

**Aesthetic Imagination, Civic Imagination and the Role of the Arts  
In Community Change and Development**

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**Beauty is truth, truth beauty,"—that is all  
Ye know on earth, and all ye need to know.**

**John Keats, Ode on a Grecian Urn**

## **Introduction**

This paper explores the recent experience of an economically ailing area of southern Virginia, Southside or the Dan River region, as its governments and private elites have sought to address its declining fortunes. Recent decades have not been kind to this sprawling area along Virginia's border with North Carolina. Its traditional economic mainstays of tobacco, furniture and textiles production have either fallen victim to outsourcing or to changing patterns of consumer demand or both. What intrigues us about this community change process are the implications of economic dislocation and distress for the collective social identity of the region. Few forces are more disruptive than changes in the economic make-up or foundations of a community. Deindustrialization, out-sourcing or plant closure all create strong social tensions and this may be particularly the case in communities, like those in Southside, that historically relied on only one or a few sources of economic activity for the livelihood of their citizens. Substantial percentages of the populations of Danville, Martinsville and South Boston, the region's principal centers, were employed at "the (textile) mill" or "the (furniture) plant" or were involved in processing "the (tobacco) crop" and for several generations their children reasonably could expect to be similarly employed. Beginning in the late 1970s and early 1980s, this "company town" way of life was subjected to the brutal assault of economic restructuring as the forces of global trade and changing demand literally stanching the economic life-blood of the region.

This article chronicles an effort to consider how arts-based dialogic strategies might help communities sent reeling by ongoing economic collapse to confront the issue of what comes next in economic terms, as well as the question of what their collective identity now might be when the comfort and relative certainty of knowing that "we process tobacco" or "we make cloth" or "we craft furnishings" all but disappears. Such dislocation is not merely economic but suggests profound ramifications for how citizens perceive their rightful roles in social change and community redevelopment processes. It is these that continue to interest us as the Southside story unfolds.

The choices that these communities make to address their economic collapse are of moment for specific families and towns. That is, who gets what portion of the economic pie. But the choices also affect social justice. That is, who is empowered to play roles in deciding how communities will respond to their changed conditions. As such, they also implicitly demand the (re)creation of a shared social understanding or narrative that allows residents to make sense of their lives. We argue that arts-based dialogue can play a vital role in the processes aligned with making such choices and is uniquely equipped to help communities consider specific forms of replacement economic activity (a typical economic development focus), but also and far more significantly, to encourage its citizens to reflect deeply on the character of their communal social identity, on the nature of their social narrative, as they confront the vagaries of an uncertain future. It is these socially constructed collective archetypes and shared narratives that allow citizens to make sense of their lives and on which much personal as well as civic meaning is predicated.

To address these concerns we first suggest how personal and social identities are created and may be linked by sampling relevant philosophic literature that treats our concerns. We next suggest how economic change can threaten those identities. We conclude with observations on our own evolving effort to work with artists to assure opportunities for broad scale citizen reflection of how the region should change and what that portends for residents' personal and social identities. We also explore whether artists themselves can shift their perspectives sufficiently to understand the ties between their artistic efforts based on their aesthetic imaginations and the civic contexts in which they create their work.

Our research consisting of personal interviews with artists from across the region, suggests that for some artisans, the linkage between the aesthetic and the civic imaginations is not necessarily obvious regardless of its relative power once perceived. This fact sets up a paradox, artisans may be very well positioned to produce works that prompt their fellow citizens to reflect more deeply on their collective social conditions, and thereby to grapple with enduring issues of personal and communal identity and justice, but they may not themselves immediately understand that they may play such a role. Rather, that possibility must first be grasped and then acted upon before the aesthetic may actively and intentionally influence the civic. We argue that this link may be a difficult one to establish for a share of individual artists in Southside. That fact, hardly unique to

this region, conditions the capacity of artisans in Southside to play a role in repositioning the area for a changed economic future.

