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Grooves in the Landscape: Vanished and Persistent Record Stores in the Post-industrial City.

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GROOVES IN THE LANDSCAPE: VANISHED AND PERSISTENT RECORD STORES IN THE POST-INDUSTRIAL CITY.

by

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ABSTRACT

GROOVES IN THE LANDSCAPE: VANISHED AND PERSISTENT RECORD STORES IN THE POST-INDUSTRIAL CITY.

by

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Despite digitization, record stores remain an important third place for contemporary urban neighborhoods. As places of cultural consumption, they provide locals a source of music, knowledge, pleasure, distraction, and distinction. Where these places sit in the contemporary city has shifted over time though. This dissertation asks: how has the distribution of record stores changed over time and space when accounting for demographic, economic, and technological factors? Based on original datasets created from city directories and phonebooks, census-tract data, and record industry sales data, I find that predominantly black neighborhoods were once home to many more record stores than today. More specifically, the findings of an event history analysis suggest that the odds of failure for stores in non-predominantly white areas were significantly higher than for those in predominantly white ones in Milwaukee, Chicago, and Detroit during the 1980s. An analysis of store foundings and failures in Milwaukee County from 1970 -2010 suggests that periods of music format change coincide with downturns in the number of stores opening. For predominantly black areas, the number of foundings drops in the 1980s, during a period of transition away from vinyl and cassette, and towards the compact disc. During the transition from CD to the MP3 format, record store foundings throughout Milwaukee County shrank, leading to a drop in overall numbers. Studying third places of community consumption can be enhanced by accounting for

this change over time and space. By focusing on stores, this analysis looks beyond gentrifying areas of urban cool without ignoring them. Studying the relationship between gentrification and cultural consumption remains important for criticizing the role of taste in reproducing spatial inequality. But my findings suggest that a study of urban change and cultural consumption must account for more than gentrification: it must confront racial segregation—a far more pernicious and widespread feature of cities in the United States.

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- David Bowie, *Five Years*

1. Introduction

On Milwaukee's northwest side, near the corner of North and Fond Du Lac Avenues sits an empty, triangular grass lot. It could easily be mistaken for green space, intentionally planned by the city's parks department. If that were true, the parcel at 2204 W North Avenue would be a dull, unimaginative park of roughly 8,000 square feet of grass, with no amenities to speak of. But rather than being an intentional work of urban planning, this barren space was once home to a large building of blonde "cream city brick", adorned with silver art-deco accents, bordered with evergreen brick, and ornamented with open signs and neon for the many retail spaces it contained. A once vibrant center of local consumption and exchange, the building was leveled between the years 2007 and 2008.

In the early 1970s, this building was headquarters to entrepreneur Audie Dotson's small retail empire. Audie's wig, shoe, and record stores were each housed in the same building as the former five-and-dime giant Woolworths (Wright 1980). Audie's Records served the community for roughly 26 years before closing in the late 1990s (Polk 1999a, 1999b). In that time, it functioned as both a conventional record store and as a wholesaler to other local independent and chain stores, also known as a "one stop" (Hull 2004). Stocking hip-hop, funk, and soul (Elliott 2007; Tanzilo 2014), Audie's Records was an important node in the distribution network of black musical culture in the city of Milwaukee.

Audie's Records hosted meet-and-greet opportunities with Motown artists (Goodman 1981) as well as live radio broadcasts from the store (Sacks 1982). Jim Frazier, music director at the time for WNOV, a local African-American AM radio station, referred to one event at Audie's

as “[a] community thing…we’re trying to bring the kids down to the store where they can hear the latest tunes and observe a black businessman who’s making it” (Sacks 1982: 38). Audie Dotson’s relevance went beyond the local community though. When Billboard needed information on record sales in black America, they consulted Audie’s Records (Billboard 1985).

Audie’s Records survived for nearly three decades in an area of highly concentrated social and economic disadvantages, within one of the most highly segregated cities in America. Unless they were aware of local history, passersby today would likely never guess that this unassuming triangular parcel was once an important center of musical pleasure, cultural exchange, and community activity. That grassy patch on Milwaukee’s northwest side is emblematic of the loss of so many black-owned record stores and businesses in cities like Chicago and Detroit, but also in the American South (Davis 2011), many of which vanished from the landscape even before shifts in technology radically altered music distribution.

This vanishing is in stark contrast to a popular cartoon published in *The New Yorker* magazine in 2015. It depicts two men in relaxed conversation, looking at an elaborate hi-fi system complete with tube-driven amp, receiver with VU meters, high-end turntable, record cleaning accoutrement, and a collection of 12” vinyl LPs (all quite costly). Ostensibly both white and middle-aged, the owner of the system states to the other “the two things that really drew me to vinyl were the expense and the inconvenience” (Gregory 2015). Aside from its relevance for discussions of cultural capital and music consumption (Bourdieu 1984), the cartoon is a humorous reflection of what is likely the main readership of *The New Yorker*: the economically and culturally well-off white upper middle-class. In many ways this joke mirrors what researchers (Davis 2011; Bartmanski and Woodward 2015; Harvey 2015) suggest is the current

home of record stores, to some degree confirming this popular stereotype of the folks that consume physical music formats instead of (or alongside) digital ones.

But the case of Audie's, and many others like it, suggests that understanding the current state of urban cultural consumption requires a longer *historical* and wider *spatial* lens than a focus on contemporary hip or bohemian neighborhoods allows for. For scholars of the city, my findings provide a way to study urban consumption that is sensitive to changes in areas that are not upscaling. By studying a single retail type over the whole of the city, the analysis moves beyond hip areas of urban cool and gentrification without ignoring them. Studying the relationship between gentrification and cultural consumption remains important for criticizing the role of taste in reproducing spatial inequality. But my findings suggest that a strict focus on these areas can obscure changes in other areas of the city. A study of consumption and the city should include unhip parts of the city, unhip kinds of consumption, and not only what has remained, but what has been lost to economic, technological, and urban change.

Only recently has the physical format of vinyl, and the sites of its consumption, become so associated with the kind of cultural capital typical to gentrifying and bohemian areas (Bartmanski and Woodward 2015). For decades record stores dotted the urban landscapes of Chicago, Detroit, and Milwaukee, in a diverse range of neighborhoods, as one component in broader landscapes of musical consumption and culture. Both the record and the record store have undergone dramatic changes in both meaning and location in these three cities. Rather than starting from the current world depicted in that New Yorker cartoon, I work to understand how we reach that point over time, accounting for the loss of a whole set of social and musical spaces in the latter decades of the 20th century. Understanding how cultural consumption in

the city has changed over time, morphing into its current form through technological, economic, and demographic change is at the core of this dissertation. Record stores provide one window with which to view this change. I use them to better understand the cultural costs of an inequality that is spatially manifested in the urban landscape.

How have we moved between spaces like Audie's and the depiction in the New Yorker cartoon? Put more broadly, how has the relationship between urban space and musical consumption changed over time? In this dissertation I ask this question in three key Rust Belt cities—Detroit, Chicago, and Milwaukee, with a focus on the latter for chapters three and four. To answer this larger question, I look at three sub-questions. First, I ask: how does the distribution of record stores change with demographic shifts? This first question generates a second one: how do these changes in store distribution by neighborhood relate to technological changes in format over time? These questions lead to a third: how have the local demographic and retail environments of contemporary stores shifted over time?

The findings suggest that record stores were once found in a diversity of neighborhoods, but are primarily found in predominantly white neighborhoods today. In the years between 1980 and 1990, predominantly black and other minority areas lost a significant number of record stores. These losses coincide with changes in format during the period, as the music industry and consumers shifted away from vinyl, into cassettes, and the CD began its long climb to format dominance. During this time, record companies made it increasingly difficult for stores to carry anything but compact discs, by increasing the costs of returning unsold LPs (Plasketes 1992; Goss 2010), and not CDs. Decisions made by executives at a higher scale seem to have placed disproportionate financial pressure on stores that could not (or would not)

adopt the CD. A similar shift in formats happens at the end of the 1990s, as the Mp3 format emerges, and stores in all types of neighborhoods decline. But in this period, decisions made by the developers of platforms like Napster (Levine 2011), and executives alike both seem to have increased the risks of running and opening a record store. During both periods of change, store losses are not so much driven by dramatic failure as they are a drop in new stores opening. Most of the stores that did survive to 2017 were in up-and-coming predominantly white areas that have shifted towards a concentration of third place types of businesses (Oldenburg 1997).

In chapter two, I focus on the failure of record stores in Milwaukee, Detroit, and Chicago, examining regional change. Music consumption imbues a city's neighborhoods with a character all their own, contributing to a vibrant and dynamic map of urban cultures. Brick-and-mortar music retailers remain an important site for this consumption, persisting despite challenges posed by digitization. But the landscape of contemporary cultural consumption has been shaped by urban inequality over time. Using a unique dataset of record store locations derived from city directories, and census tract data from the Longitudinal Tract Database (LTDB), this chapter presents maps and regression results that suggest that the current pattern of music retail has undergone radical shifts between 1970 and 2010. Record stores were once more highly clustered in predominantly black areas than they are today. An analysis of record store failure further suggests that in the period between 1980 and 1990, record stores outside of majority white areas had significantly greater probabilities of failure than their majority white counterparts.

In the third chapter, I focus on Milwaukee County, asking: what changes in the distribution of record stores, along with their failures, foundings, and persistence, coincide with

larger changes in demographics and technology? The analysis uses a unique year-by-year dataset of Milwaukee County record store locations over 41 years (1970-2010) and the findings suggest that stores in predominantly black census tracts were particularly susceptible to fluctuations in format between 1980 and 1990. But record stores in all areas of the city were vulnerable to technological change in the years 1999 to 2001. Surprisingly though, the number of record store failures in these years is not exceptional. Alternating periods of decline and growth were quite common over the study period. What is different about the most recent period of decline following file-sharing is that it has not (yet) been followed by a similar period of growth. This suggests that file-sharing did not so much shutter the brick-and-mortar record store as it choked-off further foundings, driving down total numbers over time.

In chapter four, I continue to zoom in on the city of Milwaukee, and come up to date with the analysis, looking at the neighborhood contexts of today's record stores. I ask: how have the neighborhood characteristics and business environment changed around persistent record stores (as of 2017)? I also include a few historical stores that persisted in the landscape for many decades, examining changes to their local environment as well. Using a unique dataset of local retail establishments (from street guides within city directories), census tract data from the LTDB, and archival sources, the results suggest that Milwaukee's contemporary record stores cluster in two predominantly white and increasingly advantaged neighborhoods. These areas have business environments that have shifted towards offering frequently consumed discretionary goods, specifically dining, and away from both necessity and luxury goods. Findings from the historical analysis suggest that while demographic and retail changes

are important to account for, some stores fail in the most advantaged conditions, while others persevere for a long time in the least advantaged ones.

Five central findings emerge from these different analyses. First, while stores were once present in a diversity of neighborhoods they declined in predominantly black neighborhoods during the 1980s. For stores in predominantly black areas, the odds of failure between 1980 and 1990 were twice what they were for stores in majority white neighborhoods when controlling for other factors (city, distance from the central business district, population density, independent or chain store, measures of gentrification and disadvantage). Stores in other non-white majority areas had nearly three times higher odds of failure than those in majority white ones during this same period.

Second, when looking at record stores in Milwaukee County from 1970 -2010, an alternating pattern emerges of failures and foundings. A period of increased store failures tends to be quickly followed by an increase in foundings, resulting in general stability over time. This pattern was disrupted in predominantly black census tracts during the 1980s, when new stores did not replace closing ones. The number of record stores in predominantly black areas were whittled down over time because of this. These declines coincide with shifts in physical format, that research suggests were particularly devastating to black-owned record stores (Davis 2011). This finding confirms Massey and Denton's (1993) argument that the process of racial segregation concentrates disadvantages in a way that makes minority communities more susceptible to periods of technological or economic change.

Third, the findings suggest that while changes to music formats involved producers, consumers, and retailers shifting from one physical format to another, record stores in most

neighborhoods could adjust. But the shift from CD to the Mp3 in 1999 proved to be a major challenge to store foundings in Milwaukee County over the next 11 years. As a result, the overall number of stores fell dramatically between 2001 to 2010 in all areas, regardless of neighborhood demographics. This finding modifies the argument made by Massey and Denton (1993) that concentrated disadvantages leaves some (namely minority) neighborhoods more vulnerable to technological change than others. Namely, that findings suggest that if a technological shift is radical enough, it can affect businesses in all sectors of a city. The shift of music (as sound) from scarcity to relative ubiquity is one of those radical changes.

Fourth, most stores that did survive this last shift in format (from CD to Mp3) until today are in neighborhoods that enjoy advantages that are higher than Milwaukee County as a whole. These are predominantly white but diversifying areas that increasingly offer an array of discretionary goods (chief among them restaurants, cafés, and tattoo shops). This confirms research by scholars of vinyl consumption and record stores generally (Davis 2011; Bartmanski and Woodward 2015; Harvey 2015). Record stores today persist in areas that increasingly offer frequently consumed discretionary goods (instead of necessity items like medicine, or luxury items like jewelry).

Fifth, an analysis of historical record stores suggests that while demographic and retail contexts are important for understanding the survival and failure of record stores, these contexts are only part of the reason a given store owner may choose to close or persist. Some stores managed to survive in areas of concentrated disadvantage while businesses all around them were folding (Audie's Records), and others closed even though the area around them was flourishing (Atomic Records). Some closed while the area was stable economically, but changing

ethnically (Mean Mountain Music). Still others preceded the economic upscaling of the neighborhood that they have called home for decades (Rushmor Records). These findings confirm work by Davis (2011), Bartmanski and Woodward (2015), and Harvey (2015) that suggest records stores today are part of hip, urban consumption areas. It also confirms work by Lloyd (2006) and Zukin (2010) that argues that hip urban consumption areas in contemporary cities are those that drive gentrification, even in cities that are much smaller in scale.

These findings contribute to literature on cultural consumption and urban change by offering a view of the city over a longer span of time than most ethnographic accounts are able to. The methods I use provide tools for examining different kinds of spaces of consumption, throughout the city and beyond (former or current) "hipster" quarters that typically garner attention from sociologists of culture (Lloyd 2006; Zukin 2011; Ocejo 2017). The findings suggest that the consumption spaces that inhabit hipster or bohemian areas today may have a very different distribution throughout the city over time. The methods I employ in this dissertation can be exported to many other kinds of businesses (ex. bars, barber shops, bookstores, or big box stores) and urban contexts, provided a robust collection of city directories and/or telephone directories exists. The findings of this dissertation are relevant for researchers outside of sociology as well those in urban studies, cultural geography, or business history. The findings of this research are particularly relevant to those studying the dramatic uptick in retailer closings in the United States, often referred to as the "Retail Apocalypse" (Issa 2017; Townsend, Surane, Orr, and Cannon 2017), which comes nearly a decade and a half after a devastating extinction period in music retail.

Record stores provide a way to examine changes at multiple scales by following a single retail type over time and through space. Economic and technological changes and the decision-makers around them affect the world-wide production, distribution, and consumption of culture, from the largest media conglomerates to the smallest mom-and-pop stores. Record stores are one example of how these changes not only affect culture, but also the built and lived-in local environments of contemporary cities. Sometimes these changes are the not completely intentional but ultimately very real consequences of actions at another scale. Shawn Fanning, the 19-year old Northeastern University undergraduate that developed Napster (Levine 2011), was likely not thinking that the software innovation he was working on in his dorm would alter the physical retail landscape of so many cities across America, but it likely did. As can be seen in Figure 1.1 (Walls and Associates 2014; reproduced with permission), music sales (orange line) plummeted throughout the United States after 1999, the year that Napster was widely adopted by young music consumers (Levine 2011).

[Figure 1.1 Here]

Shortly after this downturn in sales, the number of stores in the United States (data from 996 metropolitan areas) began to fall as well. This pattern of record store loss following the years 1999 to 2001 mirrors my own findings with regards to Chicago, Detroit, and Milwaukee. The music business was one of the first sectors of the culture economy to undergo radical transformation following the advent of file-sharing (Levine 2011), and because of this the case of record stores can serve as an example of what could happen to businesses in other sectors vulnerable to digitization.

This subject matter, and methods I use to study it, are inspired by four main lines of inquiry. First, in terms of the topic of urban change and consumption, I follow the rich qualitative work of Zukin (2010) and Lloyd (2006), who by studying neighborhoods can link broader changes in the US economy, local changes on the street, and changes in taste all together. My findings confirm that up-and-coming neighborhoods are also home to areas of hip cultural consumption, even in the case of smaller cities like Milwaukee. Second, by analyzing technological (and by extension economic) change and its disproportionate effect on neighborhoods of people of color, I follow the classical work of Massey and Denton (1993). My findings modify Massey and Denton (1993) by suggesting that minority neighborhoods are indeed susceptible to some kinds of technological change, but some technological changes wrought by digitization are exceptional, because they effect a wider range of neighborhoods. Third, in terms of methods, I take cues from research by Sampson (2012) that examines urban inequality in Chicago over time using multiple methods and scales of analysis. I borrow methodologically from research outside of sociology that studies changes in retail mix and local characteristics over time, including work by researchers in urban studies (Meltzer and Capperis 2016), urban planning (Sutton 2010), and human ecology (Kwate and Loh 2016).

Fourth, this dissertation also addresses recent literature on physical format consumption and the record store (Davis 2011; Bartmanski and Woodward 2015; Harvey 2015; Hracs and Jansson 2017), as well as older work on third places of cultural exchange, debate, and consumption in the city by Oldenburg (1997). My dissertation findings suggest that record stores shifted away from minority areas of the urban landscape in the 1980s, and out of most neighborhoods in the 2000s, with the exception being hip up-and-coming and predominantly

white areas, confirming work by Davis (2011); Bartmanski and Woodward (2015); and Harvey (2015). The findings suggest that a more systematic study of third places than Oldenburg (1997) conducts reveals how these business types, so important for their local communities, shift over time, and are shaped by changes at higher scales.

A fascination with how the city changes is central to the earliest research in American sociology, especially those of the Chicago School, and this dissertation shares that fascination. What is novel about this dissertation is that it is a study of cultural consumption using a more systematic, data-driven, spatial approach than is typically employed by sociologists of culture and consumption. In many ways, the story of the record store as a place of consumption is about meanings, how they shift over time, and how the store often serves as an arena for meaning-making for consumers. Bartmanski and Woodward (2015) explore these shifts in meaning around the consumption of physical formats. While these are important aspects of cultural production and consumption generally, the approach I employ in most of this dissertation necessarily brackets those meanings in favor of a systematic account of change over time and space.

