaching residential developments pose a threat to the cultural life of cities. This requires measures to ensure that music spaces and residents can co-exist relatively peacefully in urban environments. Tensions can sometimes be resolved by mediation between venues and neighbours, or by ensuring that prospective purchasers of homes are told in advance about how these spaces are used. Burke and Schmidt (2013), for example, discuss an approach that real estate agents can adopt to enable potential buyers to listen to the soundscapes in an entertainment precinct. A more structural solution is the Agent of Change principle (Ross, 2017; Shaw, 2013), which has been adopted in Australia and the United Kingdom. This urban planning measure puts the responsibility for addressing sound issues on the newcomer to an area (i.e., the agent of change), rather than on those in charge of existing cultural spaces, which should prevent the closure of long-standing venues after complaints from neighbours in new residential buildings.

Another important way of supporting existing live music spaces is to mitigate the negative consequences of gentrification. As discussed in the literature review, live music can play a vital role in place-making and increasing the appeal of an area. However, the risk is that these cultural organisations are forced out after rents rise. Using case studies in Melbourne, Shaw (2013: 349) argues that city councils must make a choice between maximising land value or supporting socio-cultural goals:

"They can pursue the usual urban renewal/economic development strategy, which creates a safer environment for capital investment and increases opportunities for residential development, in which case the indie creative subcultures that both councils celebrate will be displaced far more rapidly and effectively than they anticipate. Or they can grapple with the possibility that maximising the value of land in their municipality not be their primary objective."

Even if local governments are selling buildings to private parties, they can include conditions on the ways in which they will be used. As an example, contracts, zoning plans or ground lease conditions could incorporate requirements that spaces need to fulfil cultural functions. Alternatively, successful cultural organisations in an area can be encouraged to remain by enabling them to buy their building, perhaps as a co-op where different organisations work together (Hollands, 2019).

Finally, live music spaces can be protected by changing the ways in which they are classified. This can be done by recognising the unique contributions made by a building or area to the social and cultural life of cities. As discussed in the literature review, the dimension of narrating the urban space underscores how urban branding and heritage activities give meaning to the built environment. Venues with a strong public impact and history could be given a similar building

classification as theatres, or even a heritage designation status. However, while the latter solution protects the building itself, the continuation of music activities will still rely on the occupants or the owner of the building (Terrill et al., 2015). Furthermore, some governments have a protected status for buildings of community value, such as the Asset of Community Value process in the UK (Davyd et al., 2015). It is also possible to define entire areas as entertainment districts using zoning plans. These can have a higher sound tolerance, longer opening hours for venues and special parking permits for musicians (Terrill et al., 2015). An advantage is that many of the nuisance issues are then concentrated in a particular area, making them easier to control. Moreover, the different organisations can engage in shared promotional activities, making the area attractive to potential visitors. However, an important drawback of concentrated entertainment districts is that many parts of a city can be left with no provision for live music (Burke & Schmidt, 2013). Certainly, social and spatial links between different areas are essential to cater for diverse urban communities in a thriving urban live music ecology (Brown et al., 2000; Mercado-Celis, 2017).

#### 6. Conclusions and discussion

The aim of this study has been to conceptualise the spatial value of live music and explore how it can be supported through cultural policies and urban planning. Taking an interdisciplinary approach, the paper contributes to the field of urban studies by drawing on literature from music and cultural research. Spatial value is defined as the relationship between live music and the built environment, which manifests itself through the dimensions of performing, (re)developing and narrating spaces. Performing the urban space concerns the ways in which a city is physically used to stage concerts and create musical pathways; redeveloping refers to the role of live music in the making and regeneration of space; and narrating focuses on live music as part of the stories told about cities. Defining the spatial value of live music is becoming an increasingly important task given the threats posed to it in cities.

Table 2 provides an overview of the main research findings. The focus is on the challenges likely to be faced when seeking to achieve spatial value and the ways in which this process can be supported. The paper has demonstrated that the spatial value of live music cannot be taken for granted, affected as it is by wider political and economic forces. Important challenges concern the impact of the environment in which live music is embedded (e.g., gentrification), as well as the nuisance music might cause (e.g., noise and anti-social behaviour). In addressing these issues, it is important to make a place for music. Doing so not only means having a physical space, but also recognising this space in urban policy and planning. In order to support live music in all its diversity (e.g., different genres, experimental sounds and artists at various stages of their career), its value needs to be acknowledged by the diverse stakeholders involved. Establishing strategies and creating and sustaining places for live music requires strong networks within the live music industries and connections to networks outside the music business. Such strategies can include financial instruments (e.g., subsidies), measures to mitigate the effects of gentrification (e.g., supporting socio-cultural values instead of maximising profits), solutions for noise issues (e.g., the agent of change principle), and using special designations for live music spaces.

Although these strategies allow for a systematic approach to achieving spatial value, we do not intend to suggest that live music can just be planned in a top-down manner. Indeed, it is essential that strategies make room for bottom-up initiatives, creativity and entrepreneurship. In the conceptualisation of spatial value, we emphasise its multiplicity, as a wide range of grassroots and official actors participate in the valuing of urban spaces. Furthermore, it should be noted that the spatial value of live music develops over time, often in unexpected ways due to social, technological and economic developments.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> See https://www.brisbane.qld.gov.au/planning-and-building/planning-guidelines-and-tools/other-plans-and-projects/valley-special-entertainment-precinct/valley-sound-machine (accessed 27 February 2020).

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This value builds on the musical heritage of a city; it also requires diverse spaces for experimentation by artists in order to guarantee a lively music culture for the future. Graves-Brown (2009) reminds us that music is both an event and an action. It is also dynamic and complex, like the cities in which it is performed (Cohen, 2012, 2013). Indeed, music stages are often temporary, such as festivals or pop-up venues. These temporary stages are valuable in terms of experimentation and diversifying the music provision. Understanding urban live music ecologies as dynamic provides a counterweight to narratives about the fall in the number of live music venues. Arguably, the coming and going of stages is part and parcel of urban life. Nevertheless, it is essential that successful projects can contribute to the social and cultural life of cities in a sustained manner.

Future research may shed light on what is a good balance between temporary and fixed venues. Urban planning strategies to mitigate the negative effects of gentrification also require more attention. Of course, spatial value is contextual, relying as it always does on local geographical, political and economic conditions. As a result, case studies can further enhance our understanding of supporting spatial value in specific local settings. As we have limited the scope of this study to popular music in cities, future research could be extended to cover different styles of music and non-urban and rural spaces.

Finally, further research is required to understand the spatial value of live music in a post-Covid world. Shortly after the data collection element of this paper ended, the live music sector stalled due to the Coronavirus. Of course, the cancellation of so many events will have economic repercussions for numerous actors in the live music ecology, putting even more pressure on small music venues. The spatial consequences are hard to predict, but an early study of the impact of Covid-19 on the public space suggests that it could lead to an aversion to being in large crowds, requests for improved ventilation, more outdoor spaces in venues and the inclusion of health criteria in the design process (Honey-Rosés et al., 2020). Inevitably, some spaces can satisfy such demands more easily than others. Meanwhile, new spaces could emerge as locations for concerts, changing how the urban landscape is performed, developed and narrated. As an example, the Sofar Sounds

initiative books intimate concerts in people's homes<sup>5</sup>, while illegal raves took place in urban outdoor spaces during lockdown (Marshall et al. 2020). Perhaps the crisis will lead to the repurposing of vacant buildings for music activities. Finally, the experiments with online live music that occurred during the lockdown could lead to new virtual spaces for music-making, which will require studies to adopt innovative methodologies like netnography (Maalsen & McLean, 2016). Post-Covid concerts could include hybrid forms of online and physical activities, as festivals and venues may increasingly support the streaming of concerts, the building of virtual worlds and online social interactions. Of course, these predictions are highly speculative, but nevertheless suggest that Covid-19 could change how the spatial value of live music is achieved in the future.

#### CRediT authorship contribution statement

Arno van der Hoeven: Conceptualization, Methodology, Formal analysis, Data curation, Investigation, Writing - original draft. Erik Hitters: Conceptualization, Methodology, Formal analysis, Investigation, Funding acquisition, Writing - original draft.

#### Acknowledgements

This work was supported as part of the project Staging Popular Music: Researching Sustainable Live Music Ecologies for Artists, Music Venues and Cities (POPLIVE) by the Dutch Research Council (NWO) and the Taskforce for Applied Research (NRPO-SIA) [grant number 314-99-202, research programme Smart Culture - Arts and Culture]. Partners in this project are Mojo Concerts and the Association of Dutch Pop Music Venues and Festivals (VNPF). The authors would like to thank the reviewers for their valuable feedback. Thanks also go to Paul Long, Lyle Bignon, Sarah Raine and Jez Collins for organising a roundtable discussion on live music and urban development at the Birmingham Centre for Media and Cultural Research, where early ideas for this paper took shape.

#### Appendix A. Reports

#	Title	Year of pub- lication	Geographical scope	Published / Commissioned by
1	The economic, social and cultural contribution of venue-based live music in Victoria.	2011	Victoria, Australia	Deloitte Access Economics (commisioned by Arts Victory)
2	Waarde van pop 2.0: De maatschappelijke betekenis van popmuziek	2018	the Netherlands	POPnl and the Dutch Association of Music Venues and Festivals (VNPF)
3	Report for City of Edinburgh Council: The Challenges for Live Music in the City	2015	Edinburgh, Scotland	Music Venue Trust
4	London Music Strategy	2014	London, Canada	London's Music Industry Development Task Force
5	The mastering of a music city: key elements, effective strategies and why it's worth pursuing	2015	Global	IFPI & Music Canada
6	Streamlining Live Music Regulation	2016	South Australia, Australia	Government of South Australia
7	understanding small music venues: A report by the music venue trust	2015	United Kingdom	The Institute of Contemporary Music Performance (commissioned by the Music Venue Trust)
8	The economic & cultural value of live music in Australia 2014	2015	Australia	University of Tasmania, Australian Live Music Office, South Australian government, City of Sydney, City of Melbourne
9	Hamilton Music Strategy	2013	Hamilton, Canada	The City of Hamilton
10	The Economic and Cultural Contributions of Live Music Venues in the City of Sydney	2016	Sydney, Australia	Paul Muller and Dr Dave Carter (University of Tasmania)
11	Valuing live music: The UK Live Music Census 2017 report	2018	United Kingdom	Emma Webster, Matt Brennan, Adam Behr and Martin Cloonan with Jake Ansell
12	City of Melbourne Music Strategy: Supporting and growing the city's music industry 2014–17	2014	Melbourne, Australia	City of Melbourne
13	From Glyndebourne to Glastonbury: the impact of British music festivals	2016	United Kingdom	Emma Webster and George McKay

 $<sup>^{5}\,\</sup>text{www.sofarsounds.com}$  (accessed 20 August 2020).