### **Economic Change and Personal and Social Identity**

The issue of the construction of personal and social identities has vexed philosophers from time immemorial. We do not pretend here to do more than suggest how certain dimensions of that very long lineage may apply to the problematic of the role that aesthetic imagination may play as communities react to economic change. Canadian philosopher Charles Taylor has wrestled with how individuals (at least in liberal societies) may relate to the social fabric by suggesting that people are neither wholly free nor wholly constrained in their choice making but instead exist within a complex constellation of forces:

A self exists only within what I call 'webs of interlocution' and living within such strongly qualified horizons is constitutive of human agency, that stepping outside these limits would be tantamount to stepping outside what we recognize as integral, that is, undamaged human personhood. (Cited in Appiah, 2005, 45).

We are born with identities comprised of personal talents and socially relevant characteristics including our race, gender, sex, the religious preferences, if any, of our parents, the economic status and standing of our families and so on. Socially relevant characteristics situate individuals in ethical social space and constrain their possibilities even as their particular talents and capacities may provide wherewithal to address those factors. In such circumstances, the measure of citizens' lives will be determined in good part by the life goals they set for themselves. But individuals are not entirely free to make just any choices; they must do so within the envelope of societal constraints and expectations.

To make sense of such limitations humans create narratives or stories. As Alasdair MacIntyre has observed:

It is because we understand our own lives in terms of the narratives we live out that the form of narrative is appropriate for understanding the actions of

others. Each of our shorter-term intentions is, and can only be made, intelligible by reference to some longer-term intentions. Behavior is only characterized adequately when we know what the longer and longest-term intentions are and how the shorter-term intentions are related to the longer. Once again, we are involved in writing a narrative history (MacIntyre, 1984,212,207-208).

Meanwhile, Kwame Appiah has suggested that this propensity is not merely individual but social and not simply self-referential but socially shaped:

So, we should acknowledge how much our personal histories, the stories we tell of where we have been and where we are going, are constructed, like novels and movies, short stories and folktales, within narrative conventions. Indeed, one of the things that popular narratives (whether filmed or televised, spoken or written) do for us is to provide models for telling our lives. At the same time, part of the function of our collective identities—of the whole repertory of them that a society makes available to its members—is to structure narratives of the individual self (Appiah, 2005, 22).

Significantly, only the social stories or archetypes are predetermined. In principle, *individuals* are free to seek any personal life arc of their choosing that lies within their capacity to imagine. Not so, however, those traced by *social* expectations. Thus, Rosa Parks broke all social narrative norms as well as the strictures of behavior accompanying them when, as an African-American woman living in the South in a time of profound social segregation and discrimination, she refused to move to the back of the bus. Parks' choice provides an apt illustration of the intersection of the social and the personal. It also neatly exemplifies the relationship between values and the options available to the choosing individual. Those alternatives are relatively unchangeable in the short term. While a citizen might "desire to desire" a different constellation of social possibilities, these are relatively fixed, however devoutly people might wish matters to be otherwise. Even in the case of Parks, whose courage is justly celebrated, her choice was to refuse to move and to suffer arrest and possible imprisonment, or to move and obey a strong social expectation. She could, and did, choose in favor of an "anti-social" course but only at substantial personal cost. We celebrate her valor precisely because she broke free of social rigidities when these were omnipresent. The more typical result of the intersection of the individual and the social in such a situation is what Jon Elster has labeled "adaptive

preference formation” or the alignment of preferences with available options (Elster, 1993, 54-57). Parks challenged these at a time when a majority of African Americans in the South were not doing so. That is precisely why her actions were so significant. The exception points up the enduring power of the rule.

Society ascribed a specific identity to Parks that she eschewed, but she was nonetheless treated as *if* her membership in a specific category or set of categories made her a certain sort of individual who could be expected to behave in predictable ways and could be treated in a specific fashion because of the defining nature of that characterization. Parks was African American, a woman and working-class and so “could be expected” to defer to her “betters.” The patterns of behavior toward African Americans in the South in general shaped the specific manner in which Parks as an individual was treated. Decades later, we admire her courage in resisting these nominalist social claims, but it is worth recalling that the behavior of her famous bus’s driver (now long forgotten) to seek to uphold existing social norms was celebrated by many Southerners at the time of the incident. He was, after all, reflecting prevailing social expectations for how Parks should be treated.