Much of this dissertation is based on original datasets created from city directories and phonebooks, sources nearly as ungainly as they are illuminating. While city directories and phonebooks are an excellent source of location data by year, they lack detailed information on more qualitative features of stores, including product mix or formats. For this reason, throughout the dissertation I use the term “record store” loosely to refer to a brick-and-mortar retailer of music (whether they sell CDs, records, tapes or other formats is irrelevant to this analysis). I refer to a store founding as the point at which it first appears in a city directory. The

actual gap between a store opening and it being listed in a directory might very well be different, but without further information (which I discovered is quite scant), this is my best estimate. When I refer to a store failure, this is similar: it is the point at which a store fails to appear in a directory. Some exceptions exist (right censoring, a store not appearing for a while and then later reappearing), and that I explain further in the following chapters. Stores that are between founding and failure (if it does occur) I label as "persistent" stores. Why stores choose to be listed in a directory or not, or if a directory company chooses or not to contact a given store, are important issues that I set aside for this dissertation. In general, much like analyzing survey data, I try to take a directory "at its word", only eliminating an entry from the analysis if other information suggests that is the correct course of action.

The study period for this dissertation runs from 1970 to 2010, apart from my examination of contemporary stores in chapter four which includes stores from 2017. This is due to limitations in the Longitudinal Tract Database, which only includes spatial demographics for those five census years. Certainly, the 1950s and 1960s are important eras for American music consumption and demographic change. Including them would have added years to the time taken to complete this dissertation. Converting directory data into spatial and quantitative data by hand proved to be a time-consuming endeavor. While this process certainly led to some useful and surprising results, it came at the cost of collecting more years of data or data from more cities. Commercially available data on US businesses over time does exist, but the timeframe it covers (1989-2013) is shorter than one I present here (Walls and Associates 2014).

This dissertation covers the cities of Chicago, Detroit, and Milwaukee in the second chapter, and Milwaukee in the next two. Because of a focus on somewhat similar post-

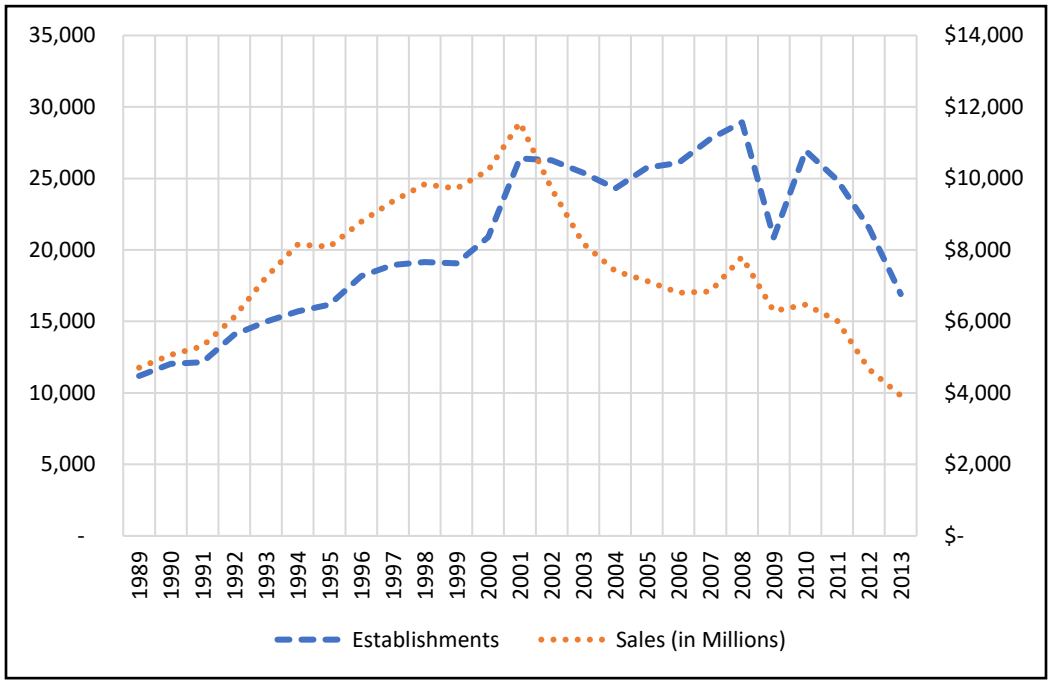
industrial Great Lakes area cities, the findings might not be generalizable to cities in other areas of the US or world. Los Angeles, New Orleans, New York, or Miami may have followed very different paths. That stated, these are cities with a rich history of black musical production and consumption (some more than others), and brutal racial residential segregation (Massey and Denton 1993). They are powerful sites for exploring this intersection of race, cultural consumption, industrial decline, and change over time and space, and for trying to understand the chasm between Audie's and the fellows in the *New Yorker* cartoon. Directory data collection for Chicago and Detroit was surprisingly more difficult than for Milwaukee, owing more to technological limitations than matters of proximity or travel. While Milwaukee has a set of well-preserved city directories going back to the early 1900s at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, Chicago has only microfilm and microfiche, some of it in a rather grainy, difficult to read state. Some of these are housed in different libraries, on different ends of the city. Detroit has an incomplete collection of city directories, and so business directories were supplemented for missing years. Ironically, the unwieldy, dusty, and archaic city directories and phone books of Milwaukee proved to be more easily converted into digital form (with the aid of a modern cellphone camera of course).

Early in the life of this dissertation, I sat in a Milwaukee coffee shop, carefully removing an LP from crunchy, thin shrink wrapping. Only a couple of doors away at Acme Records I had just found a crisp new pressing of the Zombies brilliant 1968 album *Odessey and Oracle*. Gazing at the album's strange and kaleidoscopic art, I sat flipping the cover over and over again. Taking one last look at its glossy black surface, I slid it into the colorful sleeve, gently. I caught myself eavesdropping on my neighbors during this highly caffeinated exercise of procrastination: two

gentlemen were discussing recent gentrification in the neighborhood. Before Bay View was incorporated into the city of Milwaukee, it was a company town based around a massive rolling mill, nestled near the shore of Lake Michigan (Bay View Historical Society 2018). It had been a predominately white working-class district of the city for most of its life. The neighborhood has had a longstanding relationship with punk, indie, rock-a-billy, metal, and other underground music establishments as well (Wild 2014).

Recently, new real estate developments have dramatically altered Kinnickinnic Avenue, the main thoroughfare of this neighborhood. Geometric, minimalist architecture is beginning to replace post-war retail spaces which lined this street. Abstract art, the hallmark of the middleclass (Bourdieu 1984) is beginning to appear in public parks. The coffee shop I sat in was built on the site of a former bank, shuttered during the early years of the Great Recession. The record store I found my LP in had only recently moved into an old screen repair shop on the same block. It remains to be seen if in the face of unprecedented growth, Bay View will be able to maintain its third places of urban cool (Lloyd 2006) or suffer the fate of gentrifying neighborhoods in larger cities like Chicago's Wicker Park (Lloyd 2006) or New York's Williamsburg (Zukin 2010). The research I present here allows me to analyze hip neighborhoods like Bay View as well as many others whose financial fate is far less promising. This approach, sensitive to changes in the landscape over a 40 to nearly 50-year time span, explores the origins and prehistories of the urban cultural landscapes in which we find ourselves today.

Figure 1.1 Record Store Establishments & Sales, in the United States, 1989 – 2013



Source: 2014 National Establishment Time-Series (NETS) Database©; see Records spreadsheet.
Note: "Record Store" here includes "Record and Pre-Recorded Tape Stores"

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2. Record Store Failure in Majority Black Neighborhoods in Chicago, Milwaukee, and Detroit, 1970 – 2010.

Music consumption imbues a city's neighborhoods with a character all their own, contributing to a vibrant and dynamic map of urban cultures (Grazian 2003; Lloyd 2006; Krims 2007; Zukin 2010; Holt 2014). Illegal basement shows, officially sanctioned city festivals, DJ spins in corner bars, and upscale concert venues all provide urbanites with a diverse set of spaces for consuming music in the city. Independent music retailers remain an important site for this consumption as well, persisting despite challenges from online retail, file-sharing, and related declines in the music industry (Bartmanski and Woodward 2015; Sonnichsen 2016). This story of record store survival is finding its way into the work of journalists (Galil and Warwick 2017; Sharp 2017) and academics (Bartmanski and Woodward 2015; Harvey 2015; Hendricks 2016; Sonnichsen 2016) alike. Record stores exist because what they sell is more than sound; they sell a musical "third place" (Oldenburg 1997; Davis 2011) of cultural consumption and exchange to urban consumers. Because of this, contemporary record stores provide a unique window with which to view the relationship between urban change and cultural consumption.

Record store survival tells us that consumers can shape both the life expectancy of cultural materials (Bartmanski and Woodward 2015) and the landscape of cities themselves (Lloyd 2006; Zukin et al., 2009; Zukin 2010). But contemporary survival is only part of the story. Spaces of cultural consumption like record stores sit within the racially and economically uneven landscape of the American city (Massey and Denton 1993; Wilson 1996**;** Rugh and Massey 2010; Logan and Stults 2011; Sampson 2012). Hot spots of cultural consumption that were once hives of activity —buzzing with energy— can fall silent. In Chicago, Detroit, and

Milwaukee, the post-industrial landscapes are marked with business failure, where derelict buildings and empty lots sometimes contain the ghosts of cultural exchange. Studying these failures over time and space is important because it furthers an understanding of how cultural consumption in the city has been shaped by racial segregation, alongside gentrification. Brick-and-mortar retailers of physical formats (what I generically refer to as "record stores"), are an important site for understanding how the urban context of music consumption has shifted since 1970. This chapter asks: how has the location of record stores changed over time and space in Chicago, Detroit, and Milwaukee between 1970 to 2010? It also asks what neighborhood characteristics are associated with record store failure in these cities, between 1980 and 2010?

Using a unique longitudinal dataset built from archival sources, I employ GIS mapping techniques and an event history analysis of failure to study urban change and cultural consumption in a novel way. These techniques allow me to test hypotheses from qualitative work on neighborhood change (Lloyd 2006; Zukin 2010) generally, and concerning record stores (Davis 2011; Bartmanski and Woodward 2015) more specifically. They also allow me to test hypotheses from literature on segregation (Massey and Denton 1993) within the context of cultural consumption. The findings I present suggest that predominantly black neighborhoods were once home to a much higher percentage of brick-and-mortar retailers than today, and in the years between 1980 and 1990 record stores outside of majority white areas had significantly higher odds of failure.

These findings confirm qualitative work on the loss of black-owned record stores, but modify work on the spatial concentration of economic downturns, and business failure in the gentrification process. But the findings also suggest that contemporary views of brick-and-

mortar music retailers as a primarily white or "hipster" phenomenon obscure the dramatic loss of record stores in predominantly black neighborhoods in the post-industrial Midwest over time. I begin by reviewing research on the economic, social, and cultural importance of retail for urban neighborhoods, and then look at how the urban landscape and retail interact through the processes of segregation and gentrification. I will also discuss literature on music and the city including recent scholarship on record stores.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Scholars of small retailers argue that they "reflect the economic, social, and cultural life of [a] neighborhood" (Sutton 2015:200). Small retailers contribute to the economies of their immediate surroundings, but they also have social effects by serving as community institutions where casual socializing can take place (Oldenburg 1997; Zukin et al., 2009; Sutton 2010; Thompson and Porter 2015; Meltzer and Capperis 2016). Small business owners can serve as civic leaders to local communities (Davis 2011). Retailers both reflect and shape the cultural life of neighborhoods, concentrating goods and experiences in urban space. But retailers are also intertwined with the processes of gentrification and segregation as well.

Zukin's (2010) and Sutton's (2015) work on New York, and Lloyd's work (2006) on Chicago suggests that the gentrification process is closely tied to retail changes. Gentrifying neighborhoods pass through a set of phases that begin with a long period of institutional neglect and abandonment. Then artists and small shop owners move into gritty-but-affordable warehouses and storefronts, transforming the retail mix to an assortment of "cool cafes, bars featuring indie bands, trendy ethnic restaurants, and vintage cloth[ing stores]" (Zukin et al.,

2009:59). This bohemian phase lays the groundwork for later development, as these quarters become ideal for middleclass cultural consumption (Zukin 1982).

The final phase of gentrification brings with it more upwardly mobile tenants and landowners, leading to increases in property values that make it difficult if not impossible for bohemian retailers to remain in the area. But quantitative work on retail change in the city of New York suggests that business failure is less likely in gentrifying neighborhoods than in chronically disadvantaged ones (Meltzer and Capperis 2016). I use record stores as a marker of hip bohemian consumption (Bartmanski and Woodward 2015; Harvey 2015), to help clarify the relationship between the gentrification process and retail change. I expect to find that as bohemian neighborhoods (that is tracts with high levels of disadvantage and lower than average median property values) experience upscaling, the probability of record store failure increases.

The study of cultural consumption and urban change has a long history in sociology, but discussions have mostly been confined to the topic of gentrification. Compared to gentrification though, segregation is a far more pernicious and widespread feature of cities in the United States, and stubbornly so (Logan and Stults 2011; Sampson 2012), yet the topic of cultural consumption in the context of race and segregation is surprisingly understudied (Bay and Fabian 2015:5; Pittman 2017). While sociology has long recognized the social and cultural importance of retail to local communities, analyses of business failure in the urban landscape have come from urban planning (Sutton 2010), urban policy (Meltzer and Capperis 2016), human ecology (Kwate 2015), and economics (Köllinger and Minniti 2006).

Kwate and Loh (2016) and Sutton (2010; 2015) observe that the retail mix in predominantly black areas has become more homogeneous over time. Whereas predominantly black areas used to house "a variety of convenience shops, eateries, grocery stores, and public spaces central to social and economic life" (Sutton 2010:352), many of these same areas today are home to a much narrower range of stores (Kwate and Loh 2016:10), even when controlling for income and market demand (Kwate et al., 2012). This loss of retail diversity in predominantly black areas is referred to as "retail desertification" (Charron-Chénier, Fink, Keister 2016:213), and is the result of insurance industry abandonment following riots in the 1960s and 1970s, and the growth of malls in predominantly white areas.

But this lack of retail density and diversity is also the product of national chains actively avoiding predominantly black areas, regardless of local income or demand, in a process known as "retail redlining" (Kwate et al., 2012; Kwate 2015; Thompson and Porter 2015). Studies of racial disparities in business failure find that even though blacks are more likely to start a business, they are more likely than whites to lose them (Köllinger and Minniti 2006; Freeland and Keister 2016). Massey and Denton (1993) also argue that segregation does more than separate populations along racial lines; —it works to concentrate poverty in a way that leaves black and minority areas especially vulnerable to economic downturns. Two periods of pronounced unemployment in Wisconsin, Illinois and Michigan over the study period were between 1980 and 1984, and between 2008 and 2010 (Bureau of Labor Statistics 2017). Because of the above factors, I hypothesize that the number of record stores in predominantly black areas has declined over time, and that the probability of failure is higher for stores in

predominantly black census tracts than in predominantly white ones in the periods 1980-1990 and 2000-2010.

Sociology has a long-standing engagement with music (Roy and Dowd 2010; Shepard and Devine 2015). A growing body of research in urban sociology (Grazian 2003; Cohen 2015; Wynn 2015) joins work in other disciplines in accounting for the urban context of music production and consumption (Krims 2007; Florida, Mellander, and Stolarick 2010; O'Meara and Tretter 2013; Holt 2014). Scholars have recently turned their attention to the consumption of "outdated" physical music formats during a period of widespread digitization and change (Shuker 2010; Magaudda 2011; Marshall 2014; Bartmanski and Woodward 2015; Harvey 2015; Hracs, Seman, and Virani 2016). Consumers of music can completely forgo brick-and-mortar retailers (or even purchasing music) today if they so choose, yet record stores remain in the modern urban landscape.

This paradox motivates research by Bartmanski and Woodward (2015), Harvey (2015) and Davis (2011). Bartmanski and Woodward (2015) are primarily concerned with the cultural function of modern record stores. Their findings suggest that consumers view physical formats (specifically vinyl in their case) as objects that have a cultural "aura" that digital formats currently lack (Bartmanski and Woodward 2015; see also Marshall 2014). Record stores filter and concentrate these auratic items within urban space, serving as an "object-space-nexus" (Bartmanski and Woodward 2015:139), tying this consumption of culture to the urban landscape. Harvey (2015), studying Record Store Day, finds that the rhetoric surrounding the event emphasizes the social connections between stores and the local community. Both Bartmanski and Woodward (2015) and Harvey (2015) suggest that record stores today are

situated within “bohemian” quarters of the city (both in the US and abroad) (see also Sonnichsen 2016), yet work by Davis (2011) suggests that this is a recent development.

Davis (2011) studies black-owned record stores in North Carolina between 1960 and 1980. The findings suggest that black-owned record stores in the 60s and 70s held a special social and cultural position as well for black neighborhoods. Black-owned record stores provided a local space where young black customers could feel welcomed and catered to by staff that were culturally astute, unlike white retail spaces. While the 1970s were a period of growth in black-owned record stores, the 1980s were particularly devastating. Black record store owners were beset with challenges including: industry neglect, the growth of chains, and home-taping (Davis 2011). Record store failure in the black community was not merely the loss of a convenient place to shop, it was the loss of an important space for generating a form of community and neighborhood power, through consumption and cultural exchange (Davis 2011). The work on record stores thus far is qualitative in nature, situated at the store-level. Instead of focusing primarily on the store-level of contemporary record stores, I examine city-level changes over a span of four decades (1970 – 2010), looking at where stores have been and what demographic factors are associated with loss.

Taken together, the qualitative work of Bartmanski and Woodward (2015), Harvey (2015), and Davis (2011) suggests that brick-and-mortar music retail has long held a social and cultural significance for urban consumers, but these spaces have shifted away from predominantly black areas, and towards the bohemian pre-gentrified areas of the city over time. Quantitative data and research on record industry revenues also provides some important clues with regards to change over time. Inflation-adjusted data from the Recording

Industry Association of America (RIAA 2016) and literature from business and economics suggests two periods of declining revenues: 1978-82 and 2000-15. In the first period, revenues began to bounce back by 1983, climbing to unprecedented heights in 1999. But in 2000 revenues began a dramatic descent. By 2015 revenues were lower than any other year going back at least to 1973 (when adjusting for inflation). While the beginning of this fall coincides with the advent of peer-to-peer file-sharing, researchers disagree on just how large the negative effect of file-sharing is on record industry revenues (see Oberholzer-Gee and Strumpf 2007; Liebowitz 2017). Based on this information, I hypothesize that the odds of record store failure are higher in the ten-year periods 1980-1990 and 2000-2010.