14	Practise what you Preach! Popmuziek in Rotterdam - Een survey naar oefenruimtes en presentatieplekken	2010	Rotterdam, the Netherlands	jongRRKC (the youth delegation of The Rotterdam Council for Art and Culture)
15	Het Grote Poppodium Onderzoek 2008: Analyse van de ontwik- kelingen in de bedrijfsvoering van de Nederlandse poppodia	2009	The Netherlands	Dutch Association of Music Venues and Festivals (VNPF)
16	London's Grassroots Music Venues Rescue Plan	2015	London, United Kingdom	The Mayor of London's Music Venues Taskforce
17	The Austin music census: a data-driven assessment of Austin's commercial music economy	2015	Austin, United States	Titan Music Group, LLC (commissioned by the city of Austin economic development department's music & entertainment division)
18	Music Strategy Downtown Yonge Business Improvement Area	2015	Downtown Yonge, Toronto, Canada	Downtown Yonge Business Improvement Area
19	Song Lines: Mapping the South African Live Performance Landscape.	2013	South Africa	Concerts South Africa
20	Report and recommendations to help drive the Gold Coast's reputation as a live music-friendly city	2017	Gold Coast, Australia	Live Music Taskforce
21	Beleidsvisie Pop 2019–2030	2019	Rotterdam, the Netherlands	Government of Rotterdam, culture department
22	Auckland Music Strategy Te Rautaki Puoro o Tāmaki Makaurau 2018–2021	2018	Auckland, New Zealand	Auckland UNESCO City of Music
23	Live music. Ninth Report of Session 2017–19 Report, together with formal minutes relating to the report	2019	United Kingdom	House of Commons Digital, Culture, Media and Sport Committee, ordered by the House of Commons
24	Ruimte voor Pop - Update Haagse Popnota	2017	The Hague, the Netherlands	The city of the Hague & The Ministry of Education, Culture and Science

#### Appendix B. Interviews

#	Date of the interview	Gender	Role
1	22-3-2019	Male	Director of an events agency
2	29-3-2019	Male	Organiser of a music festival
3	20-5-2019	Male	Senior project manager in the real estate sector
4	6-6-2019	Female	Director of a music venue
5	12-8-2019	Female	Creative producer
6	26-11-2019	Male	Director of a theatre
7	26-11-2019	Male	Rapper & event organiser (including place-making)
8	14-1-2020	Male	Director of talent development organisation
9	22-1-2020	Male	Real estate consultant
10	31-1-2020	Male	Director of a music venue

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# Rock Clubs and Gentrification in New York City: The Case of The Bowery Presents

Fabian Holt University of Roskilde fabianh@ruc.dk

#### Abstract

This article offers a new analytical perspective on the relation between rock clubs and gentrification to illuminate broader changes in urbanism and cultural production in New York City. Although gentrification is central to understanding how the urban condition has changed since the 1960s, the long-term implications for popular music and its evolution within new urban populations and cultural industries have received relatively little scholarly attention. Gentrification has often been dismissed as an outside threat to music scenes. This article, in contrast, argues that gentrification needs to be understood as a broader social, economic, and cultural process in which popular music cultures have changed. The argument is developed through a case study of The Bowery Presents, a now dominant concert promoter and venue operator with offices on the Lower East Side. Based on fieldwork conducted over a three-year period and on urban sociological macro-level analysis, this article develops an analytical narrative to account for the evolution of the contemporary concert culture in the mid-size venues of The Bowery Presents on the Lower East Side and Williamsburg, Brooklyn, as a particular instance of more general dynamics of culture and commerce in contemporary cities. The narrative opens up new perspectives for theorizing live music and popular culture within processes of urban social change. The article begins by reviewing conventional approaches to rock music clubs in popular music studies and urban sociology. These approaches are further clarified through the mapping of a deep structure in how music scenes have framed the relationship between clubs and gentrification discursively. The article then examines the evolution of The Bowery Presents within the expansive process of gentrification. The focus is placed here on the cultural profile of the now dominant mid-size venue culture and on three stages in the development of the company and its field-structuring impact on rock clubs on the Lower East Side in particular. The conclusion sums up the key points and suggests that gentrification involves changing conditions of artistic creativity and performance, with implications for fundamental aspects of urban life; a point illustrated by the trajectory of Occupy Wall Street.

**Keywords:** Rock clubs, concert venues, gentrification, urban sociology, live music and popular culture, indie rock, music scenes

## Introduction

Although gentrification involves some of the biggest changes in the urban condition since the 1960s, the long-term implications for popular music have received relatively little scholarly attention. While popular music criticism has focused on how scenes have struggled to resist gentrification, this article argues that gentrification needs to be understood as a broader social, economic, and cultural process in which popular music cultures have undergone complex changes. The article focuses on rock clubs because of their central role in this process, both as an avenue of industry development and a space of consumption among new urban populations. The literatures on nodal spaces

in the city, from nightlife cabarets, theaters, and dance halls (Hannerz 1980: 54; Levine 1988; Nasaw 1993) to markets and fitness gyms (Zukin 1995; Sassatelli 2010) have argued for the social significance of such spaces from a variety of disciplinary perspectives, reflecting different knowledge interests. The contemporary mid-size rock club is a key site for investigating a new popular music culture in New York and its evolution within new populations and cultural industries. It is widely recognized that rock clubs have been challenged by gentrification, but how have they evolved to shape musical performance within the broader transformation of neighborhoods into the condition of generalized gentrification and beyond? The relative lack of knowledge about this process and how it can be studied constitutes a considerable historical and conceptual gap in popular music studies.

A focal point in this analysis is an organization that started promoting rock shows in a small club in the East Village in 1993 and fifteen years later had become the dominant concert promoter and venue operator in the New York metropolitan area, with most of its activities concentrated in mid-size clubs on Lower Manhattan and Williamsburg, Brooklyn, and in larger club venues and concert halls in Midtown and the Upper West Side. The organization's name is The Bowery Presents. Its offices are located in the East Village. In a concert industry context, The Bowery Presents is independent in that it is not owned by one of the two corporate giants, Live Nation and AEG.

At the center of my analysis is the concert culture of the mid-size venues The Bowery Ballroom, Music Hall of Williamsburg, and Webster Hall because they represent the emergence of a distinctive concert culture for new white middle-classes in Lower Manhattan and Williamsburg. Since the mid-2000s, audiences have increasingly come from other neighborhoods in Manhattan, Brooklyn, and New Jersey, and my field research also indicates a growing percentage of tourists from out of town.

The article begins by reviewing conventional approaches to rock music clubs in popular music studies and urban sociology to establish the ground for the analysis presented in the following sections. These approaches are further clarified through the mapping of a deep structure in how music scenes have framed the relationship between clubs and gentrification discursively. The article then examines the evolution of The Bowery Presents within the expansive process of gentrification. The focus is placed here on the cultural profile of the now dominant mid-size venue culture and on three stages in the development of the company and its field-structuring impact on rock clubs on the Lower East Side in particular. The conclusion sums up the key points and suggests that gentrification involves changing conditions of artistic creativity and performance, with implications for fundamental aspects of urban life; a point illustrated by the trajectory of Occupy Wall Street.

The article is based on field research in New York City since 2010, combining participant-observations in venues, interviews with audiences and professionals involved in the scene, music journalism, and hundreds of consumer reviews of venues in the social media applications Yelp and FourSquare. I started by examining individual venues and expanded the analytical field to include changes in production, organization, and neighborhoods in the large-scale process of gentrification, as it became clear how important these aspects were in explaining the venue culture. The main informants were: 1) 70-100 audience members, including casual tourists, frequent local concertgoers, and concert photographers, with whom I had conversations about their experiences in the venues and perceptions of the venue culture and the neighborhood; 2) editors and journalists at The Village Voice, The New York Times. and Brooklyn Vegan; 3) management and record companies working with artists performing in the venues, including Leg Up! Management, We Are Free, Beggards Group, Foundations Artist Management, Pronto Artist Management, The Social Registry, Canvasback Music, Kanine Records, and Lincoln Center. The Bowery Presents declined to participate in interviews from the outset, referring to company policy. This was obviously a barrier that made the research on organizational culture and strategy more difficult, but I was able to obtain vital information from a few trusted long-term collaborators when I presented my research to them later in the process.

In addition to accounting for a specific local history, the article has a wider goal of using the case study of The Bowery Presents to illuminate the changing condition of musical and cultural production in the process of gentrification. The conceptual contribution of the article is to develop and illustrate a new analytical approach for understanding live music clubs in such processes of urban change. The main point in this approach is that the analytical focus on the club experience and on particular music scenes in popular music studies can productively be combined with the socioeconomic structural perspective of urban sociology. The argument and findings of the analysis are used in the concluding section to open up perspectives for future research.

## Research on Rock Clubs and Gentrification

Clubs of the pre-gentrified era of the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s—before the era of generalized gentrification in New York and many other cities (Smith 2002)—have had a privileged status in popular music studies since at least the early 1990s. Thornton's *Club Cultures* (1995) is one of the most cited books in the field, but the fascination with clubs as a special site of cultural and particularly subcultural performance can be traced back to Hebdige's *Subculture* (1979) and further back to jazz studies in the 1950s when academic interest in urban music scenes and communities emerged (Merriam and Mack 1960). Although venue culture has not evolved into a distinct area of study, but has mostly been part of studies of music scenes, the pre-gentrification era rock club is a powerful figure among fans, critics, and scholars; a fact that should not be underestimated.