All of this may be linked to the challenges wrought by economic change by recalling that prevailing social narratives help individual citizens make sense of their life-world even as they strongly influence the possibilities of personal identity formation (Habermas, 1983). If the prevailing reality for generations has been the dominance of one firm and its leadership in a community, that fact establishes expectations of what is typically likely as a viable life course but often of what is imaginable as well. If dad or mom left school in 10<sup>th</sup> grade to work in the local mill and his or her firm served as the area’s only or primary employer, it is not difficult to see how such factors might shape children’s expectations of what was possible and prudent as they crafted their life hopes. Moreover, since the company dominated the town or region economically, its leaders also played a vital role in community life. Inescapably, company choices connoted large community impacts.

For this reason, the views of company leaders often were more significant in community decision-making than those of local elected officials. That reality necessarily created a certain social deference to the proverbial “man” as the firm’s choices could materially influence one’s entire life trajectory. And if this was so for individuals, it was also true for entire communities whose economies were dependent on the fortunes and

choices of individual companies and their leaders. These economic realities were coupled in Southside with a pervasive and enduring racial divide. The “man” was white, male and upper class while the workers were African American and/or working class. The class and racial divisions ran deep and were reinforced by the structure of employment in the local economy. This created a dominant social narrative that demeaned or dismissed the voice of African Americans and working class whites alike and that demanded that these defer to elites, especially private sector elites, for important community choices. The prevailing social norm also included strong and widespread belief in the innate inferiority of African Americans among the majority of whites though, in truth, working class whites did not receive much higher regard from company officials. This strong deference to elites and the broad class divide that attended it, were accompanied by traditional community particularism. Southside communities, located as close as ten or fifteen miles apart, whose workforces and social composition were otherwise virtually identical, cooperated little and competed fiercely. That behavior reinforced the relative social power of private elites in any given town.

In sum, the prevailing social narrative of the region exhibited four primary characteristics:

- Classism and an accompanying deference to private sector elites
- Pervasive racism and discrimination vis-à-vis African Americans and (discrimination) to a lesser extent of working-class whites
- Strong community particularism
- Firm-based paternalism

These factors shaped the social matrix that confronted individual citizens as they sought to map their potential life choices. Economic calamity undermined one of the primary foundations of that social system and structure of belief as firms closed but did not necessarily spell that system’s demise as remaining private sector elites nonetheless sought to take charge and press for change to address the declining fortunes of the region.

## Response to Economic Change

The drive to secure an economic revitalization strategy was launched and has been led principally by private elites in the region. A group of these, based in Danville, formed the Future of the Piedmont Foundation in 1999 and vigorously sought assistance from the state's leading land grant university while also commissioning a study of the region's economic standing and prospects (Manpower Development Corporation, 2000). This last indicated that the area was unlikely to receive substantial inflows of investment to replace the jobs it was hemorrhaging without major changes in its workforce and social infrastructure. It called for the creation of conditions that would allow the Danville area to compete in the "new information economy" and suggested that information technology might serve as the leading wedge for economic transformation. This response by elites exhibited several characteristics. The initiative was

- Led by private elites
- Initiated and overseen overwhelmingly by wealthy white and middle-aged men
- Designed to develop a strategy that would replace existing economic activity but which did not necessarily involve a broad group of citizens in its development or implementation
- Driven by an implicit assumption that elite choices were appropriate for all of the community's citizens.