DATA AND METHODS

The dataset for the following analysis comes from merging store location data, derived from archival sources, with neighborhood demographic data from the Longitudinal Tract Data Base (LTDB). Telephone, city, and business directories are the most widely available and consistent source of data for record store locations from 1970 to 2010. I digitized directories for Chicago, Detroit, and Milwaukee by hand and using object character recognition software. In the case of Milwaukee, well-preserved hardcopies of city directories (Wright 1970, 1980; Polk 1990, 2000, 2010) serve as the source of store name and address data. For Chicago, I use telephone directories available in microfiche/microfilm (Donnelley 1970, 1980, 1990; Ameritech 2000) and hardcopy (Yellowbook 2010), because city directories are not available for this period. Similarly, for Detroit I collected data from hardcopies of telephone (Michigan Bell 1970, 1980) and business directories (American Directory 1990; American Business Directories 2000;

ReferenceUSA 2010), because city directories were unavailable for the study period. These directories yielded a total of 1,487 locations. I further reduce this number to 1,464 stores by eliminating entries that included the terms “production”, “promotion”, “distribution”, “record label” or other categories that indicated that they were not retailers.

The names and addresses of stores were collected and formatted for use by the United States Census Geocoder’s batch address software (U.S. Bureau of the Census 2016), to match addresses to 2010 tract numbers and obtain longitude and latitude values.[1] Longitude and latitude (x and y) information was then used to create point data for use in GIS software. I use this point data to produce maps and to calculate each store’s distance from the central business district.[2] I estimated store lifespans by comparing name and address entries from one year to those in subsequent years.[3] I then connected demographic data to these stores using a common census tract number. Stores outside of the counties of Milwaukee (Milwaukee, WI), Cook, DuPage, Lake (Chicago, IL), Wayne, Macomb, and Oakland (Detroit, MI) were excluded

[1] A majority of the directory addresses were exact matches (80%), or non-exact matches (11%), but for a small percentage (8%) no match was found by Census Geocoder software. Usually, locations failed to geocode because of one of five situations: i) the names of streets had changed between the date of the directory and 2010 (as was the case with streets being dedicated to Dr. Martin Luther King Jr), ii) the parcel did not exist anymore due to it being combined with another parcel, iii) the geocode software used a different name for a street that was also a US highway (this was the case with Irving Park Road in Chicago, which is also a section of US Highway 19), iv) street numbering changes, or v) missing street, road, or boulevard abbreviations, or misspellings in the original data. In these cases, if the exact location of the address could not be ascertained, a close (within a block) approximation of the address was used.

[2] For each of the cities, a single point represents the central business district, for the purposes of calculating Euclidean distance. For Milwaukee, the intersection of Wisconsin Ave. and Water St. serves as this point. For Chicago, the intersection of Madison St. and Canal St. is the point. For Detroit, the intersection of Woodward Ave. and Cadillac Square (or the east end of Cadillac Square Park) is the point.

[3] To estimate store lifespans, names and addresses were compared between years, with exact matches considered the same location. Near matches were then checked for accuracy “by hand”. Some addresses had store names that shifted over time, and some stores moved from one address to another. If the new addresses were within two blocks of the old ones, or if the store underwent a name change, they were marked as the same store. If the addresses were different by more than a few blocks, then the stores were categorized as distinct from one another.

from the final analysis. While some telephone, business, or city directories did contain store-level information (on genres stocked, number of employees, or even photos of owners), this information was incomplete for all stores. Because of this, I only use store names and address in this analysis.

Tract-level demographic data for each store comes from the Longitudinal Tract Database (LTDB) housed at Brown University, which contains information for five time points between 1970-2010. These data come from the US decennial census short and long forms (1970-2000), as well as data from the American Community Survey for 2010 (Logan, Xu, and Stults 2012). The standardized form of the LTDB uses 2010 Census tract lines for each of the years. Where boundaries have changed between the original and 2010 lines, demographic information has been interpolated to allow for comparisons of tracts over time.

Dependent Variable: Store Failure

Store failure is a dichotomous variable, where failure is assumed if a store no longer appears in subsequent directory listings. If two nearly identical address and name entries match, but have a large gap between years (ex. between 1970 and 1990), then I assume that this store existed in the period between (1970, 1980, 1990). Stores are considered at risk for failure only after the time of their first appearance, and after a failure is identified, a store exits the analysis (Allison 2014). Record stores that only appear in 2010 are not included in this analysis, as they are considered "right-censored", because we do not know when they might have failed after 2010 (Allison 2014:15). While store location data was collected for 1970, the

operational definition of failure restricts the analysis of failure to stores that had closed between 1980 and 2010.

Independent Variables

Racial composition is a categorical variable in this analysis, and includes majority white (70% of the tract population or more), majority black (70%+), and other racial composition categories (Peterson and Krivo 2010). Majority white serves as the reference category for the analysis of failure. Missing data for race and ethnicity percentages were handled using mean imputation at the county-level. The percent of missing data for any of the years was very small, with the largest being 6 census tracts out of 1,487 (0.4%) for Non-Hispanic Asian for 1970.

To measure the effect of neighborhood upscaling on the probability of record store failure, I have included three measures: property value reinvestment (Williams 2015; Meltzer and Capperis 2016), index of disadvantage, and change in disadvantage (Peterson and Krivo 2010). Property value reinvestment is a dichotomous variable where the value of 1 identifies tracts with median property values below the county average at time 1, and at or above the county average at time 2. These are tracts that have experienced a reversal of fortunes within a decade. All median property values have been converted to 2010 constant dollars, to facilitate comparisons. Missing data on property values were imputed using mean imputation at the county-level (also using 2010 constant dollars). The percentage of census tracts missing property value information did not exceed 3.43% (1970) for any year. Tract-level disadvantage is based on an index published by Peterson and Krivo (2010:48), and includes within it standardized measures of unemployment, professional occupation (reverse coded), percent

college educated (reverse coded), female-headed households, and poverty for each Census year from 1970 – 2010. Cronbach's alpha for this index ranges from .87 - .92 from year to year, suggesting that the measures which make up the index are highly related to one another (Warner 2008).

Missing data for these variables was imputed using mean imputation from the county-level as well. The percentage of missing data did not exceed 0.8% for any of the years on these variables. Higher values of the index indicate greater levels of disadvantage. Change in tract-level disadvantage is the difference between the current level of disadvantage (t) and the level from previous decade (t-1).

Controls

Period is a categorical variable in the analysis, with the period 1970 - 1980 serving as the reference category (Meltzer and Capperis 2016). City is also a categorical variable that includes Milwaukee, Detroit, and Chicago (which serves as the reference category). Distance from the central business district is a continuous measure in miles (Britton and Ocasio 2007). Store type is a three-category variable that identifies stores as national chains, local/regional chains, or independent stores (as the reference category). Local/regional chains are those stores which have more than 2 branches in a city (Harmony House in Detroit, or Rose Records in Chicago). National chains are stores connected to larger national or multi-national retailers (ex. Camelot Music, Musicland, Sam Goody, Tower Records, and FYE) that may or may not have more than 2 locations. I include this measure following work by Meltzer and Capperis (2016), who suggest that chains tend to start with more capital than their independent counterparts, and this may

lower business failure rates. Population density per square mile is also included as a measure to control for the effect of population fluctuations on the probability of retail failure (Zukin et al., 2009; Kwate and Loh 2016; Meltzer and Capperis 2016; Charron-Chénier, Fink, and Keister 2016).

RESULTS

The analysis includes two stages. First, I present a descriptive analysis of spatial data which includes GIS mapping and tables (Goodchild and Janelle 2004), to analyze trends over time and space. These maps use record store locations and census tract data to visually represent the relationship between location and demographic change. In the second stage I use statistical modeling techniques, employing an event history analysis of record store failure (Allison 2014).

Descriptive Analysis

Figure 2.1 is a set of maps of the city of Chicago, and presents record store and racial demographic change over time.

[Figure 2.1 Here]

Maps of Detroit and Milwaukee are omitted for the sake of brevity, but have a very similar pattern (see Appendix A for full color maps). Minority majority tracts are those areas where minority groups combine to make up a 70% majority (ex. a tract where the population is 35% black, 35% Hispanic, and 30% white). Integrated neighborhoods are those which include all other combinations of percentages (Peterson and Krivo 2010). Because counts of Hispanic in

1970, and Non-Hispanic Asians in 1970 and 1980 are not available for those Census years, percentages were estimated (see Timberlake and Iceland 2007:363).

This visualization of change over time suggests support for claims by Davis (2011) that the relationship between black neighborhoods and record stores was once much more pronounced, but a look at summary statistics will help clarify this relationship. Table 2.1 provides a descriptive snapshot of where record stores have been in Chicago, Milwaukee and Detroit, from 1970-2010.

[Table 2.1 Here]

This table presents both percentages and counts for aggregated data for Chicago, Milwaukee, and Detroit. A few patterns are of note from this table. The first is found on the top half of the table. The percentage of record stores found within majority white census tracts has a pronounced peak between 1980 and 1990, while the percentage of stores found in majority black census tracts falls over time, with its most dramatic drop off occurring between 1980-1990. A second pattern is the growth in the percentage of record stores found in Hispanic majority census tracts (from 0% in 1970 to 16% in 2010), as well as minority majority neighborhoods (0% in 1970 to 11% in 2010). Another way to look at these percentages is to compare majority white with all other areas. Here we can see that only in 1990 did majority white areas have a greater percentage of record stores (52%) compared to all other areas (46%). In all other years, including 2010, most record stores were outside majority white areas.

The final pattern of note can be found in the bottom half of the table, which displays the counts that the percentages are based on. The total number of stores seems to suggest an m-shaped trend line over time, meaning that there are two major “valleys” in the overall number

of stores. The first of these valleys occurs during the 1980s, a time of wide adoption of the CD format (Plasketes 1992), and the second occurring during the 2000s, when the digitization of music is beginning to take off (Hracs, Seman, and Virani 2016; Recording Industry Association of America 2016). But outside of technological change specific to the music business, both periods also coincide with notable recessions (1980-1984, and 2008-2010) in the United States (Bureau of Labor Statistics 2017). These losses may reflect changes in the retail environment generally, and recording industry more specifically.

Table 2.1 depicts aggregated data for Chicago, Milwaukee, and Detroit, but some important differences between the cities are of note as well. Unlike Chicago and Detroit in the same period, majority black and majority white areas had the same number of stores in Milwaukee circa 1970 (not shown). During the study period, the percentage of record stores located in majority black areas in Milwaukee never exceeds the percentage of those in majority white areas, which is unlike Chicago and Detroit. Unlike Milwaukee and Detroit, where nearly half of all record stores in 2010 were in majority white areas, only 26% of all record stores were in Chicago's majority white areas (not shown). Chicago's record stores in 2010 were spread across a much more diverse set of neighborhoods than in Detroit or Milwaukee, with all neighborhoods except majority Asian within ten percentage points of majority white areas. Detroit in 2010 differed from Chicago and Milwaukee in that 33% of all record stores were in a majority black census tract. While each city has its own specific pattern, it is generally true that majority black areas have lost record stores over the study period (1970 – 2010).

Both Figure 2.1 and Table 2.1 confirm that in the case of Chicago, Milwaukee, and Detroit, black majority census tracts were once home to many more record stores in the past

than in 2010. Table 2.1 also suggests that the 1980s were a period of pronounced change for record stores in majority black areas in the region. To further test this, I present an event history analysis of record store failure in the next section.

Statistical Modeling

Event history analysis (or survival analysis) is a set of statistical tools for estimating the effects of variables on the probability that an event occurs (Allison 2014). In this analysis, the event under study is record store business failure, a dichotomous variable. Model selection is predicated on a few factors, including how time is measured in the data. Because time intervals in this analysis are so great (every ten years), it is appropriate to select a model which uses "discrete-time" (Allison 2014:7), as opposed to treating time as a continuous measure. In this case, traditional logistic regression modelling is appropriate, if cases which "fail" do not reenter the analysis. In the case of record stores, they do not. Table 2.2 presents hazard estimates, useful for understanding how common failure is in between these decade-long intervals.

[Table 2.2 Here]

The estimated hazard is calculated by dividing the number of failures by the number of stores at risk for failure in each period (Allison 2014:9). Stores that survive through one interval are at risk for failure in the next interval. As can be seen from the rightmost column, failure is a common occurrence, with estimates ranging from 70% to almost 80% throughout the study period. Of all those stores at risk for failure in the study period, 76.2% of them did fail. The estimated hazard of failure changes over time, with a pronounced valley in the 1990s. Clues

from both the descriptive analysis and estimated hazards suggest a relationship between time, demographics, and failure. The results of a logistic regression are presented below in Table 2.3.

[Table 2.3 Here]

A logistic regression was performed to predict record store failure for the years 1980 to 2010 in Chicago, Milwaukee, and Detroit. The techniques used here require that the dataset be transposed from traditional "wide" to "long" format (Allison 2014), so that store-years are the unit of analysis (*n*=1,671). Logit coefficients (*b*) are reported in Table 2.3, along with standard errors (s.e.) in parentheses and odds ratios (o.r.) to the right. The main variables of interest include race, interaction between race and time period, property value reinvestment, tract level disadvantage and the change in disadvantage. Of these, the interaction of race and time period are statistically significant.

Between 1980 and 1990, the odds of failure were more than twice as high in majority black areas compared to majority white areas, controlling for other factors in the model (*b*=.847, o.r. = 2.33, p<.05). During the same period, the odds of failure were nearly 3 times as high in "other" tracts (*b*=1.029, o.r. 2.80, p<.05) as those in majority white areas, with all other factors in the model held constant. Insignificant findings for property value reinvestment, disadvantage, and change in disadvantage fail to support or refute claims that record store failure is associated with gentrification.

Of the controls in the model, distance from the central business district, and store type have significant findings. Distance from the central business district has a positive relationship with record store failure. For each mile increase in the distance from the central business district, the odds of failure increase by 5% (*b*=.047, o.r.=1.05, p<.001). When compared to

independent record stores, national chains have 80% greater odds of failure (*b*=0.597, o.r.=1.80, p<.01), controlling for all other factors in the model.

DISCUSSION

As expected, predominantly black areas were once home to a greater percentage of brick-and-mortar music retailers, which confirms qualitative work by Davis (2011) specifically, but also work about increased retail homogenization in predominantly black areas by Kwate and Loh (2016) and Sutton (2010; 2015) more generally. Following Massey and Denton (1993), I expected the interaction between period and predominantly black areas to be significant and associated with higher probabilities of failure for both 1980 and 2000, two periods of national recession. A significant finding for the interaction between race and the period 1980-1990 supports their claims, but an insignificant finding for race and the period 2000-2010 complicates the matter. Oberholzer-Gee and Strumpf (2016) suggest that record industry revenues (adjusted for inflation) tend to follow a u-shape as one format overtakes another in the marketplace; falling first before recovering. The period where that seems to not hold true is the one following the introduction of file-sharing, where revenues have yet to recover to pre-2000 levels (Oberholzer-Gee and Strumpf 2016). Clearly, further work on the causes of closure is needed, but what this might mean is that while record stores in predominantly black areas were particularly vulnerable to the technological shift from the LP to the CD, record stores in all areas were vulnerable to the shift from CD to Mp3.

The significant and strong effects of the interaction between race and 1980-1990 confirms qualitative work on the loss of black record stores in North Carolina by Davis (2011). In

other periods, the failure rate of record stores in black and other non-white minority groups is not statistically distinguishable from those in majority white areas, which was an unexpected finding. This was also true of the main effects of race, which I expected to be significant following work on racial disparities in business failure (Köllinger and Minniti 2006; Charron-Chénier, Fink, Keister 2016). While Chicago, Milwaukee, and Detroit's record stores today are more likely to be located in predominantly white than predominantly black areas, they are also increasingly found in Hispanic, minority majority, and integrated neighborhoods as well, which was an unanticipated finding. I expected record store failure to be associated with the transitioning of bohemian neighborhoods into gentrified ones (Lloyd 2006; Zukin 2010), but the results do not bear this out.[4] Record stores appear to be just as likely to perish outside as inside gentrifying neighborhoods.

CONCLUSION

A descriptive and statistical analysis of record store failure in the racially segregated cities of Chicago, Milwaukee, and Detroit suggests that the musical landscape of the city has shifted over time. Maps suggest that record stores were once more highly clustered near the central business district, and especially in majority back neighborhoods. The percent of record stores located in predominantly black areas has fallen, while those located in other areas has grown in the cities studied, between 1970-2010. These findings support the claims of Davis (2011), who argues that record stores were once more closely associated with black neighborhoods, but are now more likely to be located within white majority areas.

[4] Earlier models which included change in the percent poor and owner-occupied housing produced similar results.

The research presented here is subject to some limitations. Record store lifespans, which the event history analysis is based upon, are estimates based on the best information available and the limit of time constraints. Stores which I identified as "failures" may have stopped submitting information to directory companies. Still others may have never submitted information to directory services in the first place, especially following cellphone adoption. While Zukin et al., (2009) note how "notoriously difficult [it is] to trace small stores that have disappeared" (61), it seems reasonable to assume that directories capture most record stores for each year.

The measure of time at 10-year intervals is a limitation as well, because it forces the analysis to assume that a failure after 1 year is the same as a failure after 9 years, even though these may have very different qualitative meanings. Future work could address this limitation by using a more fine-grained measure of time which would require digitizing directory data from years between the decennial censuses (see chapter 3). The research I present focuses on businesses failure or "death" and does not analyze store "births" in neighborhoods, which account for a large part of the patterning found in Figure 2.1 (see chapter 3)(Meltzer and Capperis 2016:8). Future work should analyze factors associated with these record store births, which may differ from those associated with death, as others have noted (Meltzer and Capperis 2016). While this chapter clearly shows a racialized patterning of record store failure and loss, the causes which lead to these failures is unstudied. Future qualitative work on the causes of failure could help further clarify not only where stores have been lost but why.

Even though the findings largely confirm those from North Carolina (Davis 2011), the story I present is predominantly about the post-industrial Midwest in an era of economic

decline. Record store failure might look quite different in other contexts where economic conditions and segregation are radically different. Because of this, caution must be applied when generalizing these findings to a larger national context. Future work could add a larger body of cities, or export the techniques presented here to another regional or national context, to determine if the findings here are comparable. While tedious, the availability of city, phone, and business directories makes it possible to analyze the spatial distribution of many other types of establishments over time using the methods I have employed here. Even with the limitations I note above, the research findings here provide an important contribution to literature at the intersection of racial segregation and consumption. I follow Bay and Fabian (2015) and Pittman (2017) in arguing that critical examinations of race and cultural consumption are desperately needed, especially with regards to segregated parts of the urban landscape.