Small clubs had a unique role as nodal social institutions in New York's popular music cultures such as rock, electronic dance music (EDM), hip hop, and salsa in the era before generalized gentrification. Small clubs were sites of vibrant social and artistic interaction, experimentation, and innovation. More than being meeting places and providing work for musicians, club scenes were catalysts and arteries in this seminal period of the aforementioned genres (Charnas 2010; Gann 2006; Gendron 2002; Lawrence 2004; Reynolds 2005; Washburne 2008). Among many influential examples are rock clubs such as CBGBs, the Bottom Line, Wetlands Reserve; clubs for experimental music and jazz such as the Knitting Factory and Tonic; EDM party clubs such as the Loft, Studio 54, Danceteria, and the Roxy; hip hop clubs such as 371 and the Fever in the Bronx; and salsa clubs such as Cheetah and the Corso. These clubs have become the stuff of legend, as reflected in the attention they continue to receive in music criticism, and in the attempted historical landmark designation for CBGB's building, for instance (Methos 2005; Shulman 2005).

The following section provides evidence of negative associations with gentrification, but let us first acknowledge two further reasons for the relative lack of interest in clubs of the gentrified era. One is the decline of the experimental and subterranean cultures that have been central to popular music studies, from studies of punk and hip hop to studies of electronic dance music (e.g., Hebdige 1979; Shank 1994; Rose 1994; St. John 2009; Garcia 2013). While popular music has also been studied as "music for pleasure," to invoke Simon Frith, the field has been structured by powerful discourses of what is perceived to be culturally relevant within cultural scenes and the media. In this perspective, the contemporary popular forms of indie rock might initially seem to be merely a commercial evolution of something that was more artistically and socially relevant in the 1980s and 1990s. Commerce and consumption are indeed important dimensions of this culture in which live music performance has evolved into larger venues and festivals to become highly structured by the commodity market of concerts and by professional ticketing and venue services. In its contemporary commercial forms, produced as a kind of niche "luxury" popular culture commodities within an

industry network of companies such as The Bowery Presents, The Windish Agency, and Pitchfork.com, indie rock is no longer a community-based culture, and its dominant urban form is no longer a social scene with utopian aspirations. However, live music venues in the gentrified neighborhood are still sites of performance and experience, and they reveal important aspects of culture and commerce in contemporary cities.

The second reason for the relatively limited research interest in clubs is that they might have lost some of their functions in the age of digital networked media. More music discovery, consumption, and participation is happening online, and the spaces of production have migrated away from pricey city zones to more remote areas and into digital worlds. Music production and communication have become spatially decentralized, and a great deal of communication about new music happens in the blogosphere and in social networking sites. Moreover, more individualized consumption is made possible by a wide range of applications that deliver recommendations of concerts based on user-generated data, including Songkick, Last.fm, and YouTube. The blogosphere played a big role in discovering and promoting the now popular forms of indie rock. Many know about the mainstreamification of indie rock in the 1990s, involving a shift from noise aesthetics to more conventional rock and pop singing, lyrical elegance, and dance-friendly grooves, and from bands with an anti-commercial stance to bands licensing their music to car commercials, for instance (Abebe 2010; Albini 1993). Little is known, however, about how a new generation of indie artists and audiences are shaped by the gentrification of New York neighborhoods. My informants, including managers of prominent bands such as Beach House and Animal Collective. routinely attributed importance to the internet in creating audiences, and they talked about how bands from around the country look to New York as a destination once they have achieved some level of success.2 All of the informants, however, noted that networking in the city and, above all, playing shows is still essential in the learning curve and in the further promotion of bands.3 Clubs have not lost these functions and therefore still deserve scholarly attention.

Before analyzing clubs in the process of gentrification, it is important to acknowledge how conventional wisdom of live music clubs has evolved in popular music studies. Research on clubs in popular music studies falls within the area of music scene studies and often originates in graduate student fieldwork in small clubs. The concept of scenes survives criticisms and competition from other concepts of collectivity (Hesmondhalgh 2005) to frame clubs as sites for community experience and nodes in networks of audiences, media, and producers. Influential contributions to this literature include the early work of scholars such as Berger (1999), Cohen (1991), and Shank (1994). Later work by Fox (2004) and Washburne (2008) illustrates developments in ethnographic approaches to understanding the culture of small venues in community perspective.

While conventional scene and community approaches to clubs remain useful for understanding performance and collectivity in small clubs, they do not account for the changing role of venues in processes of urban change or of mid-size venues. In particular, the focus on small clubs (e.g., 100-300 capacity) is no longer tenable when mid-size venues (e.g., 500-1500 capacity) are becoming increasingly dominant in New York and other cities because of changing market conditions. This shift of emphasis toward larger club venues has deep implications for production and experience. The big crowd in mid-size venues is generally drawn to a headliner and thus has a more targeted interest in the concert itself. Such a crowd is also too big for extensive socializing and informal networking inside and outside the building. In my ethnographic experience, moreover, the large crowd could generate more powerful responses and a feeling of greatness, but also be less sensitive, and there were fewer and less personal encounters between strangers in the audience. Comparing The Bowery Ballroom with a small DIY show, an experienced insider found a higher degree of community ownership and trust in the latter: "A DIY show feels more like a house party," he said.

"You don't go up to someone at The Bowery [Ballroom] and say "Hey, how's it going?" (Ariel Panero, personal communication, 23 April 2010).

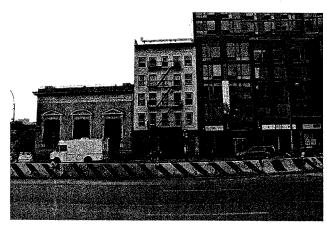
Sociological studies of the cultural dimension of gentrification, on the other hand. have paid little attention to evolutions in rock clubs and concert venues more generally. Influential early studies such as Zukin's (1982 and 1995) investigated how more official cultural spaces such as museums, squares, and parks, for instance, were being influenced by privatization and corporate marketing. With a core example in Disney World, Zukin explored new forms of social control through visual-architectural ordering, theming, and cleaning. Later studies adopted insider perspectives among the new urban middle-classes and creative industry workforce (Florida 2002 and 2005; McRobbie 2002; Lloyd 2006; Currid 2007; Grazian 2008). This literature brings more attention to upscale bars, restaurants, fashion, design, and electronic dance music clubs, for instance, but little has been written on clubs where audiences come primarily for the musical experience or how gentrification has shaped the culture of live performance in rock music venues. One of the few sociological studies that views live music clubs as more than a driver of gentrification in the early stages of the process is Grazian's study of blues clubs in Chicago (2003). His study sheds light on changing geographies and histories of live music consumption and its intimate relation with a search for authenticity in urban nightlife. The present article examines the same thematic in a different case study and illustrates how the social process perspective can explain both evolutions in venue culture, organizations, and the discursive and historical framing of changing music scenes and their relation with the gentrification of neighborhoods more generally. Cohen's more recent work (2007) approaches gentrification as a theme in the history of a city's popular music heritage. At a more general level, a large body of social science research has studied many aspects of the general process of gentrification, from strategies of urban renewal to structural changes in demographics, economies, labor markets, and the emergence of new ethnic-racial geographies (Smith and Williams 1986). To a lesser extent, sociologists have also studied the relation between gentrification and cultural consumption and social aesthetics in the urban environment, including the overall shift from "gritty" to "cool" (Zukin 2010). However, studies of music and gentrification have been few and far between, and those mushrooming at conferences these years still tend to be histories of particular scenes. There is a lack of more systematically organized analytical narratives of evolutions in urban musical life in the process of gentrification. Evolutions in venue culture illustrate significant changes in consumption, business, and neighborhood dynamics within the new and generally more commercially developed urban cultural landscape.





Figure 1 (Left) A sidewalk view of The Bowery by Think Coffee, one of the popular establishments in this area of the gentrified Lower East Side. Think Coffee is a gourmet mini chain concentrated in Greenwich Village, and this shop opened in 2008.

Figure 2 (Right) One of the many Brooklyn baby bands in action at Mercury Lounge



Figures 3-4. Street views on Houston Street show how Mercury Lounge is dwarfed by The Ludlow, one of the major high-rises on the Lower East Side. The Ludlow opened in 2007.



# From Outside to Inside Gentrification: The Decline of a Scene and the Beginnings of a New Concert Market

Among rock fans, artists, and music critics, gentrification commonly has negative connotations. It is associated with commodification, standardization, and popularized luxury products sold in design-intensive retail environments of chain stores such as Starbucks, the Banana Republic, and Whole Foods Market. While these corporate brands dominate Midtown and can be found in almost all areas of the city, areas such as East and West Village are also characterized by more specialist and upscale mini chains catering specifically to self-conscious urban populations. In the desire to retain a sense of urbanism, popular images of gentrification are perceived as a kind of suburbanization with reference to nation-wide chain stores and mass culture (Hammett and Hammett 2007; Lloyd 2006; Zukin 2010). Gentrification, moreover, also carries negative connotations because of the pricing out of not just artists and arts spaces, but also of low-income residents more generally. White middle-class dominance has been a defining characteristic since gentrification was first recognized in the mid-1960s (Sassen 1991; Smith and Williams 1986; Terkel 1967). In New York and other cities. this has culminated in an increased homogeneity of entire neighborhoods (Atkinson and Bridge 2005; Keith 2005; Shaw 2007). The number of blacks and Hispanics increased in New York in the decades after 1960, but there was a decentralization of those population groups from Manhattan to the outer boroughs (Abu-Lughod 1999: 299). The black population constituted 36 percent in Manhattan in 1960 and only 15 in 1990, and it has remained essentially the same ("Demographic Profile Data 2010"). More specifically, high levels of displacement occurred on the Lower East Side between 1980 and 1990, with a 14.5 percentage drop in the Hispanic population and a corresponding growth of residents over 25 with a college degree (Mele 2000: 250). <sup>5</sup> To give a sense of how the broader New York underground scene has come to view gentrification, consider the following reactions to the closing of Tonic in East Village. This is the beginning of a thread in the Flickr group "experimental LIVE music" started by the user digital freak:

Sad sad news for the avant-garde music scene in New York (and beyond) as its most vital and eclectic sanctuary is about to disappear !!! It's now official: the legendary club TONIC will close its space in the Lower East Side in April 2007. Another proof if needed

of how hard it is to promote, support and live from experimental music even in major cities...

Below is the blurb from the Tonic website (http://www.tonicnyc.com/) [...] I urge you to show up for the last gigs ever at 107 Norfolk if you can, to send emails and basically to show some LOVE !!!