The effort mirrored the assumptions of the existing social matrix. The initiative was launched in one community. It assumed that the already privileged could set the course for others and imagined that firm development and recruitment, especially of the New Economy Stripe (rather than or in addition to) community or social reflection to determine a new course, was sufficient to address the area's economic woes. To date, Martinsville and South Boston have largely followed Danville's example. The region continues to lose jobs on a net basis but efforts are underway to capitalize on regional assets and technology to create new economic opportunities. What is not yet clear is whether this approach will succeed or whether, more significantly, the general population either endorses or will benefit from it on a reasonably broad basis. It is critical to emphasize that this strategy was undertaken on the basis of the existing assumptions undergirding social identity. The warp and woof of civic action, that is, the application of civic imagination, were shaped by the existing construction of social identity.



## **Leadership Through the Arts (LTA):**

### **Imagining the Possibility of a New Social Matrix**

To capitalize on the energy of local artists in the Dan River region, Virginia Tech's Institute for Policy and Governance has been partnering with a coalition of regional artists, activists, and educators in a community-building initiative based on civic dialogue and engagement through the arts. This partnership is designed to foster and strengthen subsequent problem-solving coalitions in the region. The goals of this initiative are:

- To promote the emergence of locally-driven, inclusive coalitions that emphasize economic and social justice;
- To increase the participation of historically disenfranchised individuals and communities in non-traditional forums that promote creative dialogue and citizen-led engagement with planning for the future; and
- To encourage the emergence of a stronger, healthier civic identity in the region.

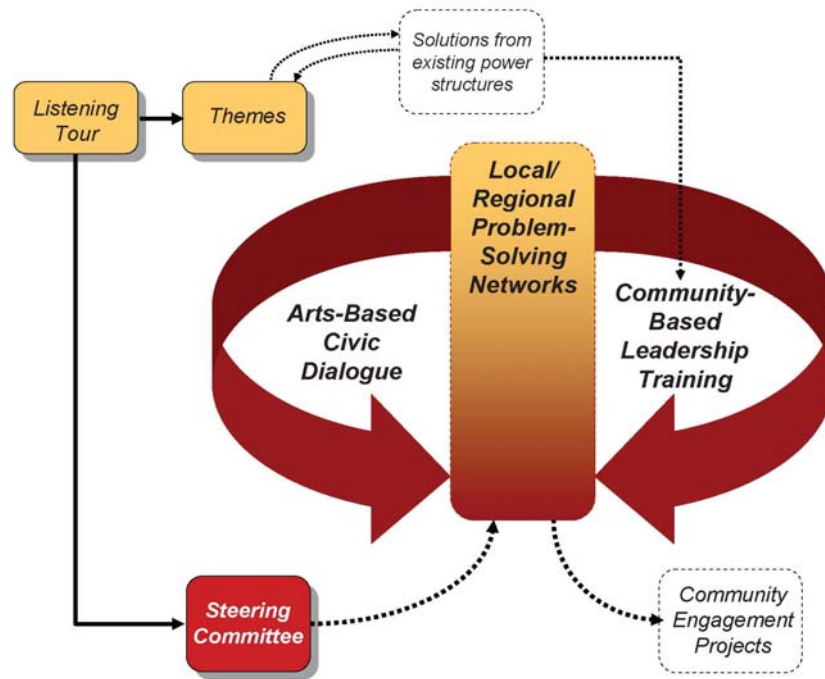
In short, the project implicitly challenges each of the core assumptions that underpin the region's prevailing social identity.

Rather than assume that one or another social or economic response was appropriate for the region and to learn about the area's challenges and elicit the perspective of its artists, a working group of eight faculty and student researchers conducted fifty-three in-depth, fifty to sixty minute "Listening Tour" interviews with members of the arts community in the Dan River region from October 2004 through May 2005. Interviewers were drawn from Virginia Tech's School of Public and International Affairs (SPIA) and Theatre Arts department. Meeting in homes, coffee shops, schools and arts venues, four two-person teams interviewed twenty respondents in the October and December 2004 first round, while twenty-five additional interviews were completed in a second round during the spring of 2005. Interviewees hailed from Danville, Martinsville, South Boston, Chatham and surrounding communities in the Southside counties of Henry, Pittsylvania, and Halifax and included local artists, craftspeople, writers, presenters, promoters, community activists and arts educators. Following a classic snowball sampling strategy, each interview led to others working in the arts in the region. By the end of the first round, the list of contacts included more than fifty individuals. A third round of eight interviews occurred in late summer of 2006 with the aim of over-

sampling individuals from traditionally disenfranchised groups. This round of interviews will continue into the fall of 2006.