The record store is a rich site for understanding the intersection of cultural consumption and urban change. Each point on the map, each row in the dataset represents an owner's life and a community's gathering place. Each business has its reasons for opening, closing, or changing, but those reasons cannot be gleaned from telephone books and census variables. That requires a more qualitative approach to compliment the analysis I present here. The birds-eye view that this chapter provides is better suited for understanding broader patterns of change over time, beyond any single decade, neighborhood, city, or store. But this chapter also provides a jumping-off point for studying any one of those scales in greater detail.

Cities are places of continuous creation and destruction. The landscape we see today contains the ghosts of musical culture and its consumption. Understanding contemporary

places of cultural consumption requires that we take account of these places, to tell their story as well. The current landscape of cultural consumption is just its latest manifestation. Accounting for space, time, and urban inequality can help clarify how this landscape came to be. Maps and tables do not alone provide the rich details of social life that surround places of consumption or replace the sights, sounds, or smells of the record store experience. But they can be a set of methodological tools for understanding how the city changes, and what the consequences are for culture.

Table 2.1 Percentage and Number of Record Stores by Census Tract Racial Category in Chicago, Milwaukee, and Detroit (combined), 1970-2010

	1970	1980	1990	2000	2010
Percentages					
Majority White (70%+)	33%	29%	52%	37%	36%
Majority Black (70%+)	46%	47%	29%	26%	21%
Majority Hispanic (70%+)	0%	2%	2%	7%	16%
Majority Asian (70%+)	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Minority Majority (70%+)	0%	5%	4%	6%	11%
Integrated	21%	15%	12%	23%	17%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Counts					
Majority White (70%+)	139	145	167	158	68
Majority Black (70%+)	194	234	93	113	40
Majority Hispanic (70%+)	0	12	8	32	30
Majority Asian (70%+)	0	1	0	1	0
Minority Majority (70%+)	1	27	13	26	21
Integrated	91	76	40	99	32
Total	425	495	321	429	191
Pearson's Chi-Squared = 230.77***					
*Note: *p<.05; ** p<.01; *** p<.001*					

Source: Longitudinal Tract Database,
Chicago Record Store Locations: The Red Book: Chicago Yellow Pages (1970), Consumer Buying Guide Directory 1980, Consumer PlusPages (1990), Chicago Consumer Yellow Pages (2000), Yellowbook: Chicago, Yellow Pages and White Pages (2010)
Detroit Record Store Locations: Detroit Yellow Pages (1970, 1980), Michigan Business Directory 1990-1991, Michigan Business Directory 2000, Michigan 2010-2011 Business Directory
Milwaukee Record Store Locations: Wrights Milwaukee City Directory (1970-1990)
Polk Cross-Reference Directory for Milwaukee County, Wisconsin (2000-2010)

Table 2.2 Estimated Hazard of Failure for Record Stores in Chicago, Milwaukee, and Detroit

Period	At Risk of failure	Number Censored	Failures	Estimated Hazard
1970 - 1980	425	386	315	0.741
1980 - 1990	495	219	393	0.794
1990 - 2000	321	328	222	0.692
2000 - 2010	429	106	342	0.797
Total	1671	1039	1273	0.762

Sources: Chicago Record Store Locations: The Red Book: Chicago Yellow Pages (1970), Consumer Buying Guide Directory 1980, Consumer PlusPages (1990), Chicago Consumer Yellow Pages (2000), Yellowbook: Chicago, Yellow Pages and White Pages (2010)
Detroit Record Store Locations: Detroit Yellow Pages (1970, 1980), Michigan Business Directory 1990-1991, Michigan Business Directory 2000, Michigan 2010-2011 Business Directory
Milwaukee Record Store Locations: Wrights Milwaukee City Directory (1970-1990)
Polk Cross-Reference Directory for Milwaukee County, Wisconsin (2000-2010)

Table 2.3 Results of Logistic Regression Predicting Record Store Failure in Chicago, Detroit, and Milwaukee, 1980-2010

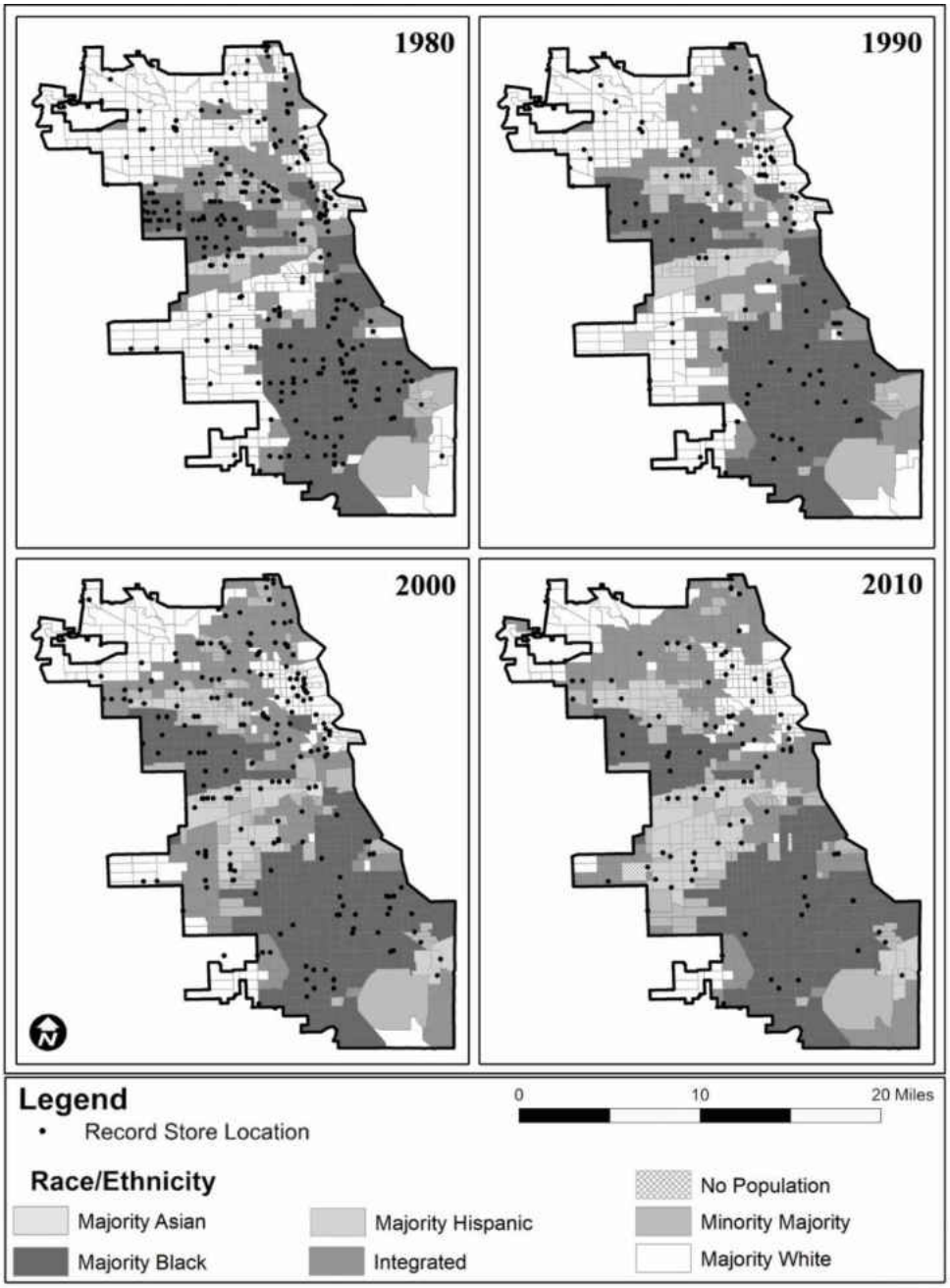
	b (s.e.)	Odds Ratio
Period (1970 - 1980 is reference category)		
1980 - 1990	-0.364 (.30)	0.69
1990 - 2000	-0.533 (.31)	0.58
2000 - 2010	0.005 (.32)	1.00
City (Chicago is reference category)		
Milwaukee	0.177 (.23)	1.19
Detroit	0.242 (.16)	1.27
Distance from CBD (in miles)	0.047** (.05)	1.05
Population Density (per square mile)	0.000 (.00)	1.00
Store Type (independent is reference category)		
National chain store	0.597* (.27)	1.80
Local/Regional chain store	-0.029 (.18)	0.97
Census Tract Composition		
Race (Majority White (70%+) is reference category)		
Majority Black (70%+)	0.056 (.32)	1.08
Other	-0.028 (.34)	0.94
Race & Period interactions		
Black Majority X 1980 - 1990	0.847* (.39)	2.33
Black Majority X 1990 - 2000	0.080 (.40)	1.08
Black Majority X 2000 - 2010	0.222 (.43)	1.25
Other X 1980 - 1990	1.029* (.45)	2.80
Other X 1990 - 2000	0.212 (.45)	1.24
Other X 2000 - 2010	0.292 (.43)	1.34
Property Value Reinvestment	-0.054 (0.14)	0.95
Disadvantage	0.025 (0.10)	1.02
Change in Disadvantage	0.061 (.16)	1.06
Constant	0.582 (.30)	
N	1671	
Likelihood Ratio χ^2	52.69	
Pseudo R^2	.03	

*Note: *p<.05; ** p<.01; *** p<.001*

Sources: Chicago Record Store Locations: The Red Book: Chicago Yellow Pages (1970), Consumer Buying Guide Directory 1980, Consumer PlusPages (1990), Chicago Consumer Yellow Pages (2000), Yellowbook: Chicago, Yellow Pages and White Pages (2010)

Detroit Record Store Locations: Detroit Yellow Pages (1970, 1980), Michigan Business Directory 1990-1991, Michigan Business Directory 2000, Michigan 2010-2011 Business Directory
Milwaukee Record Store Locations: Wrights Milwaukee City Directory (1970-1990)
Polk Cross-Reference Directory for Milwaukee County, Wisconsin (2000-2010)

Figure 2.1 Record Store Locations and Census Tract Racial Demographics, Chicago 1970-2010



Sources:
Demographics: Longitudinal Tract Database (LTDB)
Shapefiles: US Census Bureau
The Red Book: Chicago Yellow Pages, Consumer Buying Guide Directory 1980
Consumer PlusPages (1990)
Chicago Consumer Yellow Pages (2000)
Yellowbook: Chicago, Yellow Pages and White Pages (2010)

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3. Formats and Founding: Milwaukee County Record Stores, 1970-2010.

Music consumption has dramatically changed over the past 40 years. Vinyl began its initial decline with the growth of the cassette tape, and was hastened with the introduction of the compact disc, itself brought to a swift end following music digitization (Recording Industry Association of America 2017). Scholars of music consumption have discovered that for some consumers, formats hold powerful and specific meanings, sometimes only arising once these formats become "irrelevant" to the music business and buying public at large (Bartmanski and Woodward 2015, Hracs, Seman, and Virani 2016). Changes in format have shaped the distribution of places where these formats are consumed as well though. In Milwaukee County, the number of stores in predominantly black census tracts sharply decreased in the transition period from vinyl to CD, while stores throughout the County declined dramatically following the development of the Mp3. Record stores as places of cultural consumption sit at an important intersection then, between technological change and neighborhood change. Conflicts and resolutions within the electronics industry about what formats to champion over others effect decisions further down the line, corporate chain to the mom-and-pop retailer alike. In this way, record stores are fertile ground for understanding how structural changes affect consumer choice and access to the pleasures of music.

Massey and Denton (1993) demonstrate how racial segregation concentrates disadvantages in predominantly black areas of the city using a simulation of four cities; each with increasing levels of racial and class segregation. Assuming that blacks have a poverty rate double that of whites, this simulation illustrates that cities with high levels of class and race

segregation insulate predominantly white areas from poverty while concentrating it predominantly black areas (Massey and Denton 1993). When an economic change at a higher scale increases the poverty rates generally, it can be particularly devastating for black areas of a highly segregated city. By each of Massey and Denton's (1993) measures of segregation, Milwaukee is one of the most highly segregated cities in America. While Massey and Denton are particularly attuned to poverty rates, we can think of external shocks to particular types of businesses in a similar way. Hracs, Seman, and Virani (2016) argue that the emergence of the Mp3 "catalyzed a 'structural shock' within the [music] industry that fundamentally altered its spatial dynamics and business models" (1). The findings of this chapter certainly confirm this statement with regards to the Milwaukee area, as the number of record stores in the landscape plummet following the "MP3 Crisis" years of 1999-2001 (Hracs et al. 2016). But the findings further suggest that the emergence of the Mp3 was not the only structural shock to alter the spatial dynamics of music consumption. The emergence of the CD provided an earlier structural shock as well.

While not specifically addressing retail or music consumption, Massey and Denton's (1993) simulations suggest that changes at higher scales will disproportionately affect minority areas of the city. In this chapter, I use record stores as way to look at the possibly disproportionate effect of technological change on different parts of a segregated city. The findings suggest that there were two "shocks" between 1970 and 2010. The first was during the transition away from LPs and cassettes, and towards the CD, in the 1980s. This shock disproportionately affected predominantly black areas, driving down new store openings in particular. The second shock occurs during the MP3 Crisis, and affects record stores throughout

Milwaukee County, regardless of racial composition. These findings suggest that record stores are an important site for studying the relationship between urban inequality and technological change broadly. They further modify Massey and Denton's (1993) argument, suggesting that specific kinds of shocks have specific kinds of outcomes. The findings also modify assertions by Hracs (et al. 2016) by suggesting that the MP3 crisis, while dramatic, is one shock among others that have altered the landscape of music consumption. Accounting for change over time and space is important to understanding how the current MP3 Crisis differs from previous kinds of shocks.

All stores begin with an opening day. The findings of this chapter suggest that the distribution of stores in the urban landscape is profoundly shaped by these foundings, which may stem from the dreams of intrepid independents, the calculated investment of established chains, or many points in between. Contemporary accounts of record stores are often filled with powerful narratives charged with nostalgia, lament, heroism, and hope. But few (if any) employ historical data to figure out just how record stores have shifted over time, from the bustling downtowns of urban America to the sprawling suburbs and back again, attending to the uneven patterns of persistence and renewal.

This chapter shows how store founding has fluctuated in the landscape over time, using a year-by-year analysis of Milwaukee County. This chapter asks: what changes in the distribution of record stores, along with their failures, foundings, and persistence, coincide with larger changes in demographics, and technology? It further asks: have national record store chains avoided minority areas of Milwaukee county? To answer these questions, I marshal data from Milwaukee County telephone and city directories, music business revenues, and Census

data, analyzing change over time and space. The findings suggest that stores in predominantly black areas were particularly susceptible to shifts in format (from vinyl to cassette to CD) between 1982 and 1989, when the number of store failures outpaces the number of foundings. But the period following the introduction of peer-to-peer file sharing (1999-2010) is an even more dramatic example of this dynamic, where the number of stores throughout Milwaukee County fall primarily due to a lack of new foundings. Areas outside of majority-white areas have all but lost their record stores. While stores used to be more closely tied to predominantly black areas in the early 1970s, decisions by executives around which formats to promote in the 1980s may have led to significant declines in store openings in these areas. But the shift from CD to Mp3 in the late 1990s, coinciding with peer-to-peer file-sharing may have reduced the number of stores everywhere.

LITERATURE REVIEW

While research on the consumption of physical formats in the wake of widespread digitization is growing (Bartmanski and Woodward 2015; Hracs, Seman, and Virani 2016) academic literature on record stores is scant. But clues exist about how retail and format changes intersect with race in urban America. Below I review literature on current record stores and changes to black record stores over time, along with literature on retail in predominantly black areas in the urban US. I also review literature on digitization and music consumption.

Bartmanski and Woodward (2015) research contemporary music consumption, and suggest that record stores provide a place for interacting with materials that have taken on new meanings with the advent of digitization. But their analysis is largely confined to record stores

as they exist today. Davis (2011) provides an examination of stores in North Carolina from 1960 to 1990, and argues that "…the 1980s may well have marked the twilight years of the golden age of African American-owned record stores" (83). In one of the only academic pieces on black-owned music retailers, Davis (2011) argues that black-owned record stores in the 1970s were particularly important institutions for community identity and gathering. In the 1980s though, these retailers were besieged with several challenges that their white counterparts were not. Along with an increased willingness on the part of major chains to carry black music, the emergence of cassettes and home taping were particularly challenging to black-owned record stores (Davis 2011).

Plasketes (1992) notes how during this period, record companies made it increasingly difficult to carry anything but compact discs. The music business increased the risks involved with carrying vinyl, because executives decided to increase the costs of returning unsold LPs to record companies. Goss (2010) interviews record store owners that weathered this transition period, and states that during this time "...when the CD format replace vinyl, profit margins shrank" (220), largely due to the smaller margins associated with CD sales compared to vinyl. This period was particularly challenging for independent stores that lacked the buying power of larger chains. Massey and Denton (1993) argue that periods of economic change tend to be particularly harmful to segregated minority communities. While they are not concerned with cultural consumption or music, it seems reasonable to assume that changes in format (from vinyl to CD, and CD to Mp3) are significant with regards to music retail. Because of this literature, I expect the following hypothesis to be supported: predominantly black areas were

once home to a greater number of record stores than today, with particularly high losses in the 1980s.

Scholars of retail and racial segregation suggest how the current distribution of stores might differ along racial lines. Kwate and Loh (2016) argue that the retail mix of predominantly black areas of the city is one of increasing homogeneity. These parts of the city were once home to a more eclectic mix of retailers, but have since undergone what Charron-Chénier, Fink, and Keister (2016) refer to as "retail desertification" (213). Kwate (2015) and Thompson and Porter (2015) suggest that larger national chains have avoided minority areas of the city, contributing to a kind of retail redlining to mirror residential redlining. Because of these findings on other forms of retail, I expect to find record store failures to be higher in predominantly black areas to increase over time. I also expect there to be few national chain record stores founded in predominantly black census tracts.

The influence of digitization on music consumption is central to Bartmanski and Woodward (2015), which suggests that physical formats (primarily vinyl in their analysis) continue to be relevant for some consumers, because Mp3s lack the same kinds of rich meanings. The effect of digitization on music consumption is central to work by Liebowitz (2017) who argues that the dramatic decrease in music industry revenues following 1999 is primarily caused by the emergence of the Mp3 format, and associated peer-to-peer filesharing platforms (Napster, KaZaA, etc.). Oberholzer-Gee and Strumpf (2016) argue that while file-sharing is likely driving down revenues, the increased consumption of other forms of electronic media (films and video games) is more influential. Neither of these articles are concerned with how digitization may be affecting the distribution of record stores in the landscape, but

following their assertions I expect that following the emergence of music file-sharing, record store failures increased dramatically.