Dear Musicians, Fans and Friends:

After more than 9 years as a home for avant-garde, creative, and experimental music, Tonic will reluctantly close its doors on Friday, April 13th, 2007. We simply can no longer afford the rent and all of the other costs associated with doing business on the Lower East Side.

The neighborhood around us has been increasingly consumed by "luxury condominiums", boutique hotels and glass towers, all making the value of our salvaged space worth more then our business could ever realistically support. We have also been repeatedly harassed by the city's Quality of Life Task Force which resulted in the debilitating closing of the ))sub((tonic lounge in January. Coincidentally, this campaign began as our immediate neighbor, the Blue Condominium building - a symbol of the new Lower East Side - prepared to open its doors.

[...] If profit had been our chief motivation we could have changed our programming to something more mainstream and financially lucrative. Instead we were more committed to a certain type of music and loyal to the community that supported us.

Sincerely,

Melissa and John

("The end of TONIC...." 2007)

The above excerpt of a long thread illustrates a deep structure in the framing of gentrification in music scene discourse of the pre-gentrified era. In this discourse, small performance spaces take on a central role, particularly clubs engaging in community and artistic experimentation such as Tonic. The club is described as a "legendary" "sanctuary" for the "community," with managers resisting to give in to "mainstream" tastes for "commercial" reasons. The letter from the managers expressing their personal feelings to artists, fans, and friends in terms of solidarity and the "heroic individual vs. the system" metaphor are also typical elements of such discourses on gentrification, which surfaced in responses to the closing of other clubs and police interventions in the Brooklyn DIY scene. 6 In contrast, the dominant rock clubs of the contemporary Lower East Side, exemplified by The Bowery Presents, are circumscribed by a concert business discourse centered on professional artists and the professional presentation of these artists. The company's website describes each act with no sign of the informal language and insidership characteristic of underground and DIY live music promotion. The notions of neighborhood and community are not part of the company's discourse. The Twitter stream of The Bowery Presents occasionally addresses readers as fans, but not as friends, and there is no mentioning of individual managers. Moreover, the service in the venue itself is perfected and optimized compared with rock clubs of earlier decades, with better sound, air conditioning, cleaning, and precision in the presentation of acts each night, all of which improves the quality of experience from a consumer culture perspective to sustain a particular urban middle-class concert culture.

The negative associations with gentrification might explain why urban cultural circles tend to see it as an external evil, inventing a discursive location outside of the process through a set of dichotomies, as illustrated by the quotation above. The first step toward analytical knowledge is acknowledging the existence of the narratives and understanding how they evolve from particular cultural and historical formations in the city's rock scene. It is common knowledge among observers of the scene that

legendary clubs of the 1970s and 1980s closed in the late 1990s and early 2000s, including CBGBs, the Bottom Line, and the Knitting Factory. Yet, there is not a reflexive awareness of changing narratives and their social dimension. Even astute observers gloss over the transformations in statements such as this: "There are no reliable statistics about the flux of the quantity of clubs over the years, but in general the ashesto-ashes principle applies: when one closes, another opens" (Sisario 2006). The remainder of this section highlights the development of rock clubs in the 1970s and The Bowery Presents on the Lower East Side of the 1990s to highlight two social formations central to current narratives and transformations.

Small rock clubs proliferated on the Lower East Side during the economic crisis in the 1970s when young artists concentrated in post-industrial spaces. There was an economy of low rents, bars with inexpensive beer, low costs for cleaning and security. and spaces where musicians could hone their skills, experiment, socialize, and party. By all accounts, the punk, no wave, and downtown Manhattan clubs of this era evolved as much from the larger urban social environment as from the agency of club managers. In the case of CBGB, for instance, owner Hilly Kristal at first wanted to present country music, but the place ended up becoming a nodal point in the emerging punk scene, in part because artists in the neighborhood started hanging out there when it opened in 1973 and had few places to play in the neighborhood (Kozak 1988: 13-16). Kristal realized that this was a niche he could exploit, however. The many small rock clubs that emerged in the following years formed a breeding ground for a social scene shaped by the dirty, noisy streets and their post-industrial architecture, as well as by drugs and crime. O'Meara offers a compelling interpretation of the relation between the neighborhood environment, noise aesthetics, and clubs, drawing inspiration from soundscape theory (2007). These underground and downtown clubs might have stimulated gentrification, but it was the SoHo arts scene that had the most direct role as a driver of the first intense cycle of gentrification on Lower Manhattan (Zukin 1982).

The rock scene of the 1970s and 1980s generally did not adapt to gentrification. Instead, parts of the culture migrated to Brooklyn in the early 2000s when the costs of operation had increased dramatically (Lee 2002), New venues such as Galapagos. North Six, and Club Luxx opened in Brooklyn, but the center of action in this scene was in loft and warehouse spaces, not venues. Promoter Todd Patrick pioneered a new kind of underground DIY scene in lofts, warehouses, and other unconventional venues without a license. The shows were often promoted by word of mouth and simple web pages before the scene caught fire in the blogosphere, before the influential blog the Brooklyn Vegan even existed. To many younger musicians, who valued experimentation and community participation at a time when Manhattan had become a place for mid-size venues with headliners, this Williamsburg warehouse scene became the epicenter of the rock scene in the 2000s (Jim Sykes, personal communication, 15 May 2012; Beck 2012). Around 2010, however, this scene was already decimated by rapid gentrification. Important spaces such as Market Hotel and Monster Island Basement (McKinley 2012) closed, and the free concerts in McCarren Park's pool were replaced by ticketed events promoted by the corporate giant Live Nation (Sisario 2008). The free "Jelly pool shows" that started in 2005 moved to the Williamsburg waterfront in 2009, attracting a much larger audience, corporate sponsors, and celebrities such as Jay-Z and Beyonce.8 In short, the Manhattan underground inspired a new scene in Brooklyn, but one that quickly transformed.

The Bowery Presents opened its first club, Mercury Lounge, in the Lower East Side in 1993 when gentrification had reached an advanced stage in SoHo and started to surface in this area, too. With an audience capacity of 200 people, Mercury Lounge is small, and there is nothing fancy about its architectural design. The audience walks directly into a small bar to enter the only other room for patrons, the showspace, which feels a bit like a garage because it is simply an empty room with a low stage. The space was a former tombstone store, and the interior is kept basic, but it is clean, air-

conditioned, and it has great acoustics and an excellent sound system. A resident who lived almost in the backyard from the club for over ten years remembers that college and post-college graduates had started to move in and new places were opening up to serve this new population, including bars where people would hang out on the weekends. Mercury Lounge was part of a web of small rock clubs in the East Village area, including Brownies and Pyramid, and The Spiral just across the street (Bill Bragin, personal communication, 30 March 2012). As Mercury Lounge started to gain attention as a place where talented new young bands emerged, the club pushed the boundaries of the scene further down toward the Lower East Side.

During the five years that The Bowery Presents only had Mercury Lounge, the management tested and developed relationships with a large number of "baby bands" of a new generation. Like CBGBs and Brownies, Mercury Lounge became an important place for new and talented rock bands to appear on a bill with 4-5 bands per night, totaling about 1,500 bands a year. This model allowed The Bowery Presents to take chances on bands and develop a core expertise in the evolving indie rock scene in New York before these bands gained mainstream popularity in the early 2000s. Some of the most well-known bands are those associated with the so-called class of 2001/2002, including the White Stripes, Yeah Yeah Yeahs, The Strokes, and Interpol (Phillips 2007; Goodman 2013). In short, Mercury Lounge was and still is a "feeder club" from which The Bowery Presents grow relationships with artists before they perform in the larger venues.

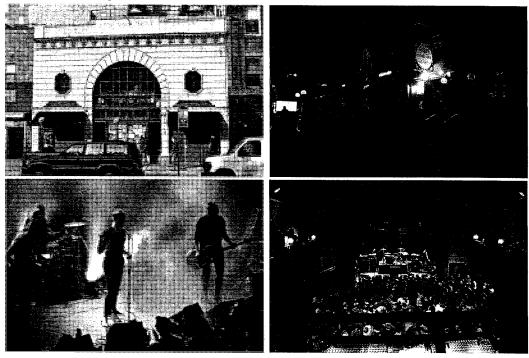


Figure 5-8 (left to right, top to bottom). Exterior and interior shots of The Bowery Ballroom. The Savages performed as a headliner act on March 24, 2013.





Figure 9 (Left). Intimacy in the lounge bar of The Bowery Ballroom.
Figure 10 (Right) Intimacy in the balcony

## The Bowery Ballroom: The Cultural Profile of the New Mid-Size Venues

As some of the successful bands started to gain wider attention, instead of leaving them with the only option of going to other promoters The Bowery Presents opened a larger club, The Bowery Ballroom, so that bands could graduate inside the organization's orbit. This business practice was later extended to large theaters and arenas. The 700-capacity Bowery Ballroom opened in late 1997 as the first mid-size rock club in the area, larger than the 400-capacity Bottom Line in nearby Greenwich Village. The location on Delancey and Bowery can be seen as a strategic entrepreneurial decision because it was the first venue of its kind in the gentrifying neighborhood and before possible competitors did the same. A similar strategic move characterizes the company's opening in 2007 of Music Hall of Williamsburg and of the United Palace in Washington Heights. Moreover, these venues are well connected via subway stations, making them conveniently accessible for audiences in other neighborhoods.