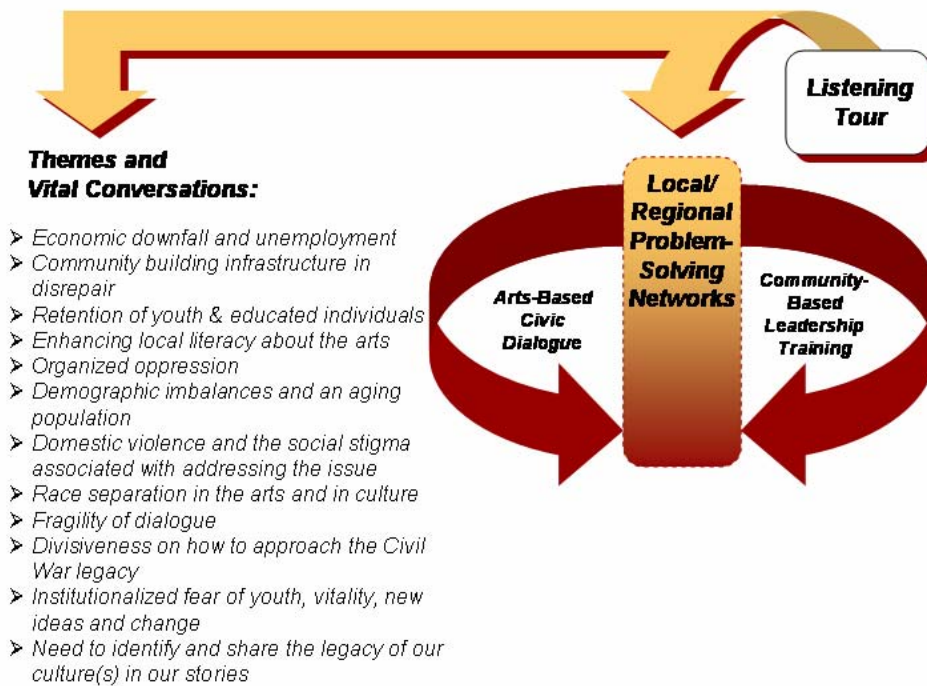
A critical step towards ensuring a truly engaged and participatory process occurred in mid-2005 with the establishment of a Steering Committee for this effort. The Listening Tour interviews identified twelve individuals who, through personal contacts in local arts and leadership networks and personal willingness to serve, will be critical in refining and building self-sustaining problem-solving coalitions for the region. Virginia Tech faculty and graduate students have engaged in several meetings with the Steering Committee since its formation in order to discuss the potential scope and future directions of the initiative.

In August 2005 Steering Committee volunteers were invited to reflect on and respond to a discussion piece, *Insights Shared*, which outlined several crosscutting themes that emerged in the Listening Tour interviews. The group engaged in a series of interactive exercises and story circles designed to build trust and open thoughtful dialogue around community and regional issues. Two programmatic elements were discussed as potential strategies for broadening the initiative: Community-Based Leadership Training and Arts-Based Civic Dialogue, both of which would be designed to foster problem-solving networks of locally-driven, community-based coalitions that are adaptive, inclusive and sustainable. Whatever their specific characteristics, these strategies would be designed to foster dialogue through projects that cut across social, racial and economic boundaries. Figure 1 depicts the grassroots problem solving strategy that emerged from this steering committee discussion.