DATA AND METHODS

The location data for this analysis comes from two main sources: Milwaukee city directories and Milwaukee telephone directories. For thirty-one of forty-one years (1970-2010) both sources are available. For eight years the Milwaukee city directory is unavailable (1985, 1988, 1991, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 2008), and for two years the telephone directory is unavailable (1987, 2007). Telephone directories tend to have the greater number of relevant entries of the two, whereas city directories tend to have fewer entries generally, and a higher number of irrelevant ones (data storage facilities, music production businesses, etc.) for the purposes of this study. While it would have been ideal to have both sources for each year, there are no years where there is a lack of coverage, and the loss of city directories seems negligible for this analysis. For the purposes of this analysis, I use the term "record store" generically, to refer to brick-and-mortar retailers of recorded music, regardless of the formats they may have carried. From these hardcopies, I digitized 2,758 directory entries by hand under various headings which encompassed music retail.[5]

Gaps between store entries became apparent when organizing them by name, address, and then year. For example, one store had entries for each year between 1973 and 1987,

[5] By contrast, chapter 2 uses only city directories and not telephone directories, and focuses on five measurement years (1970, 1980, 1990, 2000, 2010) for Milwaukee, yielding 180 entries. The inclusion of telephone directories in the data collection process for this chapter yields a 70% increase in entries over chapter 2 (180 vs 340) when looking at just those five census years.

except for 1985. In these cases, I assume that the store existed in the missing year, and so an entry is listed for that store, address, and year. But when the gap in years exceeds 5, I treat the two "spells" as separate stores (as if a store pulled out of a location and then returned) to be conservative. In cases where the number of missing years is four or less it seems more reasonable to assume that a store owner did not list a location than it does to assume that a location closed and then reopened a couple of years later. Using this technique, 176 of 2,934 entries are assumed.

For the most part, I assume that if a store is listed in a directory under the heading "record store", "record shop", "phonograph retail" (or some later variant), than it is a record store. But to be conservative, I cut entries that blatantly look to be for business other than brick-and-mortar retailers of physical music, including: data storage facilities, other music businesses (production, distribution, or management), private residences, karaoke or video stores, musical instrument and sheet music stores, or were strictly electronics stores (Radio Shack). Duplicate entries, unspecified or vague entries, and those outside of Milwaukee County were also cut. After eliminating these entries, I geocoded the remaining ones using U.S. Census Geocoder software (US Census 2017), which uses street addresses to identify longitude and latitude values (x and y), as well as 11-digit 2010 census-tract identifiers. Most addresses had an exact or near exact match, but 143 entries (5.5%) were either tied with other addresses or could not be found by census software. For these entries, I used Google Maps to identify the longitude and latitude values, which can also be used by Census Geocoder Software to identify census tracts.

Following geocoding, I estimated store foundings, failures, and lifespans. Lifespans were estimated by taking the year of the last entry and subtracting it from the first entry (ex. 2006-1996 = 10 years). Stores that underwent name changes, but kept the same address, I consider a single continuous store. Only 22 out of 434 stores underwent name changes during the study period and area. Stores that relocated more than a few blocks away are considered distinct locations for the purposes of this analysis. The first time a store appears in directories, this year is coded as its "founding". For this reason, directory data from 1970 (the first year of data collection) are excluded from the analysis, because stores could have been founded any year before 1970, also known "left-censoring" (Allison 2014). I code a failure for a year if a store does not appear in a subsequent directory, and does not have a gap before appearing in a later directory (up to 4 years). It is possible that a store survives beyond this year, but fails to submit data to directory publishers or publishers fail to contact these stores. Directory data is the best estimate of store lifecycles for the scale of this analysis (41 years at the County-level), short of studying each store in-depth which is beyond the scope of this research. I categorize the years between founding and failure, as "persistent" years.

There are cases where one store shares an address with another (or many others), specifically those located within malls. In these cases, I treat stores that exist at the same address and at the same time as distinct entities when they are located in a known mall. When a store acquisition and rebranding is documented, as in the case of Camelot Music rebranded as F.Y.E. (TransWorld 2017), I treat the location as a single entity with a name change. I estimate what year a store opens, closes, and the time in between, by sorting location entries

by name, address and then year. This allows me to collapse directory entries into 434 unique locations over the study period in Milwaukee County (described below in Results)

Following this process, I categorize stores into one of three different types: independents, local/regional chains, and national chains. Independents are those with a single standalone location. Local/Regional chains are stores that have more than one location in the Milwaukee County or wider regional area (often a branch from a Chicago chain, as is the case with Rose Records or 2nd Hand Tunes). National chains (Musicland, Camelot, Peaches, Sam Goody, Tape World, FYE, etc.) are those owned by corporations operating at the national scale. Independent stores make up 70.5% of all stores in the analysis, followed by local/regional chains (21.4%) and national chains (8.1%). While labor-intensive, this novel approach to studying retail change allows for year-to-year comparisons over a longer period than is typically possible in qualitative studies of urban change and consumption.

Tract-Level characteristics

The Longitudinal Tract Database (LTDB) allows for comparisons between Census years, from 1970 to 2010. I use linear interpolation to estimate tract-level characteristics between census years (Snedecor and Cochran 1989). While real world change may take on a few non-linear forms, especially in the case of rapid growth or decline, without year-by-year data collection, this kind of growth cannot be detected. While an assumption of linear change

between decades in Milwaukee's census tracts is simplistic, it is useful for this analysis. For comparing stores to one another, I merge this census tract data to the Milwaukee locations.[6]

Race is a five-category variable (majority white, majority black, majority minority, majority Hispanic, and integrated), based on Peterson and Krivo's (2010) definitions. Census tracts where 70% or more of the population is white I categorize as "majority white". Majority black and majority Hispanic categories follow the same logic. Minority majority areas are those where whites make up less than 30% of the population, and no one nonwhite group (black, Hispanic, or Asian) makes up 70% on its own. Integrated census tracts are those remaining tracts where white and non-white populations are more nearly even.

Format Revenue Data

National-level music industry revenue data comes from the Recording Industry Association of America's U.S. Sales Database (RIAA 2017) and covers the years 1973 to 2010. I have simplified the revenue data for these categories by combining data on "vinyl single" and "LP/EP" into "vinyl revenues" as well as for cassette (from "cassette single" and "cassettes"), compact disc (from "CD Single" and "CD"), and digital (from "downloaded singles", downloaded albums", "kiosk", "downloaded music videos", "ringtones", and "paid subscriptions"). All revenue data has been converted to 2010 constant dollars using the Bureau of Labor Statistics (Bureau of Labor Statistics 2017) "CPI Inflation Calculator", allowing for year to year comparisons.

[6] For specific information on managing missing data, and computing other measures, see chapter 2.

RESULTS

I begin by describing the distribution of store lifespans in Milwaukee County (1970-201). I then move on to reviewing general patterns at the city-level (racial change) and national-level (music business revenues). Table 3.1 depicts the distribution of entries per store location in column one.

[Table 3.1 Here]

Estimated lifespans, found in column 2, are based on the number of entries per year. Here, a store that has one directory entry, and no other subsequent ones, has an estimated lifespan of less than one year (and is the modal category here). A store with two entries has an estimated lifespan of at least one year, and so on. The median lifespan of the 434 locations was two years, as can be seen in the column labeled “cumulative percentage”. The average lifespan of these 434 locations over the study period was 4.75 years, with a standard deviation of 6.01 years (not shown). This higher mean suggests a positive skew to the distribution. Most stores in Milwaukee County over the study period survived 2 or less years, but a few survived into double-digit years (including Rushmor Records, that survived for 36 years up to 2010).

Figure 3.1 depicts the racial composition of Milwaukee County’s census tracts from 1970 to 2010.

[Figure 3.1 Here]

In Milwaukee County, the percentage of census tracts that are majority white (70% or more) fell between 1970 and 2010, while the percentage of census tracts that are majority black, majority Hispanic, minority majority, and integrated census tracts rose. Figure 3.2 depicts

national-level data (RIAA 2017) on format revenues for vinyl, cassette, and compact disc in millions of dollars (adjusted for inflation, 2010 USD).

[Figure 3.2 Here]

Vinyl revenues peak around 1979 and then decline as cassettes come into the market. Cassette revenues in-turn peak around 1989 and then fall as compact disc revenues grow. From their introduction in 1983, compact discs yield unprecedented revenues for the music industry (RIAA 2017), eclipsing all other previous formats in the study period until they peak in 1999, around the time that Napster and online file sharing begins. This file-sharing period certainly begins earlier and extends beyond the parameters I use here. Napster was just one peer-to-peer platform among others (KaZaA, BitTorrent), but for the purposes of this analysis the years 1999 to 2002 serve as "the Napster Era", in which the file-sharing platform grew exponentially until it shut down due to court order (Levine 2011). Three years after this court order, the RIAA began to report revenues from digital sources, which for the purposes of this analysis includes downloaded singles and albums (2004-2010), kiosk, downloaded music videos, ringtones, and paid subscriptions to music services (2005-2010). Peak revenue years for vinyl (blue), cassette (orange), compact disc (grey), downloads (yellow), and the Napster Era (green) are identified in each of the following figures.

Figure 3.2 shows that revenues for vinyl, cassettes, and CDs all follow an "n-shaped" distribution over time; rising to a peak and then falling. Formats seem to coexist with one another in the market place until they reach a turning point, and the incumbent format begins to fall as the challenger continues to rise. In these transition periods, total music industry revenues fall slightly before recovering (Oberholzer-Gee and Strumpf 2016). The only time

when this is not the case is the period following the Napster Era, when revenues for physical media go into free-fall for nearly 10 years, until revenues for digital begin to rise in 2004, plateauing shortly afterwards.

Figure 3.3 shows the total number of record stores in Milwaukee County census tracts by race and ethnicity between 1970 and 2010.

[Figure 3.3 Here]

Again, the vertical bars represent peak format years, with the green box representing the Napster Era. The noticeable downturn in record stores from 2001 to 2010 here coincides with similar downturns in music revenues nationally. Technological change at higher scales appears to affect the distribution of cultural consumption spaces at the local level. This figure shows that majority white and integrated neighborhoods experienced heavy losses following 2001, but majority black areas saw this downturn begin two years earlier in 1999. Minority majority areas began losing stores 2 years later, in 2003. The one exception to this pattern is the number of record stores in Hispanic majority areas, which grew between 2000 and 2010 (though the actual numbers are modest: 2-7 locations). Majority black areas experienced a greater level of store reduction (82%, or 17 to 3 locations) between the peak year of 1974 to 2010, than majority white areas (70%, or 46 to 14 locations) between the peak year of 1975 to 2010. When we consider that the percentage of majority black census tracts increased in Milwaukee County over the same time, this loss appears even more dramatic. Store failure is only one aspect of change over time though. Store founding and persistence tell an important story about how the landscape and cultural consumption interact.

Figures 3.4 and 3.5 depicts how store founding, failure, and persistence changes over time in Milwaukee County (1971-2010) between majority white and majority black areas of the city.

[Figure 3.4 Here]

[Figure 3.5 Here]

In these graphs, the blue horizontal line represents the number of stores that have failed from the year previous, while the orange horizontal line represents the number of new stores founded that year. The grey horizontal line represents the number of record stores that have persisted (or carried over) from the year previous. One simple way to interpret the graph is that periods of growth can be seen where the orange line (founding) is above the blue line (failure). Periods of loss can be seen where the blue line is above the orange line. Both growth and loss affect the grey line over time.

In Milwaukee County between 1970 and 2010, periods of growth were typically followed by periods of failure in a "ping-ponging" fashion. As formats changed, growth and loss alternated until the Napster Era, when a year of growth in 2001 was followed by a year of loss. Failures continued to outstrip foundings for the next 8 years. In this way, it is not so much that the Napster Era caused a dramatic rise in failures that killed off record stores, because dramatic failure had long been a feature of record stores in the landscape over the entire study period, but the failures of 2002 were never followed by a recovery year of foundings. The data appears to suggest that file-sharing did not push stores to fail as much as it choked off new foundings. This is true of both majority white, majority black, and the county as a whole (not shown).

Figure 3.4 depicts failure, founding, and persistence in the County's majority white areas, and Figure 3.5 focuses on majority black areas. The period between peak vinyl and peak cassette was more devastating on stores in majority black areas than majority white areas, where the number of failures in majority black areas outstripped the number of foundings in each year between 1978-1988, forcing the total number of stores downward. In both majority white and black areas, the total number of stores seems to be driven down due to a lack of foundings to replace the otherwise regular number of failures. But it does appear that the decisions around format transitions have differential effects on neighborhoods of different racial composition, confirming assertions by Massey and Denton (1993) and Davis (2011). A similar dynamic is at work with regards to the distribution of national chains.

Scholars of segregation and retail suggest that alongside the more well-known process of residential redlining (Jackson 1985), majority black areas have been subject to the process of "retail redlining" (Kwate 2015; Thompson and Porter 2015). Figure 3.6 depicts the number of national chain (Sam Goody, Camelot, FYE, etc.) record stores in Milwaukee County (1970 to 2010) by race and ethnicity.

[Figure 3.6 Here]

National chains largely avoided majority black areas, even as they were gradually (1970s and 80s) and then dramatically (1990s) expanding in majority white areas. The one exception in Figure 3.6 being the years 1999-2001, but in these few cases the stores existed for many years before, and the population of the census tract shifted around the small strip mall where these stores existed, from majority white to majority black over time. National chains in this case did not move into a majority black area. On the contrary, they moved out. The existence of national

chains in majority white and integrated census tracts, along with the avoidance of majority black, majority Hispanic, and minority majority areas suggests that national chains did not locate in neighborhoods where non-whites made up more than 30% of the census tract population. This suggests further support for claims that national chains have been avoiding majority black areas as well as predominantly minority areas generally.

Figures 3.1 to 3.6 focus on Milwaukee County as a whole, but the dynamic between city and suburbs suggests some important differences with regards to record store distributions. Table 3.2 presents the average record store failure and founding per year in four periods (1971-1980, 1981-1990, 1991-2000, 2001-2010).

[Table 3.2 Here]

Stores found in Milwaukee County, but outside of the Milwaukee city limits I categorize as "suburban". Positive values in the "difference" column of Table 3.2 (foundings minus failures) suggest yearly growth. In each period, the average number of foundings per year is roughly that of failures, suggesting a kind of record store replenishment process in both the city and suburbs. The first exception to this is in the period 1981-1990 in the suburbs, where the average number of failures per year (2.3) is slightly higher than the number of foundings (1.7), where the difference is -.6 stores per year. The second and much more dramatic exception to this is during the period 2001-2010, where the number of foundings falls below the number of failures in both city (difference of -2.3) and suburbs (difference of -1.4). Record stores within the city limits were in a more dynamic market over the study period, where the average number of foundings and failures per year were higher in each period than in the suburbs.

Figure 3.7 depicts the percentage of record stores in city and suburban census tracts over the study period. Because there are only two categories depicted in the graph, they are a mirror image of one another.

[Figure 3.7 Here]

Figure 3.7 suggests that over the study period, a greater percentage of record stores were found in the city than in the suburbs, but those percentage were converging over time, until 2004, when an abrupt change occurred. Between 2004 and 2010, the percentage of record stores found in the city returned to 1970 levels (83%), while the percentage of record stores in the suburbs fell accordingly. Table 3.2 and Figure 3.7 taken together suggest that the period following the MP3 Crisis (Hracs et al. 2016) was one of dramatic change for the distribution of record stores in Milwaukee County. Record stores, as third places of musical consumption, have retreated from the suburbs and towards the city of Milwaukee.

DISCUSSION

The results of this analysis suggest that store founding, failure, and persistence is unevenly distributed throughout the urban landscape of Milwaukee County. Predominantly black areas, once home to many more record stores than today, have been avoided by national chains, along with other areas where minorities make up a majority of the population. These findings confirm the assertions of Davis (2011), who suggests that the 1980s were particularly difficult for record stores in predominantly black areas. The findings confirm work by Thompson and Porter (2015), Kwate and Loh (2016), and Charron-Chenier (et al. 2016) who argue that the retail mix of predominantly black areas have become more homogeneous over time, and that

part of this is because larger national chains have avoided these areas, contributing to “retail redlining” (Kwate 2015).

I expected the number of stores in all areas of Milwaukee County to plummet following the emergence of Napster and other peer-to-peer file sharing platforms, and that was the case. What I did not expect was that this downturn, and the one in predominantly black areas in the 1980s, would be largely driven not by increased failures but by a lack of new store foundings. The avoidance of predominantly black areas by national chains is a story about foundings, or the lack thereof in some parts of Milwaukee County but not others. My analysis illustrates when foundings drop off, and where in the urban landscape, but it is not able to explain why stores were not opened.

This change in the number of foundings seems to coincide with changes in format, though other unmeasured factors could certainly be at work as well. Fluctuations in credit markets or regional economics could make the risks and benefits of starting up a venture like a record store too unattractive to prospective store owners. It may be that formal (banks) and informal (private partnerships and investors) lending sources become unwilling to invest in new ventures during periods of increased risk. When thinking about larger national and regional chains, the drop in foundings may indicate a change in strategy by ownership. For independents, it may just signal an unwillingness on the part of would-be owners to strike out on their own. This is merely speculation, but personal and economic factors are likely at play in conjunction with the uncertainty that comes with shifts in format.

CONCLUSION

Employing record store location data from telephone and city directories, music industry format figures from the Recording Industry Association of America (RIAA 2017), and census-tract demographics, my analysis suggests four findings with regards to Milwaukee County. First, predominantly black areas once had many more brick-and-mortar music retailers, suggesting greater levels of retail homogenization today than in 1970. Second, stores in these areas were most susceptible to the transition from vinyl-to-cassette-to-CD (1983-1989) (Massey and Denton 1993; Goss 2010; Davis 2011). The third finding was unexpected: that changes in format did not coincide with exceptional increases in failure as much as they did exceptional decreases in new stores opening. Put another way: there were always high numbers of stores failing every few years, but these were typically offset with new openings, except during periods of great uncertainty about what was the leading format. For predominantly black census tracts, this is particularly true of the 1980s. During the period following digitization (1999-2010), this is true of almost all other areas (except for majority Hispanic areas). Finally, my findings suggest that national chains largely avoided areas where minority groups made up a majority of the census tract population, contributing to a retail landscape that resembles red-lining.