The Bowery Ballroom is not a place associated with utopian alternatives to gentrification or dominant society. In this sense, The Bowery Ballroom represents a culminating point in the transition from punk to gentry, from underground to on-theground venues, from basements and backyards to the ground floor and formal concert spaces with the generic element of the notion "venue" as a standardized distribution space created from industry design templates. Moreover, one can argue that The Bowery Ballroom presents an adaption to the tastes and lifestyles of the new population. For example, the music programming appeals to popular tastes, while having an indie aesthetic that generates social distinction and an aura of contemporary cool (Sisario 2007). The high-quality audio-visual technology helps create a comfortable, safe, and perfected environment along with the social behavior of the audience. In contrast to the subversive hedonism of pre-gentrified club cultures, this is a public culture shaped by career consciousness, commerce-based leisure, and the poetics of self-discipline in the culture of the gentry, also reflected in the commercial, professional venues for fitness and health (Sassatelli 2010). This culture is shaped by the changing conditions of urban life, particularly the conditions of a more unstable labor market and rising costs of living. Another factor that cannot be observed directly in the venue experience itself is the industrial organization of the mid-size venues of The Bowery Presents and its relative monopoly in a new concert market of popular indie rock. To develop this analysis, I offer an outline of three key characteristics of the venue culture that might prove helpful in future studies:

#### a) An Urban Indie Aesthetic for a Semi-Specialist Audience

The music programming evolved from the focus on small rock bands at Mercury Lounge to more professional headliner acts. The mid-size venues are headliner-oriented and attract more casual music consumers and tourists. In the early years of

The Bowery Ballroom, it was perceived to be cool in neighborhood circles and some of my informants remembered it as a place for hipsters, mentioning that one of the first artists that played there was P.J. Harvey. Today, many of those people have moved to Brooklyn, and the mid-size venues do not have the same aura of cool and generally attract more people from other neighborhoods. Based on my field experience, a significant percentage of the audiences are tourists, but there is also a local audience and a group of passionate fans that go to concerts 3-5 times a week. One characteristic of the audience culture is that many arrive late and wait for the main act to begin, while some get to the showspace during the last of the two opening acts simply to get a good spot. There are many couples and peer-groups of 3-5 persons, and there is often a lead fan in the group who knows that band and hears about the show from popular indie blogs such as Pitchfork and middle-class media such as New York Times, Time Out, and NPR. The lead fan is typically a semi-specialist consumer and not so specialized that he or she explores new music for hours every day on obscure indie blogs.

The music programming of the mid-size venues is characterized by an emphasis on artists with original compositions, band collectivity, stylistic sophistication, and other aspects commonly associated with indie aesthetics, including lyricism, dance-friendly grooves, and emotional states that are generally more positive than in the punk-derived early indie rock. The music is generally not characterized by experimental and aggressive sounds when compared with the Brooklyn warehouse scene. There are many contemporary indie rock bands with pop sensibilities such as Animal Collective, Arcade Fire, Beach House, Dirty Projectors, The Joy Formidable, St. Vincent, Yeasayer, and Yeah Yeah Yeahs. (Some of those bands have already migrated to larger venues, but are mentioned here to indicate the musical profile of the venues for a broad readership.) There are also more pop-oriented indie bands and some with roots in electro rock and disco. Occasionally, The Bowery Presents also presents bands with little or no relation to the indie aesthetic that remains a marker of the company's music profile and role as urban tastemaker. Recent examples of this include the boy band sound of Ed Sheeran and the commercial house music of Rudimental.

The indie aesthetic can also be traced in other prominent styles of "roots" and singer-songwriter music. For instance, the programming of what I call "roots" music is a key component and interesting because it builds on the history of professional performances of folk and rural music that goes back to New York's folk revival in the 1950s and beyond. Roots music here denotes music that draws on folk and rural traditions such as country music, gospel, and bluegrass, but is performed with a sense of contemporary urban sophistication. The pastoral and exotic approach to the rural in the 1950s has faded, and the boundaries between rural and urban are often fluid. Many younger people at the shows have moved fairly recently to New York to study or work, and there are many tourists from other cities. Neither audiences nor artists articulate a specialized identity such as hipster behavior or slang. This suggests a less intense urbanism according to the subcultural theory of urbanism (Fischer 1995), However, the venues are located in areas that are revered in narratives of the New York experience among the new white middle-class populations, including artists and audiences in these venues. The mid-size venues are surrounded by the same authenticity in the blogosphere as Brooklyn DIY spaces but they instead have a more central place in the mainstream image of "New York - Brooklyn indie rock" (e.g., Sisario 2007). Urban values are also reflected in responses to the stage persona of the artists. In March 2012, for instance, I experienced a country music duo from the South appealing to the audience at Mercury Lounge with an image of rural authenticity, but a similar band received a less positive response when it performed as an opening act at the mid-size venue Webster Hall a few days later and expressed an everyday rural experience without adapting to a professional performer persona expected from a headliner.

## b) Optimized Venue Facility With a Semi-Corporate Identity

In terms of acoustics and audiovisual technology of reproduction, the mid-size venues of The Bowery Presents can be viewed as a culminating point in the evolution of clubs for rock concerts. The managers have no doubt experienced poor sound and air condition in other clubs over the years and tried to optimize the facilities when creating these venues. They have improved material and technological functions to create a more professional service environment for concerts. However, this does not necessarily improve the social experience of a rock show or strengthen the relation between the scenes and the neighborhood. Some insiders of the Brooklyn DIY scene find the venues a bit sterile, but most audiences I talked to do not understand this criticism and instead find them pleasant, well designed for the purpose, and conveniently located. For instance, an architect and a lawyer made the point that they could not hang out in a remote club in Brooklyn until four in the morning because they had to go to work the following morning. They also did not have nostalgic or romantic feelings about the gritty environments of the Lower East Side and its rock clubs in previous decades. One insider said that audience sociability is integrated in the design of the bars of The Bowery Ballroom and the Music Hall of Williamsburg. In those two venues, the audience enters through the bar in the basement that is designed as a lounge in which patrons can look at other patrons across the room. However, another insider, a regular concertgoer and music journalist, felt that these bars were just like airport room, with audiences waiting for the headliner. The significant differences between underground clubs and mid-size venues reflect, in my view, the creation of neutral spaces that are comfortable for and appealing to middle-class aesthetics.

The organizational identity of The Bowery Presents shapes the venue culture. The organization communicates with a passive voice typical of corporate communication, as indicated above, and it has a logo, but the organization's identity is kept discreet, and each venue has a unique name rather than a franchise name. All of this suggests that its audiences perceive the relation between the concert and the venue with the artist at the center and the venue as a provider. The Bowery Presents, moreover, is positioning itself as an independent promoter without the corporate franchise approach of the House of Blues, for instance, only to sustain its urban niche identity against the mainstream, suburban connotations of the latter. Further research could explore audience attitudes and how venues institutionalize the consumption of live music as professional art, rather than street and community art.

## c) Capitalist Entrepreneurialism

The capitalist entrepreneurialism of The Bowery Presents is evident from the above descriptions of strategic investments and decisions about the location of the venues. Entrepreneurialism is a defining feature of mid-size venue culture because it would simply not exist without it, and it has evolved along with a growing indie rock industry network of organizations, particularly Pitchfork.com, The Windish Agency, and indie labels within major record companies such as Rounder and Canvasback Music. There is an instrumentalist rationale in the business practices of the organization, including a) the development of relations with artists in a career perspective and b) the progressive expansion into more and larger venues in strategic locations to exploit the market potential of artists, with a degree of market monopoly as a result. Many professionals I interviewed said that The Bowery Presents was essential to their business, and at least a few of them wished for more alternatives.

# Three Stages in the History of The Bowery Presents and the Field of Rock Clubs

The field of Manhattan rock clubs cannot be neatly divided into time periods, but there are stages in the development of The Bowery Presents that give a perspective from which to consider general changes in this field. The historical complexity is so that a "factoring out" of the process (Becker 1998) would easily obscure how the factors change over time. The growing monopoly of The Bowery Presents and the scale of its business, for instance, create a new market structure and thus change the conditions of the field.

The development of The Bowery Presents and the field can be viewed from the following three stages in an ongoing process. The small club, for instance, still has some of the same functions, even though it now has new functions as a feeder club within a larger system of venues.

 1993 – 1997: The small club grows new talent in the emerging gentrification of the Lower East Side

The Bowery Presents started on the Lower East Side in 1993 when gentrification was already happening (Abu-Lughod 1995), although not yet in the contemporary condition of generalized gentrification. The small club (Mercury Lounge) could evolve alongside other small clubs among a thriving scene of young artists and audiences. By working strategically with a large number of new bands, the company invested and developed its profile and reputation.

• 1997 – 2004: The mid-size club promotes talent to a broader audience within the context of accelerating gentrification

The opening of The Bowery Ballroom allowed the company to promote some of the artists to a larger audience, while touring headliner artists attracted a broader audience and more audiences from outside the neighborhood. This helped accelerate gentrification of the area and was a catalyst for a growing musical culture among the new urban middle-classes in both programming and venue design.

• Since 2004: Opening more venues to consolidate in a period of decline for other types of venues

The next moment of structural significance was the opening of more mid-size venues (Webster Hall in 2004 and Music Hall of Williamsburg in 2007) and large club venues (Terminal 5 and United Palace, both in 2007). With a system of venues from the small club to the mid-size venues and up, The Bowery Presents created a more extended internal career orbit for artists and gained a degree of monopoly status. At this stage, professional business management became a more important part of the company's activity, compared with the mid-1990s when most of the activity happened with young bands in Mercury Lounge.

A competitive market advantage was already achieved shortly after the first mid-size venue opened, as major record labels started moving showcase activities away from older venues such as The Bottom Line and into The Bowery Ballroom. The Bowery Ballroom is still a place where industry professionals from major labels and media companies explore the live performances of new talent in their field. They rarely go to smaller clubs or the Brooklyn warehouse spaces. During the same period, many established clubs closed, not just smaller ones such as Brownies (2002), CBGBs (2006), Knitting Factory (2009), and Tonic (2007), and with them a decline in the experimental art, jazz, and noise scene in Manhattan (Lee 2002). A significant narrative in the process is the closing of slightly larger venues with other cultural profiles, notably The Bottom Line (1974-2004) and Wetlands Preserve (1989-2001). The Bottom Line presented many jazz and world music artists over the years, for instance (Pareles 2004). Wetlands presented a number of African American funk and rock bands (Bill Bragin, personal communication, 30 March 2012). Among the remaining venues for such culturally diverse programming are Le Poisson Rouge, Joe's Pub, and Santos Party House. When the growth trend in venues for white rock bands promoted by The Bowery Presents is viewed in the context of the decline of venues with a more culturally diverse booking, a picture emerges of increasing homogenization around white middle-class culture in Lower Manhattan. Another narrative in the process is modernization. The Bottom Line, for instance, maintained its cabaret-style design with a seated audience and did not adapt to a new generation of indie rock with standing audiences. Nor did the club's management create connections with the young rock bands that were performing in the new clubs on the Lower East Side. At the same time, the Bottom Line maintained a model of presenting an early and a late show by the same band, even though there were few audiences for the late show. Ultimately, the club closed and has not yet been re-opened (Pareles 2004; "The Bottom Line Website").