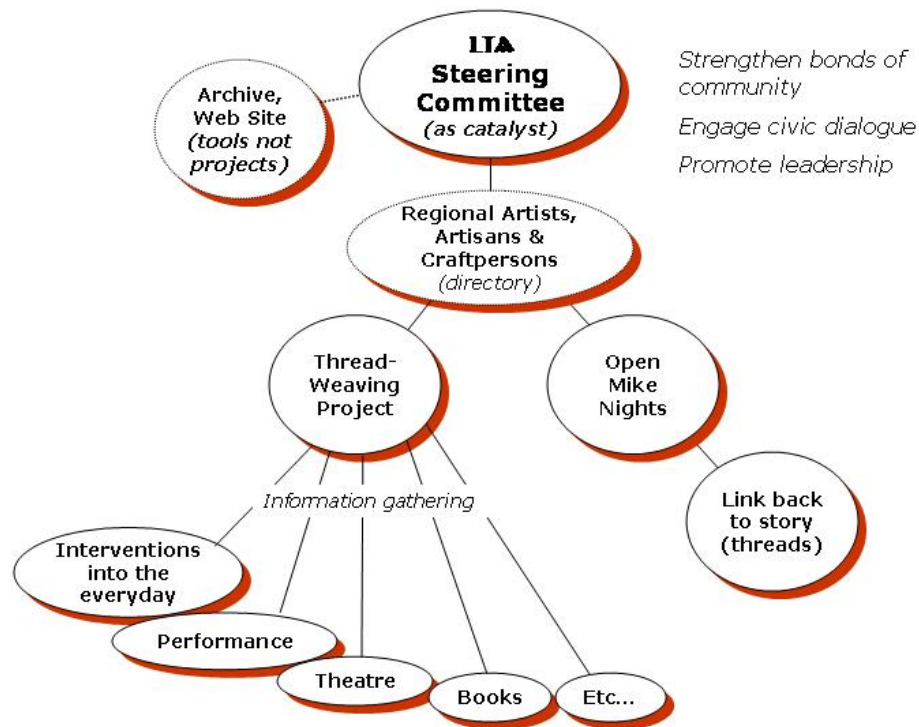
**Figure 1**

Participants also discussed the internal organizational capacities of the LTA effort, including resources and methods of communication. Steering Committee members considered key issues in organizing, developing capacities and means of facilitating dialogue across social and racial groups. Among these was determining the regional scope through a grassroots process of identifying communities that share civic needs and express interest in creative change, along with recognition of existing local assets and capacities within the arts community.



**Figure 2**

The Steering Committee has sought to identify and develop potential projects to address regional identity, connecting youth, arts and crafts heritage and oral histories. Figure 2 outlines the fruits of those discussions. While these themes and issues arose from Steering Committee conversation, they cross neatly to the assumptions and beliefs of the prevailing conception of social identity—but rather than accept and act on these, artists identified them as challenges to be addressed and overcome. That is, grassroots artists saw the existing social matrix and its assumptions as oppressive. The elites operating on its assumptions believed just as strongly that they were taking steps that were in the best interests of their communities. The disjunction of perceptions was jarring. Unlike many of the elites involved in redevelopment efforts, most of our interviewees understood that the aesthetic is inherently political and that art can create opportunities for reconsidering the existing boundaries of social identity. The Steering Committee has sought self-consciously to design projects that would afford residents possibilities to ponder their assumptions about their roles in community.



**Figure 3**

Figure 3 outlines the initial project ideas of the Steering Committee based on its collective reading of community problems and concerns. The group has identified two different audiences to consider: storytellers need to understand the context in which their stories will be heard, seen or otherwise engaged, and funders need to see the ways in which the stories and projects presented represent the potential to develop and implement adaptive social solutions through dialogue. The group's "Thread Weaving Project" explores local narrative and oral history through arts-based projects that may facilitate a civic conversation on socially constructed archetypes and identities. John Czaplicka and Blair Ruble have dubbed this process an "archeology of the local" that employs historical narratives to guide the imaginative reconstruction of local identity (Czaplicka and Ruble, 2003, 25).