Popular myths of the record store paint it as a white urbanite phenomenon, and that appears to be true of Milwaukee County today. My historical analysis suggests that this has not always been the case, and might not be the case going forward. While predominantly black census tracts have very few record stores compared to the early 1970s, majority Hispanic areas are becoming home to an increasing number of locations. Films and books about record stores,

especially from the first half of the 2000s, suggest that record stores were being "killed off" by digitization, but the findings I present here suggest that dramatic losses were common over the study period (1970-2010) in Milwaukee. What changed during the period of digitization was that fewer record stores were opening to replace failing ones.

This analysis is subject to limitations. First, the use of telephone and city directories allows for an analysis of store founding, failure, and persistence over time, but it does little in the way of providing reasons for failure. I assume that changes in format are particularly important for the life of stores (being the chief product of that retail type), but this may not be the case. While I base this assumption on literature that accounts for the experiences of record store owners, the reality might be very different for owners in Milwaukee County. Qualitative interviews about the life of record stores, and the factors that influence the opening, survival, and closing of them could further this analysis. Another limitation of this analysis is the lack of information on format/product mix of the stores over time. Again, this limitation arises from my reliance on directory entries, which provide a useful account of multiple locations at the cost of greater detail that might come from a more ethnographic approach to studying significantly fewer locations. Finally, the use of Milwaukee County as a study area (due to time and resource constraints) may make the findings of the study less generalizable to different locales. Future work could include year-by-year location data from other metropolitan areas, and for other types of consumption spaces (other retailers, bars, music venues, coffee shops).

Record stores are places with rich layers of meaning for some. They are a third place (Oldenburg 1997) away from home, where exchange and debate can happen. This approach to studying stores necessarily strips away all of the important details of meaning-making and

consumption practices in favor of providing an historical account of change over a long period of time (41 years). But by analyzing the way one arena for cultural consumption has shifted over time and space, the findings here contribute to an ongoing discussion around the relationship between consumption and urban change (Lloyd 2006; Zukin 2010). Namely they suggest that structural changes to cultural products at higher scales (major media companies, software developments, etc.) can shape where these products are consumed in the urban landscape over time.

Table 3.1 Distribution of Record Store Directory Entries for Milwaukee County Year-By-Year Data, 1970-2010

Entries per store	Estimated Lifespan (In Years)	Count	Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
1	< 1	120	27.7%	28%
2	1	79	18.2%	46%
3	2	40	9.2%	55%
4	3	34	7.8%	63%
5	4	25	5.8%	69%
6	5	18	4.2%	73%
7	6	19	4.4%	77%
8	7	11	2.5%	80%
9	8	11	2.5%	82%
10	9	9	2.1%	84%
11	10	4	0.9%	85%
12	11	12	2.8%	88%
13	12	7	1.6%	90%
14	13	5	1.2%	91%
15	14	7	1.6%	92%
16	15	2	0.5%	93%
17	16	1	0.2%	93%
18	17	6	1.4%	94%
19	18	3	0.7%	95%
20	19	2	0.5%	96%
21	20	6	1.4%	97%
22	21	1	0.2%	97%
24	23	1	0.2%	97%
25	24	1	0.2%	98%
26	25	1	0.2%	98%
27	26	3	0.7%	99%
28	27	1	0.2%	99%
29	28	1	0.2%	99%
30	29	1	0.2%	99%
31	30	2	0.5%	100%
37	36	1	0.2%	100%
Total		434	100%	100%

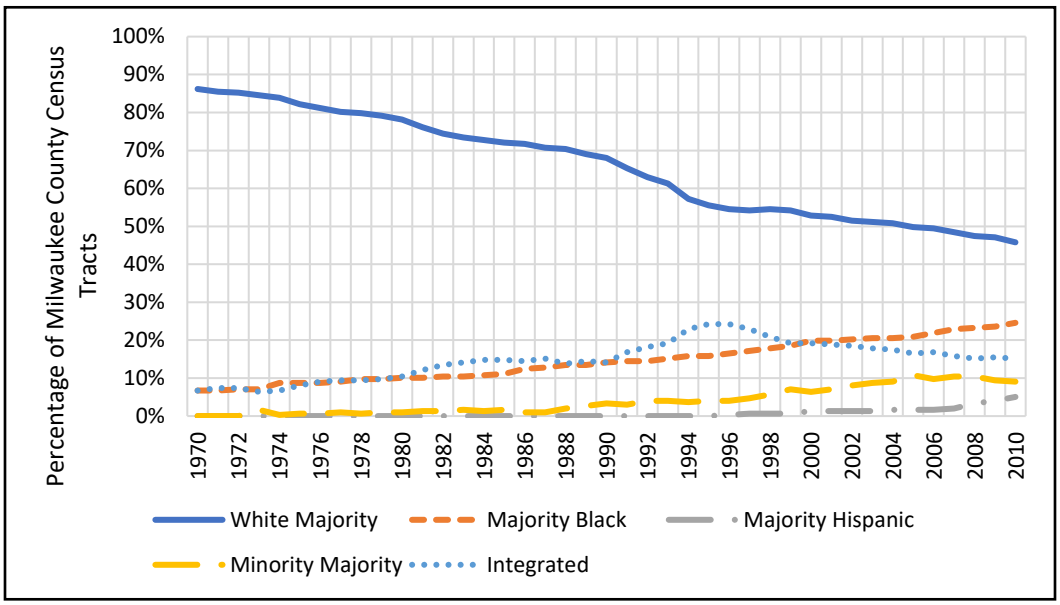
Sources: Wright, Polk Milwaukee City Directories, Milwaukee Yellow Pages

Table 3.2 Average Yearly Foundings and Failures in City and Suburban Census Tracts, Milwaukee County (1971-2010)

	City			Suburbs		
Period	Foundings	Failures	Difference	Foundings	Failures	Difference
1971-1980	11.2	10.1	1.1	2.8	2.2	0.6
1981-1990	7.6	7.5	0.1	1.7	2.3	-0.6
1991-2000	8.2	8.4	-0.2	2.6	2.5	0.1
2001-2010	4.1	6.4	-2.3	0.7	2.1	-1.4

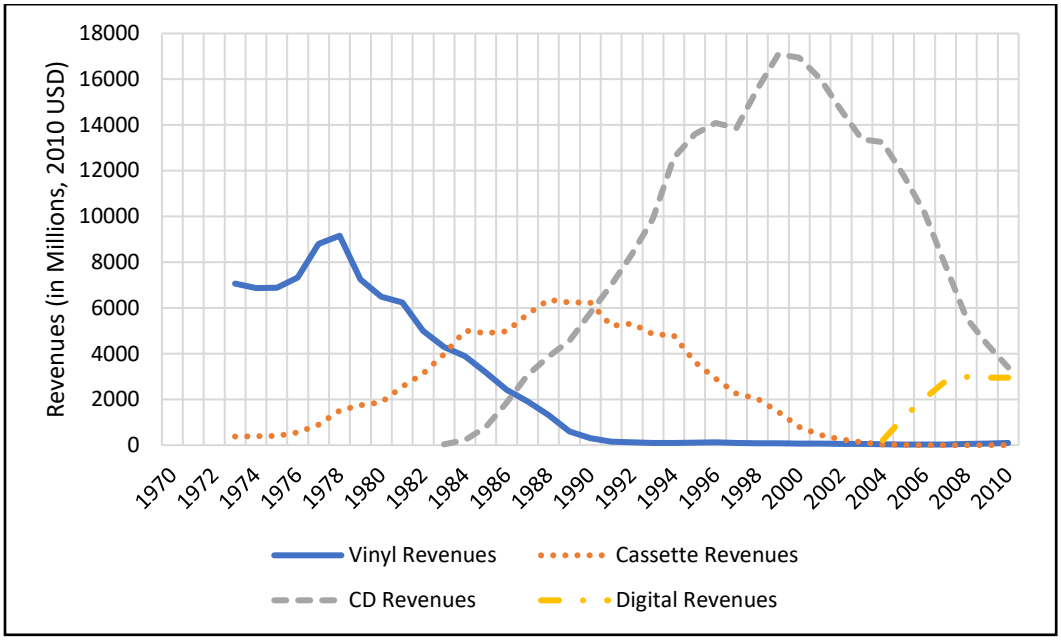
Sources: Wright, Polk Milwaukee City Directories, Milwaukee Yellow Pages

Figure 3.1 Racial/Ethnic Composition of Milwaukee County Census Tracts, 1970-2010



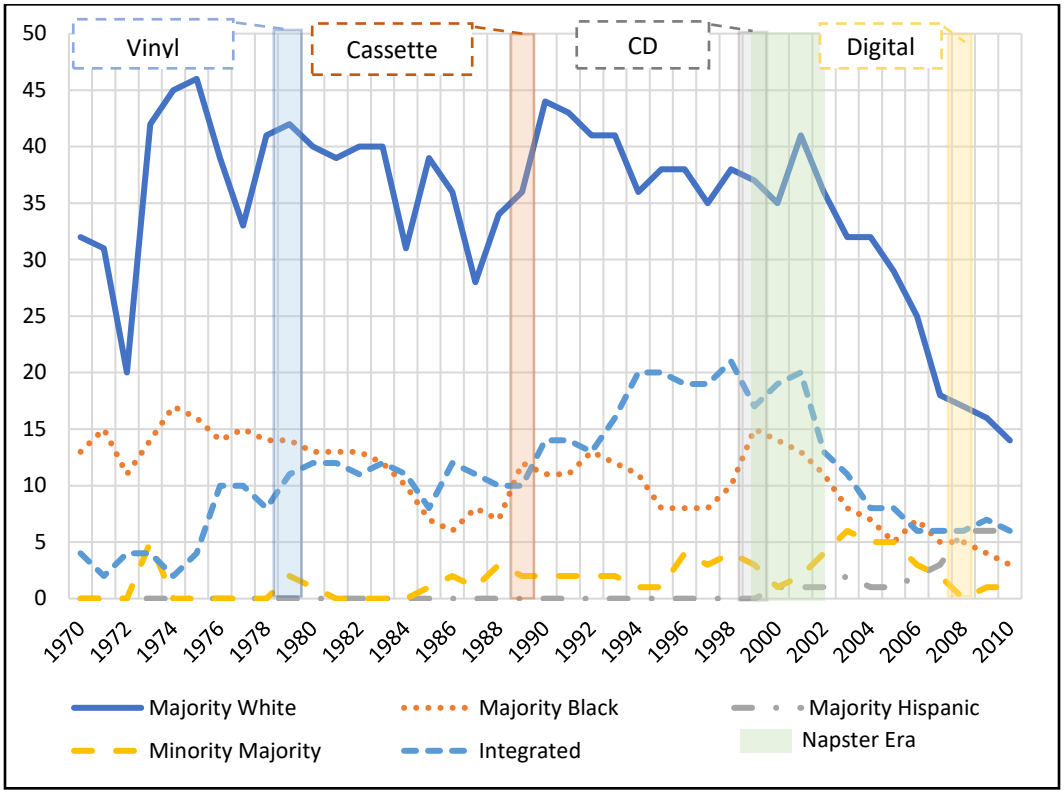
Source: Longitudinal Tract Database (LTDB)

Figure 3.2 Music Format Revenues, United States, 1973-2010 (Adjusted for Inflation)



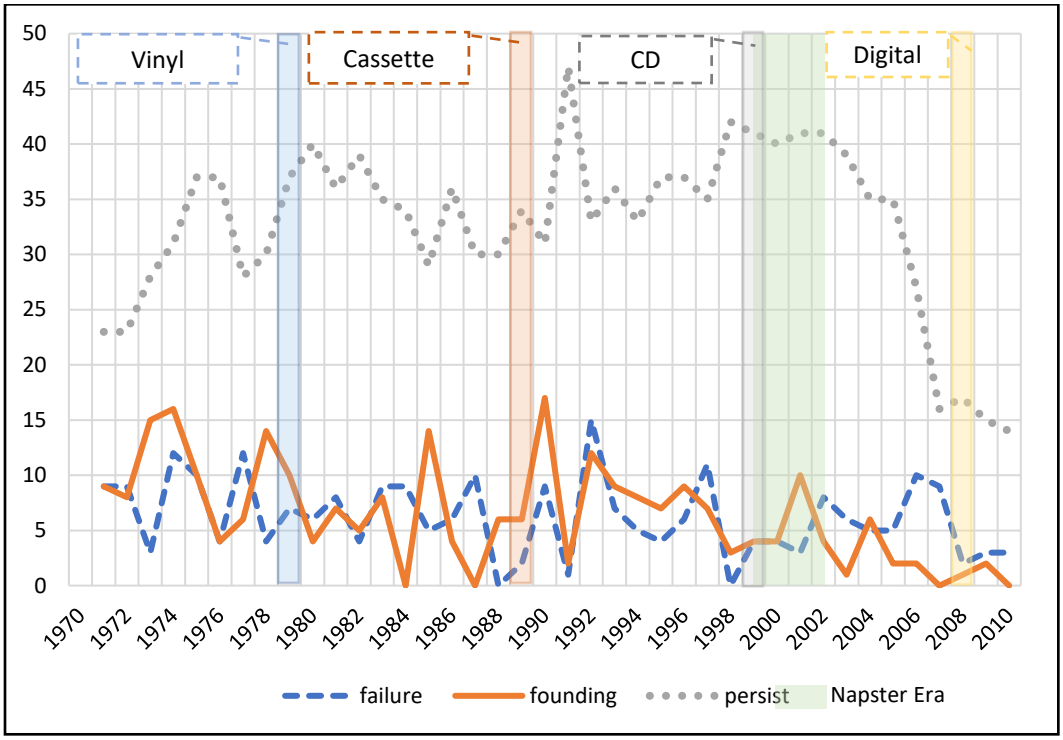
Source: Recording Industry Association of America (RIAA 2017)

Figure 3.3 Peak Format Years and Counts of Record Stores by Racial/Ethnic Composition of Census Tract, Milwaukee County, 1970 – 2010, with Peak Revenue Format Years



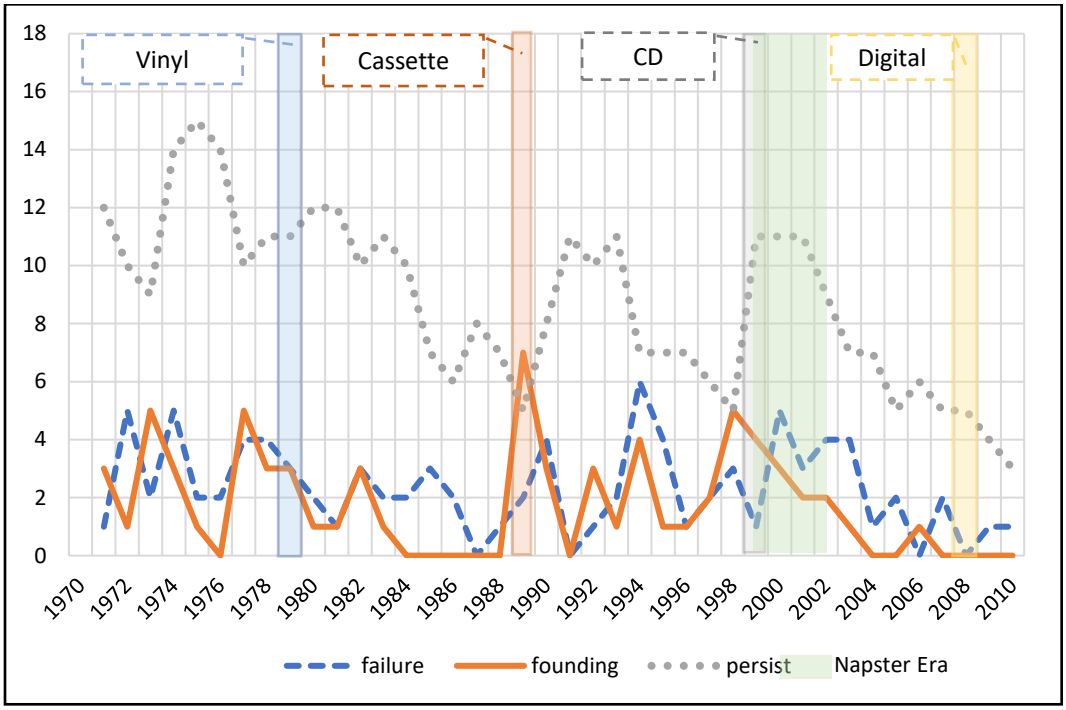
Sources:
Census Tract data: Longitudinal Tract Database (LTDB)
Record store locations: Wright, Polk Milwaukee City Directories, Milwaukee Yellow Pages
Sales Figures: Recording Industry of Association of America: US Sales Database
Napster information: Levine (2011)

Figure 3.4 Number of Founding, Failed, and Persistent Record Stores in Majority White Census Tracts, Milwaukee County, 1971 – 2010, with Peak Revenue Format Years



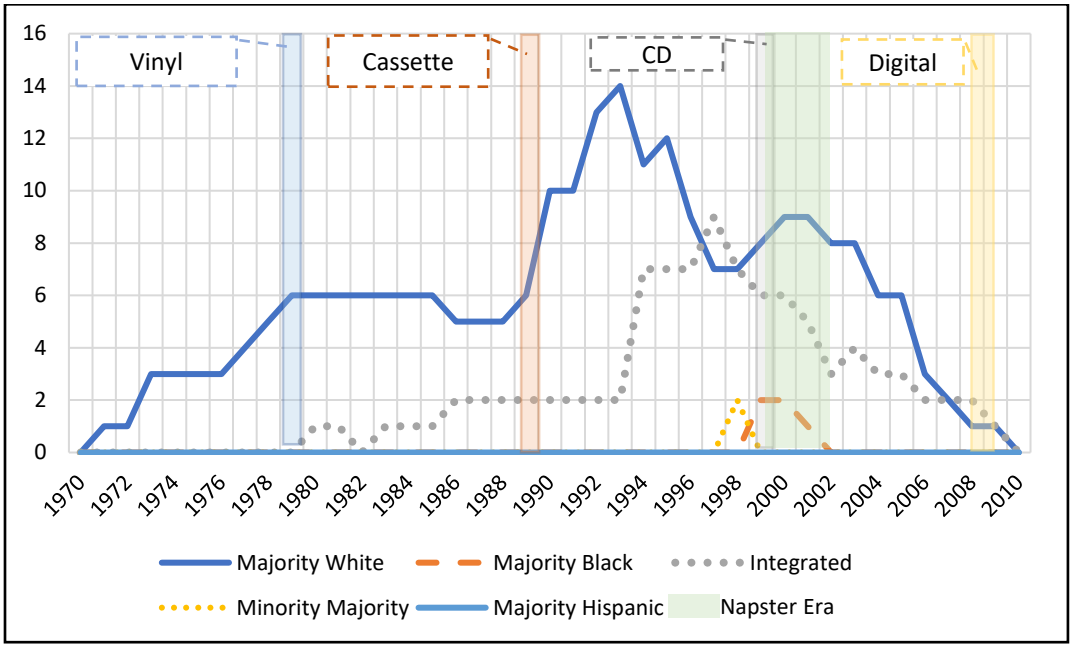
Sources:
Census Tract data: Longitudinal Tract Database (LTDB)
Record store locations: Wright, Polk Milwaukee City Directories, Milwaukee Yellow Pages
Sales Figures: Recording Industry of Association of America: US Sales Database
Napster information: Levine (2011)