### **Conclusion and Implications for Future Research**

The analytical narrative of this article is the main result of the research process and a key to understanding the argument and conclusions. It has therefore been necessary to explain how the narrative was developed through fieldwork and readings of the history and sociology of popular music in the city. The research process started with a search for objects in search of theory rather than theory in search of objects. In other words, the gentrification theme emerged through fieldwork and the realization of its explanatory power in the analysis and in the study of popular music and the city more generally. The first step in the process was to understand the evolution of popular indie rock concert clubs in New York during the 1990s, 2000s, and early 2010s. In my field research, I encountered a culture that was different from the descriptions of rock clubs and milieus in the existing literature and could not be satisfactorily explained by the conceptual approaches in this literature; approaches that were developed in relation to smaller clubs and other urban formations. In the process of organizing a narrative of the emerging explanations, I reviewed and developed knowledge in the specialized literatures on rock clubs and on popular music and gentrification.

The analytical narrative developed and illustrated in the case study of The Bowery Presents is grounded in a conception of gentrification as a broad social, economic, and cultural process in which social formations, including popular culture scenes and their organizational networks and markets, die out, change, but also emerge and in some cases continue to evolve after the neighborhood has gone through economic and demographic transformations and is no longer celebrated as a frontier of cool. If there is a "death of authentic urban places" (Zukin 2010), there is also a life of new places, even when these places are more generic and neutralized by global communications and the hypermobility of capital (Sassen 1998). The classic approaches in urban sociology in the Chicago tradition emphasize neighborhood dynamics and changing ecologies, and this offers a valuable perspective often lacking in the literatures on live music clubs and other cultural venues (Holt 2013). The main point of the present study. however, has not been to prove that change is happening within neighborhood dynamics but instead organize an analysis of particular relevance to the study of rock clubs in the condition of generalized gentrification. The focal points have evolved around the growth of mid-size concert venues and the market for popular indie rock among a new white middle-class population on the Lower East Side and later other neighborhoods and tourists in New York.

The fieldwork epiphany that structured the argument was how the dominant focus in the club literature on situated observations inside individual clubs could be complemented by analysis at the macro-levels of social and economic structural change. From this epiphany grew an understanding of the significance of entrepreneurialism, locations, market development, demographics, and consumer writing on Yelp. In a word, the sociological macro-level perspective proved useful because it provides knowledge of the conditions that shape dynamics in the micro worlds of individual venues but cannot be fully explained only from fieldwork observations or interpersonal encounters in the venues.

The article's contribution to the literature on popular music and gentrification follows from its conception of gentrification as a process rather than a discourse or a set of values among social types such as neo-bohemians, yuppies, or hipsters. The article

discussed negative stereotypes of gentrification and how music scenes have constructed a discursive location for themselves outside of the gentrification process. Sociologists have argued since at least the early 1980s that spaces of culture create the precise kinds of symbolic value that gentrification feeds on. This pattern has been identified in the history of SoHo, Chicago's Wicker Park, and European cities such as Manchester, Liverpool, and Berlin. The pattern is weaker in the history of the rock scene on New York's Lower East Side, and the present study has focused on developments after the early phase of gentrification, particularly the development of a company that illustrates new patterns in musical and social life. The Lower East Side rock culture has become less about participating in a social scene and more about consuming professional art and entertainment. A rock concert culture evolved among the white middle-class populations that moved to the neighborhood in the 1980s and 1990s, and it became more homogeneous and monolithic with the growing market dominance of The Bowery Presents in the mid-2000s. There are smaller developments that could be explored in future research, including the live music bars and small venues such as the Rockwood Music Hall that illustrates a somewhat different evolution in white middle-class culture of the Lower East Side. The evolution of the concert culture in mid-size venues, moreover, did not eliminate other social worlds for rock music. Underground sensibilities of the pre-gentrified Lower East Side of the 1970s survive in cultural memory, particularly among audiences with experience of that scene and in the Brooklyn warehouse scene. Based on my interview material and hundreds of consumer reviews in social media applications, those underground narratives are generally absent from the culture at the mid-size venues of the Bowery Presents. Their audiences do not imagine a place outside gentrification. They approach the venue with a consumer perspective and have either not experienced the drastic changes or become insiders of the gentrified city and its workforce. It is in this perspective that we can speak of this indie rock concert culture as a music culture of the new middle-classes.

A particularly complex dimension of the analysis is collective psychology, particularly aesthetics and mentality. The transition from "gritty" to "cool" in the urban environment can be observed visually, physically, and geographically. Transformations of social and aesthetic categories such as "indie," and transformations in spirits of urbanism and capitalism in new social worlds, however, cannot be observed in the same way. Such aspects require hermeneutic work, and I would like to suggest in the following how this informed the organization of the article.

In the discourse analysis, distinctions were not mapped as static, disembodied structures, but rather as traces of cultural experience and mediations to understand the responses to cultural change in gentrification among participants and observes, including scholars. In the case study, observations of the evolution of The Bowery Presents served to describe the evolution of a new culture and to identify relevant analytical themes and categories that can be explored further in future research. There are themes in the existing literature on clubs that are still relevant, including identity and musical style, but collectivity has less importance in headliner-oriented mid-size venues compared with small community clubs. Moreover, the article indicates the relevance of new themes to be explored, particularly consumer service and entrepreneurialism, both for more knowledge of the experience in the venue and its place in urban life, but also for understanding its place in a wider trajectory of consumer culture and business history in post-industrial society. The case of the indie rock concert business and gentrification in New York is part of the broader history of how practices in conventional business domains of society have increasingly spread to other domains of society, from culture to the education system and beyond to the humanitarian sector. In all these domains, consumption, marketing, and service have increasingly become global ideologies (Baumann 2007; Zwick and Cayla 2012; Thrift 2005). More research can be done on the particular developments in popular music Fabian Holt 36

culture. The commercial development of indie rock business in New York, for instance, differs significantly from conventional accounts of "cool capitalism" or "indie capitalism" in some respects. While my research on perceptions of the venue experiences among both consumers and industry professionals suggests that The Bowery Presents is associated with a kind of cool entrepreneurial spirit and with indie aesthetics vis-à-vis Live Nation's corporatism and mass culture formats, the cultural profile of The Bowery Presents is far from the epitome of cool capitalism in the advertising culture of Pepsi and Red Bull. Now that cool has become a popular element in the emotional language of capitalism (McGuigan 2009), conventional forms cool and other signifiers of authenticity in popular music cultures change, and this might explain how audiences perceive rock music history and live music venues. There is no advertising in the venues of The Bowery Presents, and the indie rock headliners tend to keep any arrangements with corporate sponsors "backstage" (as opposed to publicly associate themselves with brands). The Bowery Presents exemplify a relatively classic culture in the music business, one that refines the existing format of the rock club concert in buildings with a unique historical aura and does not adopt rhetorics of novelty, difference, or youth culture. The music programming has strong retro elements. Thus, this article opens up wider perspectives for future research in the history and sociology of live music and popular culture.

I would like to end by offering a cultural critique based on the analysis above. The analysis suggests that the conditions of artistic creativity and performance have changed in the process of gentrification. As artists can no longer afford to live on the Lower East Side or in Williamsburg, they do not live in the neighborhood where the clubs are. This creates a spatial separation between the sites of public performance and everyday life. We have noted this trend on the audience side, and it has social implications because it detaches musical creativity from neighborhood ecologies. It also creates an increasing dependence on blogs, showcase festivals, and of touring bands eager to play in New York.

If spaces of artistic and social experimentation have shrunk in the center of New York and other cities, this might have negative consequences for artistic innovation and for human life. Artistic experimentation, not just any creativity, has unique values and is unique to humanity (see, e.g. Blacking 1973). So while there is little future in decrying the loss of a particular cultural scene that cannot be preserved, there is a need for changing the conditions for future cultures to grow. The experience of my informants suggests that the urban experience is still important and a vital element in their media culture. One example that might suggest how the conditions of urban public life have changed, and specifically the conditions of public gatherings without money capital, is the Occupy Wall Street movement. The movement used social media from the beginning, but clearly attempted to take root in urban space and target protests near Wall Street. However, in a city where only few spaces are left for people without money, the camp in Zuccotti Park quickly became a magnet for homeless people, and this eventually contributed to its decline. Participants felt that practical issues related to the homeless came to overshadow the political issues. The police prevented the movement to take root in other public places, and the political dimension of this movement might make visible just how much the autonomy of social scene interaction has been limited by institutionalized forms of commercial control. Without a certain level of autonomy from institutions and markets, neither social movements nor art forms will have the site-specific social energy so crucial for a vibrant culture. More artistic development will happen in spaces further away from the city and in the virtual world, but without the socio-material encounter in the city, some of the intensity is lost that can only be regained by changing the urban condition. Otherwise, the city will evolve further as a place of perfected distribution and service and not a vital site of artistic production.