## **The Relationship of Aesthetic and Civic Imagination: Perils and Prospects**

Our ongoing research, inspired in part by the Ford Foundation's *Animating Democracy* project which reached similar conclusions, suggests that artists are well situated to catalyze a civic conversation concerning the enduring social fissures and archetypes of their communities, as well as the development of various strategies by which these might be approached (*Animating Democracy*, 1999, Executive Summary). As that project's report to its sponsor highlighted:

The potential role of art to create indelible images, to express difficult ideas through metaphor, and to communicate beyond the limits of language makes it a powerful force for illuminating civic experience... American artists and cultural institutions have long engaged civic issues through a wide spectrum of activity. At one end of the spectrum, topical art articulates or comments on social issues, at the other end, artists and cultural institutions use the arts to engage people in action to effect change. But more recently, a vital mid-range of activity has begun to emerge at the center of the spectrum. This body of work—arts-based civic dialogue—...seeks to engage a broad diversity of publics in discussion and reflection on challenging issues (*Animating Democracy*, 1999, Executive Summary).

Absent LTA, it seems likely that no such community development effort would unfold in Southside because the dominant social matrix historically does not support such an undertaking. Thus far, elites have vigorously pursued a strategy that, while not wholly insensitive to the grassroots or to the difficulties associated with the region's social matrix, has nonetheless not sought to challenge or rethink those claims. Rather, economic change efforts have proceeded on roughly identical premises to those that supported past elite-prescribed social action. This is not to criticize those so engaged so much as it is to remark on the enduring strength of the region's social construction of its identity. Neither is it to suggest that a dialogic effort could not exist along side and complement the more traditional top-down strategy launched by the area's leaders. What is clear is that the reach of Southside's civic imagination is circumscribed by its citizens' acceptance of its long-lived socially constructed identity.

If this reality represents a challenge for arts-based dialogue, so too do important dimensions of that process even if one assumes its robust implementation. First, it is clear that civic dialogue of the sort envisioned by the LTA Steering committee implicitly challenges the power position of economic elites across the region. Whether these are ready to embrace the noise, potential conflict and social confusion of community dialogue without feeling threatened by that process remains to be seen. Second, it is by no means clear that funding for this process on a long-term basis can be found. While several foundations have indicated interest and support, none have yet supplied funds, including those controlled by area elites. Third, and perhaps most interesting, it is not yet clear whether the communities across the region will engage in the potential that arts-based dialogue represents given the population's past inclination to defer to powerful elites and its past inability to demand an alternate social identity. Fourth, as the *Animating Democracy* projects aptly demonstrated, dialogue that deals with difficult issues that divide residents of a community can create conflict and controversy. Open and serious discussions of continuing de facto racial segregation by neighborhood and community or classism or traditional gender discrimination may create conflict and controversy that could threaten the efficacy of the initiative despite the strong engagement of a cadre of artists across the region. Fifth, and quite similar to the *Animating Democracy* experience, issue framing is critical to public understanding and participation. Art has the power of subtlety and metaphors need not be sledgehammer-like to be effective, but *how* concerns are expressed and framed can matter profoundly in how they are perceived and whether citizens engage in meaningful dialogue concerning them. Such framing choices are strategic and difficult and often the product of extended and emotionally charged conversation.

But perhaps the most difficult challenge confronting those using arts-based dialogue to kindle broad community conversation and reflection on the possible future of the Dan River region concerns a difficulty that inheres in the artists themselves: their conception of the implications of their understanding of themselves as aesthetes for their role in community. A substantial minority of the artists we interviewed demonstrated difficulty conceiving of their art in civic or public terms. Instead, they saw their artistry as producing beauty for themselves and their consumers or supporters rather than as integral to a possible civic conversation. Put differently, rather than imagine their work as inherently communal, these artisans have privatized their sphere of work. While this is surely in keeping with the Western idealist philosophic tradition exemplified by Kant who argued that "the aesthetic sphere is one of free and disinterested purposelessness" and pure of

any political connotation, it robs art-making of its social claim and empties it of its corporeal manifestation reducing it to a cognitive construct (Schusterman, 2001, 260).