Figure 3.5 Number of Founding, Failed, and Persistent Record Stores in Majority Black Record Stores in Milwaukee County, 1971 – 2010, with Peak Revenue Format Years



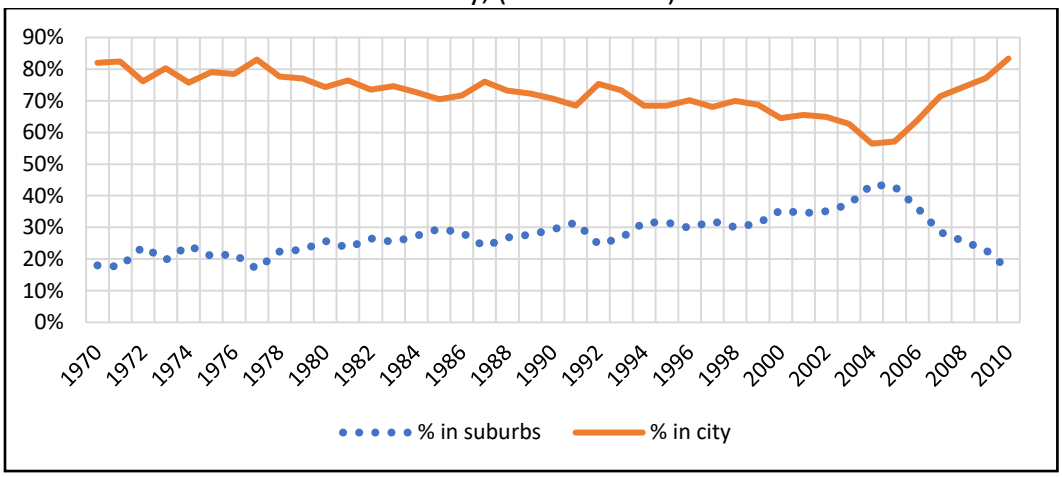
Sources:
Census Tract data: Longitudinal Tract Database (LTDB)
Record store locations: Wright, Polk Milwaukee City Directories, Milwaukee Yellow Pages
Sales Figures: Recording Industry of Association of America: US Sales Database
Napster information: Levine (2011)

Figure 3.6 Number of National Chain Record Stores in Majority White and Majority Black Census Tracts in Milwaukee County, 1970 – 2010, with Peak Revenue Format Years



Sources:
Census Tract data: Longitudinal Tract Database (LTDB)
Record store locations: Wright, Polk Milwaukee City Directories, Milwaukee Yellow Pages
Sales Figures: Recording Industry of Association of America: US Sales Database
Napster information: Levine (2011)

Figure 3.7 Percentage of Record Stores in the City of Milwaukee, and Suburbs of Milwaukee County, (1970 – 2010)



Sources: Wright, Polk Milwaukee City Directories, Milwaukee Yellow Pages

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4. Record Store Persistence and Neighborhood Change in Milwaukee, 1970 -2017.

Despite devastating losses to their overall numbers, record stores persist in cities across the United States and elsewhere. They continue to serve as a community space of both consumption and cultural exchange for their local neighborhoods. Following the advent of music digitization, the industry-wide restructuring of the music business continues. In the meantime, fliers for upcoming concerts are taped to windows, bands still play cramped in-store performances, and the thrill of finding a long-sought recording continues to be felt in the record stores of the world. These retailers provide something to the consumer that the internet alone cannot; a space for interacting with culture and materiality (Bartmanski and Woodward 2015; Hracs and Jansson 2017). Record stores remain relevant, but comparatively rare. And their primary neighbors and audiences have narrowed as vinyl has changed from a universal musical medium to a more rarified consumption experience. They are one form of third place among others, including beauty salons, cafés, restaurants, and corner bars, that remain vital to urban social life (Oldenburg 1997). Literature suggests that change in up-and-coming areas today is driven by a concentration of third places like record stores (Lloyd 2006), while work on music consumption suggests that record stores today are increasingly found among third places of hip cultural consumption (Davis 2011; Bartmanski and Woodward 2015; Harvey 2015). Taking these two lines of inquiry in tandem, I examine how other forms of retail and small business have shifted in the areas that record stores currently inhabit (as of 2017).

In the second chapter I examine record store distribution and failure at the regional scale, studying Milwaukee, Detroit, and Chicago between 1970-2010. Record stores used to be

more closely tied to predominantly black neighborhoods than they are today. In the third chapter I focus on the city of Milwaukee, examining changes in the number of foundings in conjunction with music format changes. Technological changes between 1999 and 2001 coincide with a massive downturn in the number of Milwaukee's record stores, driven primarily by a drop in new store foundings. In this chapter I continue to examine Milwaukee, but zoom-in one more step to study changes in the local environments in which record stores currently persist. But these spaces of cultural consumption used to exist in a wider variety of neighborhoods. As of 2017, there are no record stores within the city's major malls. In a county that is 27% African American (US Census Bureau 2018), there is a single record store in a predominantly black area.

This chapter asks: how have the retail and demographic characteristics of the local area around Milwaukee's persistent record stores (as of 2017) changed over time? Looking at a few historic cases, it also asks: how did these environments change around some of Milwaukee's longest running stores? The results show that record stores currently persist in areas that have become increasingly advantaged over time, and the local retail environment has shifted towards one based on providing frequently consumed discretionary goods (like dining). The findings suggest that some long-standing stores persisted for many years in other kinds of areas with very different demographic, economic, and local retail trajectories. This suggests a recent shift away from minority and working-class areas, and towards up-and-coming centers of cultural consumption.

The analysis in this chapter uses an original longitudinal dataset of retail locations, coupled with demographic information from the Longitudinal Tract Database (LTDB), and store

information from keyword searches of media archives. The findings show that a majority of Milwaukee's record stores survive in areas that are increasingly advantaged and predominantly white, while the retail mix has shifted towards one that is dominated by frequently consumed discretionary goods (like food and drink) and less dominated by necessity (like sundries) and infrequently consumed goods (like automobiles) and services. A look at historic stores suggests that while local environmental factors like retail mix and demographics are important, some stores manage to persist despite dismal circumstances while others fail in the best of them, and the influence of technological change is an important factor in store failure.

This chapter contributes to ongoing research within urban sociology on the role of cultural consumption in neighborhood change (Lloyd 2006; Zukin 2010). It places the consumption of music within broader discussions of retail mix and urban inequality in areas like urban studies, urban planning, and human ecology. It addresses recent scholarship on the consumption of physical music formats from cultural sociology, geography, history, and communication (Davis 2011; Bartmanski and Woodward 2015; Harvey 2015; Hracs and Jansson 2017). While this chapter further examines record stores specifically, the methods I employ can be adopted by researchers interested in a more systematic approach to studying third places in the urban landscape. Studying third places with an emphasis on change over time yields a complex portrait of the lived experience of neighborhood in flux.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Three lines of literature inform the analysis in this chapter, including: (a) scholarship on urban consumption and neighborhood change, (b) recent literature on urban inequality and its

effect on the retail mix of urban neighborhoods, and (c) research on the consumption of physical formats and record stores. Consumption has been of central concern to theories of urban change for nearly a century. Benjamin's (2010) dream-like account of the Paris arcades of the 1920s highlights the sensual and amnesiac quality of strolling through urban retail sectors. For Benjamin's (2010) "flâneur", consumption is a diversion from the restrictive roles that they might face in other contexts. Jane Jacobs ([1961] 1992), in her classic reaction against the modernist planning of New York in the early 1960s argues that a neighborhood with a greater diversity of uses, including its mix of retailers and businesses, is a healthier and more stable place to live than one with less.

But it is the recent work of Lloyd (2006) and Zukin (2010) that more closely examines the relationship between cultural consumption and urban change. Lloyd (2006) studies changes in the Chicago neighborhood of Wicker Park from the post-Industrial period of the 1970s to the mid-2000s. After passing through a period of economic decline, the neighborhood becomes a kind of magnet for places of bohemian cultural consumption; including cafés, bars, and restaurants. These places of cultural exchange and consumption are instrumental in the transformation of these disadvantaged areas into neighborhoods of urban cool. Lloyd (2006) states that these "third places…[are] local institutions [that] both drive neighborhood identity and reflect it" (100). His qualitative findings further suggest that demographic changes and changes in the local business mix are tied to one another in up-and-coming neighborhoods.

Like Jane Jacobs, Zukin (2010) studies New York City, but more specifically as a laboratory for exploring how taste and inequality interact in urban space. Her qualitative research focuses on gentrifying neighborhoods in the boroughs of Brooklyn and Manhattan.

Central to Zukin's (2010) examination of these areas is the concept of "authenticity" and how it has shifted over time from referring to the people of a neighborhood to the experiences that consumers can expect to have in the areas where these people once lived. Like Lloyd (2006), Zukin (2010) finds that gentrifying neighborhoods pass through a period of retail and business change, before becoming attractive to the upper middleclass.

These findings suggest that accounting for where these authentic experiences take place in a neighborhood (restaurants, record stores, art galleries, coffee shops, bars, clubs and other businesses in Zukin's account), and how they have changed over time is vital to understanding the contemporary urban landscape. To both Lloyd and Zukin, places of consumption are not neutral in the contest over urban space. They reflect the shifting base of power in these areas, from older residents (usually minority or working-class), to newer ones (often whiter and more upwardly mobile).

These largely qualitative accounts of urban change are rich with street-level detail. But an emerging body of literature examines the relationship between retail and urban inequality from a more spatial and quantitative approach as well. Kwate, Loh, White, and Saldana (2012) use spatial mapping and modeling techniques to analyze the relationship between race and the distribution of retail locations across New York City. The analysis includes distance to a variety of stores (book stores, vitamin/supplement stores, fast food restaurants, clothing and shoe stores, pharmacies, gyms, and electronics stores) as a dependent variable and local demographics (percent black, population density, median household income) along with other local economic measures (average subway ridership and consumer demand) as predictors in a statistical model.

What Kwate (et al. 2012) find is that when controlling for other factors, a significant and positive relationship exists between the percent black and distance to the nearest location of many retailers included in the analysis, except three of the six fast food restaurants (the other three were non-significant). Put another way, black neighborhoods are further from a host of retail and consumption spaces today, even though demand exists for these goods. These findings suggest that chain retailers, well aware that demand exists in these areas, avoid them in a process Kwate (et al. 2012) refer to as retail red-lining.

Meltzer and Capperis (2016) study the relationship between residential characteristics and retail mix using quantitative methods. Using New York City as the study area, Meltzer and Capperis (2016) link business establishment data to census tract demographic and economic information. Meltzer and Capperis (2016) categorize businesses into types along two axes: necessity vs. discretionary goods and services, and frequently vs. infrequently consumed goods and services. Necessity businesses are those that offer goods or services that fulfil consumers basic needs, while discretionary businesses focus on those goods that "enhance quality of life" (9). Frequently consumed goods are those that the more immediate neighborhood consumes on an everyday, or weekly basis. Infrequently consumed goods are those that because of their durability or price may be consumed by a much wider market than the immediate neighborhood.

Frequently consumed necessity goods and services include businesses such as hardware and grocery stores while infrequently consumed necessity goods and services include furniture and clothing stores. Frequently consumed discretionary goods and service businesses include bars and restaurants, and infrequently consumed discretionary goods include car dealerships

and jewelry stores (Meltzer and Capperis 2016: 35-36). Their findings suggest that business turnover is influenced by business type (frequent-infrequent, necessity-discretionary) and structure (chain vs. independent), but also tract-level characteristics like median income, median rent, poverty, race/ethnic composition, population density, and education. As I will show, the areas that most record stores currently exist in have shifted away from a more diverse mix of business types towards one primarily offering frequently consumed discretionary goods.

In one of the only articles on black merchants, Sutton (2010) researches the predominantly black neighborhood of Fort Greene, Brooklyn between 1950 and 2005. Using a mixed-method approach, the analysis combines interviews, participant observation, and tract-level demographic information to study business and retail change. More specifically, Sutton (2010) studies how a group of black merchants form an association to further their political and economic aims, revitalizing the neighborhood in the process. But this same group is later vulnerable to the external threat of redevelopment. The case illustrates the difficulty of operating as an association combining business interests with social/cultural activism while facing down powerful economic actors. Sutton's research differs from my own in terms of aims and methods. This chapter borrows from Sutton (2010) methodologically by focusing on the same business categories that Sutton (2010) analyzes, because they represent "a variety of convenience and specialty retail sectors common within vibrant urban localities" (358). The exception being that where Sutton (2010) leaves out barber shops and beauty salons, because they are "overrepresented in predominately Black urban neighborhoods" (358), I include them in this analysis because I am looking at other kinds of areas as well (see Appendix B). These

studies of retail mix and urban inequality provide methodological tools for this chapter, but they do not focus specifically on third places like record stores. While few scholars examine record stores as thoroughly as I do here, they do suggest that record stores are part of a hip, bohemian business mix in up-and-coming neighborhoods.

In the laundry lists of consumption spaces within bohemian neighborhoods (Grazian 2005; Lloyd 2006; Zukin 2010) the specific term "record store" seems implied but largely absent, falling somewhere between second-hand stores and music venues in my interpretation. Lloyd (2006) discusses Wicker Park's changes with Steve Pink, the producer of what is probably the most well-known record store movie: High Fidelity. Filmed blocks away from the real-life Reckless Records (171), Lloyd's interview with Pink reveals how important it was for both the producer and the film's lead actor John Cusack to place the narrator near Wicker Park. Bartmanski and Woodward (2015) examine the record stores of Berlin and state that "…as a physical and now relatively luxurious medium, vinyl tends to be ensconced within cityscapes, nested in specific ways in specific locations." (137). More specifically, they state that vinyl consumption occurs "…in bohemian neighborhoods, cosmopolitan urban spaces, and music consumption venues." (137). For Bartmanski and Woodward (2015), vinyl consumption is intimately related to neighborhoods that offer "decelerated consumption" of both old and new cultural items (140). They contribute to the perceptions of the neighborhoods they are situated in, and are in turn affected by these perceptions. Harvey (2015) notes the importance of urban space in the location of persistent record stores, with one of his record store owner interviewees stating that "If you ask a cabbie where the record store is, that's also where the coffeeshop is, the vintage clothing store, …[and] community centers." (13). Though I do not

track coffee shop and vintage clothing store locations to see where they might cluster in the city, my findings suggest that there are these types of businesses within walking distance of contemporary record stores.

Davis (2011) presents an historically rich account of black-owned record stores that have vanished from the landscape of the South. North Carolina's black-owned record stores were once a part of thriving black-owned retail environment, reaching their heyday in the 1970s. Davis (2011) argues that while record stores today remain an important institution for cultural exchange, they are more closely tied to white consumption—a phenomenon which, as we will see below, seems to be the case in Milwaukee as well. Record stores are only one component of a neighborhood's retail mix, and work by Charron-Chénier, Fink, and Keister (2016) suggest that this mix in predominantly black areas has become more homogeneous over time. My findings below confirm this.

Much has been written and said about large, dynamic, global cities. But there is much to be learned about how medium-sized cities of the world vary from larger ones in terms of growth and decline. In this chapter, I analyze a medium-sized city experiencing very unevenly distributed growth to pose a few questions. First, I simply ask: are record stores today located in the hip and up-and-coming predominantly white neighborhoods, as scholars of music consumption suggest (Davis 2011; Bartmanski and Woodward 2015; Harvey 2015)? Then, I more specifically ask: how have the demographic, economic, and retail conditions of local areas near Milwaukee's contemporary record stores changed over time? Do shifts in local business coincide with demographic shifts, similar to larger cities (Lloyd 2006; Zukin 2010; Sutton 2010; Meltzer and Capperis 2016)?

To do this, I draw methodological insights from literature on changes in retail mix and urban inequality (Sutton 2010; Meltzer and Capperis 2016). From Meltzer and Capperis (2016) I use the definition of frequently/infrequently, as well as the discretionary/necessity consumed goods and services to categories businesses into four types (see Appendix B). The number of cases that I study in this chapter is necessarily small because by 2017 Milwaukee had lost so many locations. For this reason, I cannot perform the kind of sophisticated modeling that Meltzer and Capperis (2016) and Kwate (et al. 2012) do, but their findings are useful for posing the following question: how do retail and demographic changes over time around record stores differ between those inside and outside of predominantly black neighborhoods? The findings suggest that areas around record stores in predominantly black areas are increasingly disadvantaged, and have a decreasing number of businesses in them over time unlike their white counterparts. Along with looking at changes in the areas surrounding contemporary record stores, this chapter includes a small number of long running historic record stores to look at how the environments surrounding stores from diverse areas and eras might differ from those today. To address these questions and gaps in the literature, I combine data from census tract demographics, business location data from Milwaukee County directories, and archival information from media coverage of record stores.

DATA AND METHODS

This chapter analyzes three distinct types of data: tract-level demographic data, street-level business data, and location-level press and articles. Tract-level data from the Longitudinal Tract Database (LTDB) are useful for monitoring local economic and demographic changes over

time in a particular area of the city. Because this dataset uses consistent tract boundaries over time, comparisons are feasible between different eras. Street guides found in directories provide a snapshot of business change in a given neighborhood over time. Similar to using consistent tract boundaries, the use of a similar range of addresses from year to year allows for comparability between years (see Appendix B). Press and media coverage of locations are useful for providing qualitative details about stores, including (in some cases) reasons for opening or closing, and hints about what their local customer base was. This is information that cannot be gleaned from directories or census data alone. These data allow me to construct a picture of how local areas around record stores have changed over time in a way that was not possible in chapters two and three.