### **Endnotes**

- <sup>1</sup> For an understanding of venues as nodal social institutions, see Hannerz (1980, 54).
- The following interviews with professionals were particularly important: Jason Foster, 6 January 2010; Kate Landau, 27 April 2010; Lio Kanine, 20 April 2010; Rob Harvilla 16 April 2010; Ariel Panero 23 April 2010; Rami Haykal 27 April 2010; B.Q. Nguyen 24 March and 1 April 2012; Bill Bragin 30 March 2012; Garrett Brooks 18 November 2012; Laura Wasson 10 March 2013, and three others who prefer to remain anonymous.
- Young indie bands and their entrepreneurial managers, moreover, ascribed importance to the concentration of bloggers, online editors, and website designers in Brooklyn (Simon Henderson, personal communication, 10 April 2010; Eric Lodwick and Drew Robinson, 20 April 2010).
- These figures for the general capacity range of small- and mid-size clubs are based on my research on industry terminology and perceptions among informants in New York, but the same distinctions apply to the rock club scenes in Berlin and London, for instance. The categories are not universal, however.
- <sup>5</sup> The transition from an ethnically diverse area with many low-income residents to a white middle-class population on Lower Manhattan is striking in the visual illustration provided by the United States Bureau of Census (Bloch, Carter, McLean 2012).
- <sup>6</sup> A similar discourse was articulated around the closing of the Bottom Line ("The Bottom Line Website;" Pareles 2004). The discourse has been articulated almost daily on popular blogs such as the Brooklyn Vegan and by promoters such as Todd Patrick and Ariel Panero (personal communication with Ariel Panero, 23 April 2010; Todd Patrick, 27 April 2010).
- <sup>7</sup> To his credit, Sisario did write about structural changes the following year, observing the new centrality of mid-size venues, for instance, but he did not make the connection to gentrification (2007). Music critics generally still continue to talk about gentrification in narratives of decline.
- <sup>8</sup> Zukin mentions Todd Patrick and writes briefly about the park (2010, 43-44), but she does not account for the evolution of the shows and the reactions to the development among the indie rock scene. One of my main informants here was the now deceased indie promoter Ariel Panero, who organized many shows with his small organization "Less Artists More Condos" and talked about promoting shows at the Jelly pool parties in 2010.
- <sup>9</sup> The term baby band generally refers to young bands still on the learning curve (see, e.g., Pareles 2013).
- The term feeder club is also used in sports in a similar sense of a junior team that primarily serves to grow talented players and feed them directly into the organization's parent club at the top level. I am indebted in my account of Mercury Lounge to Bill Bragin, former manager of Joe's Pub and now director of public programming at Lincoln Center. Bragin collaborates with big players such as The Bowery Presents and Live Nation (Bill Bragin, personal communication, 30 March 2012)
- As some of their artists have grown in popularity, The Bowery Presents has continued to open larger clubs and moved even further by presenting the most popular arts in large theatres and even Madison Square Garden. The number of shows in large theatres and arenas increased after Jim Glancy, formerly the local president of Live Nation, joined The Bowery Presents in 2004 and brought some of his artists with him.

### **Acknowledgements**

I would like to express special gratitude to Chris Washburne, Francesco Lapenta, Jim Sykes, and Shannon Garland for their help during the research that led to this article. I would also like to thank Ariel Panero, Bill Bragin, B.Q. Nquyen, Edan Wilbur, Jason Foster, Kate Landau, Lio Kanine, Matt Convoy, Melena Ryzik, Rami Haykal, Rich Zerbo, Rob Harvilla, Simon Henderson, Travis Johnson, and audiences at the venues of The Bowery Presents and in Brooklyn DIY spaces such as Monster Island Basement, Market Hotel, and Death by Audio. I am most grateful to the anonymous reviewers and to Simone Krüger for her ongoing editorial support and William Echard for final cpy-editing. Thanks also to editorial team members Elina Hytönen-Ng, Rupert Till and Hillegonda Rietveld. Valuable comments on late drafts of the article also came from Mark Banks, Monique Ingalls, and Nick Prior.

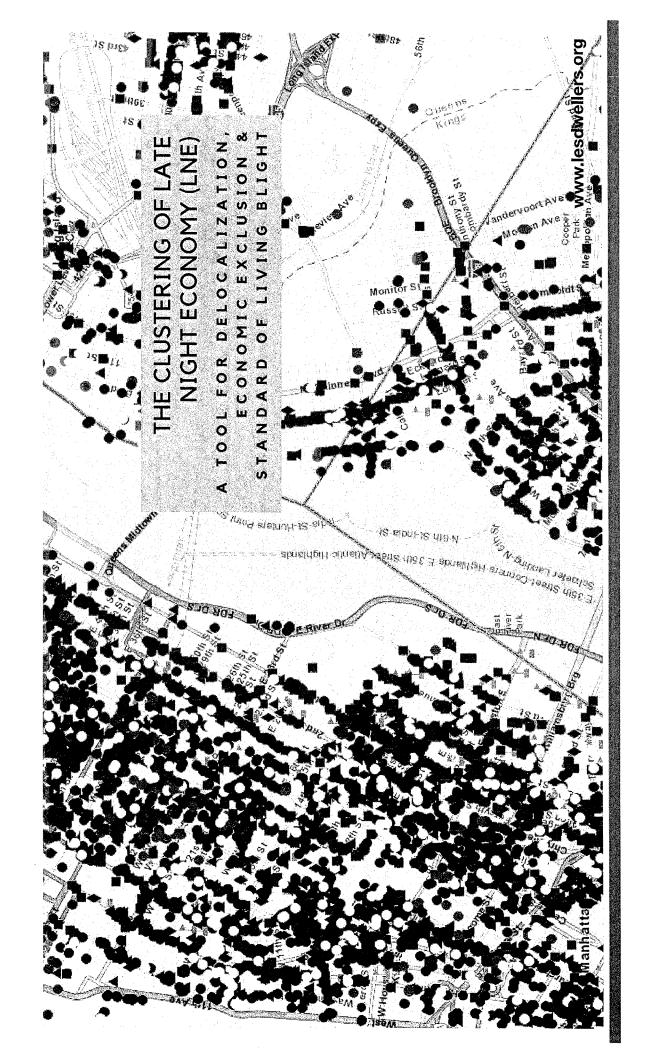
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"creative" class which drives up land value and changes the The process of "developing" an area to attract the new elite character of a place to the tastes of the new arrivals.

valuable attracting predatory landlords & real estate speculation. Leads to tenant displacement by making properties more

residential rents, attract corporate chains, encourages transience, Night Economy) zones strangle long-time mom & pop businesses, promotes tourism that overwhelms local residents & resources Economic development strategies like developing LNE (Late eradicate local & affordable services, raise commercial and (ie NYPD, sanitation, 311, etc).

This can be ushered by the city & state. Upzoning, selling

public assets, and tax breaks to developers can accelerate the process.

BIDs have a mandate to increase property and can expedite change.

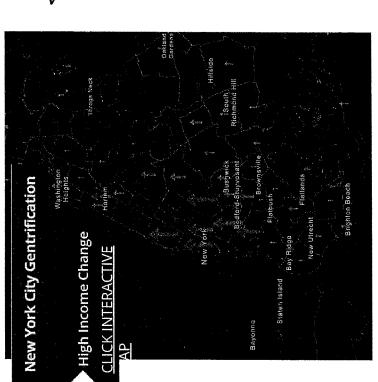
putting local residents at risk if using the police to respond non-emergencies. New residents & tourists have little contact with the existing population,

"The complicity between municipal government and big private money to reconfigure whole sections of a city, with dubious consequences, chief among them the ceding of space, goods and social currency from the ordinary classes to the ruling order." VANISHING NEW YORK, How a Great City Lost Its Soul By Jeremiah Moss (2017)



"A white woman called police on black people barbecuing in a public park in Oakland, CA."

## GREATURE CLASS



Urban Planning Strategy: Reverse Migration from the Suburbs to Cities.

engineering, tech and the creative fields) aka "creative" class from the based on attracting upper middle class/affluent, educated (ie science, suburbs to re-invigorate local economies & spur economic growt Late Night Economy corridors are specifically developed for new Developers & city planners have adopted urban planning theory

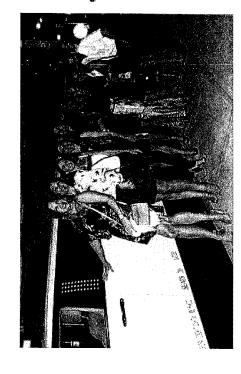
migrating "creative" class, often pushing out existing, older nightlife venues, etc. as well as other types of small businesses and services. e music venues, locally single-owned bars, alternative culture

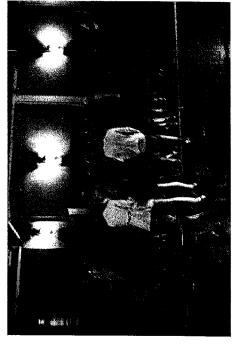
'creative class"; i.e. high wage earners have more disposable income Alcohol consumption is part of the spending culture of the new andlords / developers remove old businesses & fill commercial spaces to accommodate the new population's spending power. clustering, lux retail, expensive restaurants /cafes & chains as "reinvigorating" for entertainment and eating & drinking. te consumption patterns of "creative" class invites nie than local population living in the neighborhood being

social activities are scheduled in places that serve alcohol that cater organized sport clubs socials, expensive cocktails & eateries, etc. o "creative" class consumption patterns ie after-work socials,

market (taken over by private equity investors & developers often in worsening housing conditions, especially affordable rental housing creating commercial high rent blight & eliminating retail diversity partnership or with incentives from municipal government), and This development strategy is engine of inequality & exclusion

- daytime blight, and promotes warehousing of commercial Clustering LNE (Late Night Economy) creates retail and spaces for alcohol-related uses.
- Clustering nightlife businesses deaden street life during
- New nightlife-centric businesses cater to outsiders and tourists and hire new residents.
- new population reducing employment & entrepreneurial Economic activity is transferred from local residents to opportunities to existing communities.
- Loss of local services disrupts social ties by removing "third places" (outside of home and work) where people informally meet.
- and spend more to access displaced services and goods (in People can become isolated in their own neighborhood, price, time, and distance).







Late Night Economy is marketed through

NYC & Co (NYC Tourism Guide). Agency
promotes nightlife as "culture" (conflating
music venues with hotel nightclubs & bottle
service lounges) to tourists and weekend
transients.

- Nightlife is a luxury industry & product that can be unwelcoming to poor, working class, youth, elderly, sober, families, etc.
- Alcohol is a luxury item that is primarily enjoyed by people with more spending power & disposable income, especially at on-premise venues, which charge more than off-premise stores.
- Most businesses are not affordable. Longtime residents are not able to buy \$15 cocktails or \$9 beers
- Alcohol consumption is celebrated through media & advertising, promoting a carefree spending culture marketed to new elite "creative" class. Lifestyle is not relatable or obtainable for majority of the local population, offering little public benefit for larger community.

## MONON OF SHORT SHOOM SHO

### 3655

An entertainment district inherently becomes a single-use idea, and economics of single use districts incentivize

drinking and accompanying businesses like fast food & take manufactured drinking zones that eliminates retail diversity and pushes out art, music & cultural assets, resulting in a single consumption experience centered around all-night out shops, vape & tobacco stores, hotels, party buses & Late Night Economy clustering naturally creates tours, and street hawkers/vendors.