This view also assumes that beauty is not contested and exists apart from the stuff of daily life. This conception does not permit artists to understand that the aesthetic is itself full-bodied, multi-dimensional and contested over time. It does not allow them to understand the innately social character of their work—whatever their personal role in producing it (Eagleton, 1990). In short, one of the most difficult challenges of arts-based dialogue lies with the question of whether artists themselves define their enterprise in a way that allows them to grasp its social character. When they privatize their art, they privatize their role and do not understand its potential import for the broader community nor do they acknowledge the ways that social norms and mores shape the art they produce. The potential for dialogue is lost and the public role of the artist is not realized. The turn in cognitive perception necessary for artists to understand the contested, physical and communal character of the aesthetic may be likened to the turning of a crystal vase so that other facets of its character may shine through. The reach of artistic aesthetic imagination shapes the capacity of art to play a role in the ongoing dynamic conversation that shapes civic possibility or imagination. Understood properly and broadly, these conceptions are joined and each reinforces the other. Viewed narrowly, the potential of both is hobbled.

### **Conclusions**

Human beings daily face a cacophony of stimuli. This familiar reality requires that perceptions and experiences be catalogued and concerns framed and placed into categories that make emotional and cognitive sense. Philosophers have long argued that personal and civic identities are the product of such processes. These frames take the form of stories or narratives and are socially constructed, that is, the product of dialogue between and among individuals and their changing social contexts. Communal and personal narratives are powerfully linked, as each is partly the product of interactions with the other. Identities at both the personal and community scales are aimed at helping individuals make sense of their lived experience *in situ* and as fully as possible. Normative stereotypes entail life scripts and powerfully shape how individuals craft their personal identities as these relate to moral and civic life.



One need only apply this insight to the community level to understand its aptness for Southside. While narratives simplify and concretize complexity and change, they are themselves changeable over time. But while this potential always exists, it does not simply happen. Instead, it demands that citizens think afresh about the assumptions by which they are living their lives and undertake the often arduous and intellectually and emotionally difficult process of reframing the premises on which they make meaning of their existence. While economic dislocation can be profoundly unsettling it is not clear that such alone is sufficiently powerful to yield such a rethinking. What must first obtain are compelling reasons both broader and thicker than economic change alone. These must also be compellingly framed, if a collective reflection process is to follow entrain. It is to this possibility that arts-based community dialogue may make important contributions, not by assuring the creation of a pre-ordained new narrative but by catalyzing the possibilities that permit citizens to reflect anew on the frames they are collectively employing to make sense of their lives.

But such catalysis alone is not sufficient, for one may not suppose that those empowered by existing stereotypes and social myths will yield their roles readily or that they will necessarily understand the reasons why it might be appropriate for them to do so. After all, narratives underpin meaning and legitimacy and counter claims for such frames must be particularly powerful if they are to attain anything like collective social sway. Personal and social identities result from symbols and rituals that provide individuals and communities an identifiable place in a larger symbolic configuration. In this sense, social structure matters profoundly for the construction of individual identity. Collective narratives that make meaning and situate individuals in their particular socio-economic contexts constitute socially generated ideas about how certain types of people should conduct themselves. If artists are to play a role in the dynamics of such processes they must first understand their potential to do so. And that requires that they reflect on their concept of the aesthetic and embrace its public character. But this too, like reflection on prevailing social norms, does not simply happen. It is the product of both self-reflection and dialogue. While aesthetic imagination may shape and unleash a community's capacity for profound change, to do so it must be untethered. And while the civic and the aesthetic are arguably deeply intertwined, civic leaders and artists alike must grasp that fact and act upon it for aesthetic imagination to play its potentially powerful role in the shaping of civic imagination. These processes are powerfully dialectical in character.

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