<u>ate Might Economy clustered zones cater to new residents, </u> move in or visit & businesses to service them while socially students, and tourists, attracting similar populations to and economically excluding the local community.

new population & tourists, disregarding long-time residents, selection of homogeneous theme park experiences for the their economic realities, and existing diversity and culture. The model suggests that city life is nothing more than a

- Greater alcohol access and clustering leads to more negative outcomes which is a burden on individuals, families, and communities.
- An addictive substance: businesses that sell addictive substances (alcohol, tobacco, etc) earn about 75% of their revenue from 15-20% of their customers. They are economically sustained by those who are addicted.
- A safety hazard: Study after study has shown an increase in violence, crime, and other socially negative outcomes with increased outlet density.





To Whom It May Concern at CB3,

for 10 years.

neighborhood.

PIERRE MOULIN

Name PIERRE MOULIN Company LE FRENCH DINER Address 188 ORCHARD ST Email LEFRENCHDINER188@GMAIL.COM

OWNER\_\_\_at LE FRENCH DINER , a

Tom & Billy of Jazz Café (FLA Group) told me about their plans for a small Jazz Lounge & venue at 187 Orchard street. I strongly believe this will be a great addition to the neighborhood. Manhattan's live music ecosystem has struggled for very long and the pandemic only did it worse. A new, elevated, small-capacity music venue will serve our neighborhood and local community well—especially when considering our bohemian history & its tie-ins with the music of our great city. Tom & Billy have told us about their menu, their hours, and their programming and we could not be more excited for them to open their doors and bring their idea to our

\_\_RESTAURANT located at 188 ORCHARD ST, LE FRENCH DINER has been in the neighborhood

I hope that the community board recognizes the positive externalities this business could have. Beyond providing a space for the live arts, small venues like this are known to serve local patrons, not tourists like the large nightclubs do. Live music spaces have been receding farther and farther away from Manhattan due to gentrification—hopefully this can be a small step in reversing that unfortunate trend. A small jazz venue with offerings like this one is the best kind of neighbor we could ask for, one that will bring great character to our block.

Best,

Signature

Ę

To the members of Community Board Three,

My name is \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ & I live / work within two blocks of 187 Orchard Street. I understand that Jazz Cafe (AKA FLA Group) will be opening a new jazz venue at the above address, and I am signing this letter to show my support for the project.

More than just a bar or club, this live music space will support the arts, local social interests, and one of New York City's greatest musical traditions, jazz music. Jazz is both elevated in its creative aims & open in its composition, which is a perfect metaphor for my beloved New York neighborhood.

I support more than the creative mission of this project, too. I believe their requested hours, methods of operation, & pricing are very well thought out & will help ensure that this is a space used by locals primarily. Even though Jazz music & hi-fi listening don't raise concerns about noise for me, I am impressed that the operators have gone through with the effort to provide acoustic reporting & the plans to abate the prospect of noise. Their plans for renovations also indicate a level of care that was generally very impressive. All this said, I also miss having the former Rockwood Music Stage Three on the block and am supportive of a similar use in our neighborhood as opposed to just about anything else.

Jazz Café will be a great addition to the neighborhood and I am happy to lend my support. If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to reach out.

Your neighbor,

Ale Tarrer Assembly New York

Full Name
ale @ assembly new york. com

Email

170 Ludlow St New York My 10002

Street Address

August \_\_\_, 2023 Lower East Side

To the members of Community Board Three,

My name is \_\_\_\_\_\_ & I live / work within two blocks of 187 Orchard Street. I understand that Jazz Cafe (AKA FLA Group) will be opening a new jazz venue at the above address, and I am signing this letter to show my support for the project.

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Your neighbor,

Exik Munoz St Eguil . Can Apolle Cary

Email

119 orded St

Street Address

August \_\_\_, 2023 Lower East Side

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Jazz Café will be a great addition to the neighborhood and I am happy to lend my support. If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to reach out.

Your neighbor,

6,60 Room

Full Name

Vanes of anouncomnycon

Street Address

+ Gugu Room

August 13, 2023 Lower East Side

To the members of Community Board Three,

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Jazz Café will be a great addition to the neighborhood and I am happy to lend my support. If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to reach out.

Your neighbor,

Mari Hwang

Full Name

Mari @ filvs. com

Email

125 Ordhard St, New York, M10002 (Gelato Pique)

Street Address

August <u>25</u>, 2023 Lower East Side

To the members of Community Board Three,

More than just a bar or club, this live music space will support the arts, local social interests, and one of New York City's greatest musical traditions, jazz music. Jazz is both elevated in its creative aims & open in its composition, which is a perfect metaphor for my beloved New York neighborhood.

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Jazz Café will be a great addition to the neighborhood and I am happy to lend my support. If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to reach out.

Sami & Suc.

Your neighbor,

UORDAN ANDERS UN

Full Name

JRANDERS ON 3170 GMAIC - COM

Email

190 ORCHARP ST. NY, NY, 10038

August 23, 2023 Lower East Side

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My name is \_\_\_\_\_\_\_ & I live /work within two blocks of 187 Orchard Street. I understand that Jazz Cafe (AKA FLA Group) will be opening a new jazz venue at the above address, and I am signing this letter to show my support for the project.

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I support more than the creative mission of this project, too. I believe their requested hours, methods of operation, & pricing are very well thought out & will help ensure that this is a space used by locals primarily. Even though Jazz music & hi-fi listening don't raise concerns about noise for me, I am impressed that the operators have gone through with the effort to provide acoustic reporting & the plans to abate the prospect of noise. Their plans for renovations also indicate a level of care that was generally very impressive. All this said, I also miss having the former Rockwood Music Stage Three on the block and am supportive of a similar use in our neighborhood as opposed to just about anything else.

Jazz Café will be a great addition to the neighborhood and I am happy to lend my support. If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to reach out.

Joseph Demes
Full Name

Joseph Knitwear. com

Email

180 Orchard Street

Street Address

Your neighbor,

PLT Kritwear August 25, 2023 Lower East Side

To the members of Community Board Three,

My name is JULE WERDERS BACH & I live / work within two blocks of 187 Orchard Street. I understand that Jazz Cafe (AKA FLA Group) will be opening a new jazz venue at the above address, and I am signing this letter to show my support for the project.

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Your neighbor,

### JAZZ CAFÉ

Ever since, his band Isaiah Collier and The Chosen Few has been turning ears. ± ANGEL BAT DAWID: The

phrase. He began playing saxophone at age 11, and his intuitive proficiency earned him attention early on.

ISAIAH COLLIER: Twenty-three-year-old Isaiah Collier is a musical virtuoso in the truest sense of the

Oracle charts Dawid's journey with improvised music and all that inspired her during her world travels. It "Black Family" to the plethora of borrowed traditions, notably call and response: "Capetown" features an

conjures a vast, immersive aural exploration of black experiences, from the unwavering strength of the

exchange between South African drummer Asher Simiso Gamedze and Dawid on clarinet, passionate and

untempered." - Pitchfork

SUN APR 7 — SAT APR 13

SUN

MOM

TUE

45

UP

CP CP

45

GILES 7PM

JULIARD JAZZ SELECTS 10PM

JACK PLAYS

10PM

**MONK!** set 2!)

**HOUSE TRIO** 

10PM

SUNDAY

STANDARDS

Selections

Selections

(set 2!)

Music of Miles Davis)

STARS

**ALL MILES ALL** 

10PM

DOWN

DOWN

COLLIER & 10PM ISAIAH

FEW

7:30PM

& 10PM 7:30PM

7:30PM & 10PM SAIAH

ISAIAH

6:30PM

AND THE CHOSEN

\$30/\$35

WED

SAT

FRI

THU

GD

CP CP

CP CP

**7PM** 

JAZZ w/ BILLY **LONG HAIRED** JONES

**HOMAGE TO** 

JAZZ CAFÉ ALI

EAST VILLAGE

7PM

RADIO

**PETERSON** 

**JACK PLAYS** 

**WKCR JAZZ** 

7PM

HOUR DJ

**7PM** 

MONK!

**ZPM** 

STARS

7PM

AHMAD JAMAL FUNDRAISER **FOUNDATION OF AMERICA** Solo Piano) **10PM** JAZZ

JAZZ CAFÉ ALL

10PM

REUNION (live)

**BLANK FORMS** & RED HOOK 10PM

Selections RECORDS

DOWN

DOWN

DOWN

DOWN

DMG Presents: Michael Foster **7PM** 

7PM

9:30PM & 11PM

ANGEL BAT DAWID \$25/\$30

AND THE COLLIER CHOSEN FEW

AND THE COLLIER

CHOSEN

FEW

\$30/\$35

\$30/\$35 21+

**ANASTASIA** \$15/\$20 COOPE 7PM STAND UP TALL (FREE laughs)

ANGEL BAT DAWID 9:30PM & 11PM **ANGEL BAT** DAWID

\$25/\$30

\$25/\$30

9:30PM & 11PM COOKIES Live Podcast \$10 9:30PM & 11PM

**ANGEL BAT** \$25/\$30 DAWID 21+



### Join us in redefining jazz for a new generation

187 Orchard Street (FLA Group, LLC)

Welcome to Jazz Café: a refined gathering space with a downtown atmosphere, where the classic charm of jazz meets modern sensibilities. Our aim is to create an engaging experience that draws a new crowd while preserving the essence of jazz tradition. Nestled in the heart of New York City, Jazz Café combines sophistication with bohemian allure, offering an ambiance that blends vintage elegance with contemporary energy.

As you step inside, you'll find a vinyl-only HI-FI listening area, akin to a Japanese kissa. Our drinks embody simplicity and elegance, with classic cocktails and a refined wine selection. Live music, including piano or jazz trio performances, fills the air at a perfect volume, creating an inviting atmosphere that encourages both appreciation and conversation. Our downstairs stage hosts ticketed shows featuring rising local talents and acclaimed players alike. Additionally, with open improv nights, we foster a collaborative community of passionate artists, recognizing that the future of jazz thrives on unity.

Jazz Café stands as a haven in the ever-active city, merging sophistication with contemporary spirit, and offering nights filled with rhythmic artistry and connection.

Join us in redefining jazz for a new generation.

In a few weeks, we appear before the local community board for District 3 (East Village, LES, Chinatown). If you have a moment, please sign our petition, which helps us secure our liquor license for the above address.

Thanks,