Retail Mix Data

Business listing data come from city directories for the city of Milwaukee, published by Wright (1970 to 1983) and Polk (1984 to 2017). Along with individual listings (persons), and business listings organized by category (as I employ in chapters two and three), these directories include street guides, which include listings between a range of addresses on a given street. These are useful for assessing how the number and types of business on a street change over time. In order to do this, I digitize business listings for the immediate neighborhoods of 15 record store locations, including 11 that were still in business in 2017 (Acme, Bullseye, Bayview Books and Music, CdMax, two Exclusive Company locations, Luv Unlimited, Musical Memories, My Music Man, Off the Beaten Path, Spin Dizzy) three historic locations (Audie's Records, Atomic Records, Mean Mountain Music), and the longest-running record store in Milwaukee,

Rushmor Records (aka "Rush Mor Records" in some accounts), included in both contemporary and historic categories. An overview of where these stores are situated in Milwaukee County can be seen in Figure 4.1.

[Figure 4.1 Here]

For each location, I first I draw a quarter-mile radius around store locations. Oldenburg (1997) argues that "vital neighborhoods" require amenities that are within walking distance (288), but stops short of defining what that distance would be. I use the radius of a quarter-mile following other research on the walkability of urban neighborhoods (Duncan, Aldstadt, Whalen, White, Castro, and Williams 2012). This diameter of a half-mile roughly corresponds to a 10-20-minute walk from end to end.[7] Then I identify the two streets with a high concentration of businesses (in 2018) within these areas, and determine the range of addresses to include in the analysis (see Appendix B). Third, I digitize the names and addresses of businesses within these ranges. Fourth, following Sutton (2010) and Meltzer and Capperis (2016) I attach 2017 North American Industry Classification System (NAICS) codes to each one of these 2,296 entries based on keyword search within the US Census Bureau's NAICS website. Finally, following Meltzer and Capperis (2016: 9) I categorize each entry by how often consumers visit that business (*frequent* v. *infrequent*), and the necessity of products or services (*necessity* v. *discretionary*). Businesses that Meltzer and Capperis (2016: 10) identify as offering "frequently consumed necessity goods/services" include laundromats, banks, and grocery stores. Those that offer "infrequently consumed necessity goods/services" include shoe stores, appliance stores, and clothing stores.

[7] Based on Naismith's Rule for hikers, assuming that one is walking over flat ground (1.5 miles per hour to 3 miles per hour based on fitness level). That seems reasonably "walkable".

Bars, café's, restaurants, and record stores are those which offer "frequently consumed discretionary goods". Finally, "infrequently consumed discretionary" goods and services include sporting goods stores, jewelry stores, and musical instrument stores (see Appendix B).

Demographic Data

Tract-level demographic data comes from the Longitudinal Tract Database (LTDB) and includes measures of education (percent who have a college degree), race (percent of tract that is white, black, Hispanic[8], or Asian), economics (median income, median rent, median home values, percent unemployed, percent poor), occupations (percent employed in professional occupations), percentage of households headed by a female, and population density for decennial census years, 1970-2010.

The level of neighborhood advantage is an index from Peterson and Krivo (2010) that I use in chapter two (pg 30-31), but I reverse-code it here for easier interpretation (so that increases in the index mean greater levels of advantage). This index contains measures standardized at the county-level for percent unemployed, percent employed in professional occupations, percent with a college degree, percent of households that are female-headed, and percent poor (see chapter two). For the years between census data collection I calculate estimates using linear interpolation (as in chapter three). Ideally, I would use 2017 tract-level demographics for contemporary stores, but using 2010 is more conservative than projecting changes using linear (or another form of) interpolation. Doing so would require making an assumption about the rate of change between 2010 and 2020 (because the 2020 US Census has

[8] Estimated. See Timberlake and Iceland 2007:363.

not occurred yet), based on the rate of change between 2000 and 2010. Due to the unprecedented economic changes wrought by the Great Recession, this seems unwise. In most cases, record stores sit at the intersection of a few census tract boundaries. In lieu of block-level data (which is difficult to obtain or manage) I include information for those census tracts which intersect a quarter-mile radius around a given store. The number of census tracts that intersect with this radius differs by store, but all descriptive tables identify how many tracts are included. For the sake of parsimony, demographic data are expressed as an average of these census tracts (as opposed to including each tract separately).

Press and Media Coverage

Media coverage data come from keyword searches of record store names and city addresses in Google, Google Newspapers, and Google Books. I carried out searches in these three areas with the intention of capturing more recent (Google) and older (Google Newspapers, Google Books) coverage. Regular Google keyword searches are useful for capturing local press, alternative weeklies, and less traditional forms of music consumption press. The Google Newspaper historic archive contains digitized copies of Milwaukee's three major newspapers, including the *Milwaukee Journal* (Jan. 1st, 1884 to March 31st, 1995), *Milwaukee Sentinel* (January 2nd, 1910 to April 1st, 1995), and following consolidation, the *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel* (April 3rd, 1995 to December 31st, 2007). Google Book searches are useful for scanning digitized copies of the following magazines: music industry magazine *Billboard* (October 4th, 1980 to October 1st, 2011), college and alternative music magazines *CMJ New Music Monthly* (January 1st, 1995 to June 1st, 2008), and *CMJ New Music Report*

(September 8th, 1997 – November 29th, 2004), as well as hip-hop focused magazine *Vibe* (September 1993 – December 2008) among many others. After eliminating duplicate entries, 308 record store locations from chapter three resulted in 616 searches (as well as searches for record stores founded after 2010, and general keyword searches for "record store", "record shop" and other variants). The information on specific record stores that I provide below comes from these searches. Of the 434 unique locations (from chapter three), I found information on 107 of them, the majority of which only produced a single search result. For the purposes of this chapter, I only focus on four historic record stores.

RESULTS

I organize the following results in two sections, looking first at contemporary stores (those still in business in Milwaukee in 2017) (Polk 2017a, 2017b, 2017c) and then move on to those that have persisted over a long stretch of time. These I refer to as "historic stores". In each section I present the results of a descriptive analysis of local census tract demographics and retail mix change over time. For contemporary stores, the three time points I analyze are 1970, 2000, and 2010 for tract demographics. For tract-level descriptive statistics for Milwaukee County (as well as tracts outside of, and within the city limits of Milwaukee) see Appendix C. Retail mix information uses 1970, 2000, and 2017 time points. The results suggest that the areas that contemporary record stores exist in today have become increasingly advantaged over time (relative to the county), and the local retail mix has moved towards frequently consumed non-necessity goods (like food and drink).

Contemporary Record Stores (2017)

Most contemporary record stores cluster in two neighborhoods in Milwaukee: The Eastside and Bay View. The Eastside was home to four record stores in 2017 (Bullseye Records, Off the Beaten Path, Exclusive Company (Farwell), and CdMax). Bullseye and Off the Beaten Path are nearly neighbors, as are Exclusive Company and CdMax. Because of this proximity, a significant amount of overlap exists between these stores in terms of demographic and retail information. For the sake of parsimony and simplicity, I organize these stores under a single category: "Eastside Neighborhood". I include the store Musical Memories under this category because it shares some census tracts with its Eastside neighbors. Likewise, four other record stores cluster within the Bay View neighborhood (Acme, Bay View Books and Music, Luv Unlimited, and Rushmor Records), and I categorize them under a single heading ("Bay View Neighborhood"). I also present information on three record stores found outside of these areas: Spin Dizzy in Greenfield, My Music Man on the northwest side of Milwaukee, and another Exclusive Company location near Southridge Mall. I include these stores for the sake of providing an accurate picture of contemporary record stores. The persistence of these three record stores further suggests that while many record stores exist in upscaling areas, others do not.[9]

[9] I omit one location from the analysis that was included in the 2017 city directories. This is because I could not confirm if it still exited in 2017 after calling the number listed, and visiting the building address (it is vacant at time of writing). I was able to confirm that the other stores were still open through keyword searches for company websites or social media profiles.

Eastside Neighborhood

The Eastside of Milwaukee, for the purposes of this analysis, includes 13 census tracts. The values in Table 4.1 are based on averages for these 13 tracts.

[Table 4.1 Here]

Record Stores on the Eastside of Milwaukee exist today in census tracts that, on average, have an increasingly advantaged population (0.555 in 1970 to 1.197 in 2010), chiefly driven by increases in the percent of college educated and professional occupations in the area, despite increases in the percentage poor. These stores exist in an area where median income, rent, and property values have all increased when adjusting for inflation. But income, while higher in 2010 than 1970, increased only modestly over the study period, peaking in 2000 ($44k) before falling in 2010 ($39k). Rent has increased by $125.00 a month on average, while property values have more than doubled. The Eastside has remained a predominantly white area over the study period, with only modest gains in the percent black, Hispanic, and Asian. The average population density per square mile for these 13 tracts, which is some of the highest in Milwaukee County, has declined between 1970 and 2010. The population density trend follows a u-shape though, with the highest density in 1970 (37,729 per square mile), a drop to in 2000 (28,832), and then an increase in 2010 (32,037).

The retail mix of Milwaukee's Eastside has shifted over time as well. The number of establishments today is greater than those in 1970, and the categories of those businesses have changed. Table 4.2 presents both the number (left half) and column percentage (right half) of establishments in the study area (1970 – 2017).

[Table 4.2 Here]

Record stores on the Eastside of Milwaukee exist today in a market that is increasingly dominated by restaurants. In 2017, 2 out of 5 businesses in the study area were restaurants, up from 1 out of 10 in 1970. Real estate agents, auto repair places, and supermarkets, while not dominant in times before, have all but vanished from the landscape. This shift away from more practical consumption spaces and towards dining is reflected in the frequency and necessity categories on the bottom of Table 4.2. In 1970, the Eastside's retail mix was one that offered a richer mix of consumer goods and services. Over time, frequently consumed discretionary goods and services have come to dominate the retail mix (72% in 2017), largely driven by dining. Infrequently consumed (necessity or discretionary) goods have decreased to 10%, down from 41% in 1970. Taken together, the record stores of the Eastside of Milwaukee exist in a local market that is predominantly white and advantaged relative to the county as a whole. The area is experiencing an uptick in population density, and the business environment is increasingly dominated by dining.

Bay View Neighborhood

Six census tracts make up the Bay View area for the purposes of this analysis, and demographic information for them can be seen in Table 4.3.

[Table 4.3 Here]

From 1970 to 2010, Bay View tracts have gone from being less advantaged (compared to the county as a whole) to being more advantaged over time, with the largest jump occurring between 2000 and 2010. This, despite increases in the average percent of female-headed households and poor, has largely occurred due to the influx of college educated residents. In

1970, Bay View was a predominantly white, working-class area, with only 5% of the population college educated, and 14% of the occupations in professional fields. By 2010, the population was more diverse, 30% of the population were college educated, and 39% of the workforce were in professional occupations. The average median incomes in these six tracts fell in 2000 before returning nearly to 1970 numbers.

Tracts in Bay View have done well financially, considering losses throughout the county in terms of (inflation adjusted) median incomes (see Appendix C). Average median rents have increased by $120.00 per month, while property values have doubled since 1970. The greatest jump in property values occurring between 2000 and 2010. The racial and ethnic makeup of Bay View has shifted over time as well. In 1970, the area was almost exclusively white (93%) but has since become predominantly white (70%) with a sizable Hispanic (20%) and smaller black (6%) and Asian (2%) populations as well. While the fortunes of Bay View have increased, the population density is down from 1970 values. On average, Bay View's 2010 tracts are nearly 30% less dense than those in 1970.

Looking at the local retail mix (Table 4.4 below) of the Bay View area, a few patterns are of note.

[Table 4.4 Here]

In general, the number of businesses has increased over time, with a dramatic dip in 2000. But instead of an area dominated by bars (10) in the early 1970s, the study area has seen an increase in the number of restaurants (12), and coffee shops (4) by 2017. The number of gyms (3) (under the heading "713940 - Fitness and Recreational Sports Centers") and tattoo shops (4) (included in the NAICS category "812199 - Other Personal Care Services") have also increased

by the year 2017. Interestingly, the number of business that cater specifically to women have increased in the study area, and the area is now home to ten beauty salons and three women's clothing stores.

Businesses that offer frequently consumed discretionary goods have always been the dominant category in the area of study, but they have grown from 39% to 59% by 2017, while infrequently consumed goods of both types (necessity and discretionary) have decreased. Record stores in Bay View are operating in a local environment that is increasingly advantaged and punctuated with an array of small, independently run businesses that offer frequently consumed discretionary goods. Record stores are a part of this general shift towards these kinds of businesses that offer frequently consumed discretionary goods (Meltzer and Capperis 2016) found in both Bay View and the Eastside.

The Eastside and Bay View neighborhoods house the majority of Milwaukee's contemporary records stores (as of 2017), and both are experiencing increases in advantages relative to the county as a whole. Bay View and the Brady Street area of Milwaukee's Eastside resemble the hip neighborhoods described in Lloyd's (2006) examination of Chicago. But contemporary record stores exist outside of these areas as well.

Exclusive Company (Southridge)

The Exclusive Company is a local/regional Wisconsin chain, with seven stores still in operation throughout the state (Exclusive Company 2018). The Eastside has a branch, and another branch is located just north of, but not in, Southridge Mall. Southridge is a large Milwaukee area mall that opened in 1970 (Snyder 2014), and the demographic and retail mix of

the area reflects this shift. Information on retailers within the mall by year was unavailable in city directories, and only a small portion of the mall fell within the quarter-mile radius around Exclusive Company. The demographics of the study area come from 2 census tracts.

Around the time of Southridge Mall's development, this was an area slightly more advantaged than Milwaukee County as a whole in 1970. Since then, the area has become less advantaged, and more closely resembled the county as a whole in 2010, with an advantage index value of 0, despite increases in the percentage of college educated residents. The average median incomes (from $62k in 1970 to $38k in 2010), and rent have fallen in this area while property values have increased between 1970 and 2010. In terms of racial makeup, the area has remained predominantly white, with small increases in the non-white population (around 16% in 2010). The population density of the area has increased between 1970 and 2010.

The retail mix of the area near Exclusive Company reflects the development of the mall, as can be seen in Table 4.6. As can be seen in the left half of the table, this was not a commercial district in 1970. Although not included in this analysis, the only business listed in the study area for 1970 was a solitary gas station.

[Table 4.6]

The other addresses were residencies. Comparisons in this instance are between 2000 and 2017. The total number of retailers in the area has increased from 15 to 24 in a 17-year span. The most notable shift in this period is the increase in restaurants in the area, which is similar to developments on the Eastside as well as Bay View. This area was dominated by businesses offering frequently consumed discretionary goods in 2000 (53%), but infrequently consumed necessity goods (clothing in this case) also made up a sizable percentage (40%). By 2017, these

two categories shifted. Frequently consumed discretionary goods now make up 63%, while infrequently consumed necessity goods make up 23% of the retail mix.

There are no remaining music stores in Southridge, according to both city directories and a search of the mall's internal store directory (as of late March 2018) (Simon 2018). This is a marked change from 2000, during the height of the MP3 Crisis (Hracs, Seman, and Virani 2016), when 20 record stores called the area malls home (see: Appendix D). The area around Exclusive Company, since the development of the mall, has become less advantaged over time, while the retail mix has shifted towards dining, similar to other study areas. It is the only remaining record store located near a mall in Milwaukee County.

Spin Dizzy

Spin Dizzy on Milwaukee's far southwest corner is in an area that is slightly more advantaged than the county as a whole, and increasingly so, as can be seen in Table 4.7 (which includes 4 tracts).

[Table 4.7 here]

While the percent of professionals and college educated residents has increased, the unemployment rate has been relatively low over the study period as well. Over the same period though, average median incomes in the area have fallen from around $58k to $49k, while rents have decreased and property values risen. The area has been predominantly white over the study period, but decreasingly so. In 1970, whites made up 99% of the population. By 2010, that percentage had fallen to 75% while Hispanics had increased as a percentage of the

population (16% in 2010). In that same span of time, the average population density of these 4 tracts had fallen by almost 2,000 people by square mile.

[Table 4.8 Here]

The retail mix surrounding Spin Dizzy can be seen in Table 4.8. The number of business in the area increased from 6 to 11 in the study period. Because these numbers are so small, caution must be paid in interpreting percentage changes. In general, while the number of businesses in the study area has increased, the mix has become less diverse over time, dominated by three main categories in 2017: auto services (36%), beauty salons (18%) and restaurants (18%). Unlike the other study areas mentioned above, businesses offering frequently consumed discretionary goods are not the dominant form, and necessity goods are more prevalent (both frequently and infrequently consumed).

My Music Man

While they were once home to many more record stores, My Music Man is the only contemporary music store located in a predominantly black area of Milwaukee, and the demographic information in Table 4.9 is particularly striking. It suggests that while most record stores in contemporary Milwaukee persist in areas of increasing advantages, some still survive in areas with high levels of concentrated disadvantage.

[Table 4.9 Here]

The quarter mile radius around My Music Man intersects with three census tracts. When these tracts are averaged, a dramatic pattern appears. These areas went from resembling county-levels of advantages in 1970 (.044) to being nearly one standard deviation below (-0.759). This

is largely driven by low percentages of college graduates and increasing percentages of female-headed households, unemployment, and poor residents between 1970-2010. Inflation-adjusted incomes fell nearly $23k between 1970 and 2010, while property values increased, but only after following a u-shaped curve, bottoming out in 2000. Average median monthly rent for these tracts fell by $50.00 between 1970 and 2010. The tracts surrounding My Music Man went from being almost completely white in 1970 (97%) to almost completely black in 2010, the largest change happening between 1970 and 2000. Average population density, like many of the other study areas fell over the study period. In this case, the average of the three tracts is 1,000 people fewer per square mile, between 1970 and 2010.

As can be seen in Table 4.10, there were fewer businesses in this area than in 1970, but these shifts in business are less dramatic than those in demographics.

[Table 4.10 Here]

In general, necessity goods (either frequently or infrequently consumed) have become less obtainable in the area over time. Frequently consumed discretionary goods have become more easily obtainable, similar to other study areas. My Music Man, according to the data I analyze in chapter three, was founded in 1998, and despite dramatic shifts in demographics has managed to persist in the contemporary landscape for nearly two decades.

Research on contemporary record stores suggest that these spaces of cultural consumption cluster in predominantly white bohemian (or “hipster”) quarters of the city (Davis 2011; Bartmanski and Woodward 2015; Harvey 2015). When looking at the persistent stores of contemporary Milwaukee, this appears to be true. Of the 12 remaining record stores, 9 of them persist either on the Eastside of Milwaukee, or Bay View, both areas that after a period of

decline through the 1990s are on the upswing. These are areas that have been predominantly white throughout the study period, though they have become more diverse over time. Record stores, as business that offers frequently consumed discretionary goods (Meltzer and Capperis 2016) are one kind of third place (Oldenburg 1997), including restaurants, that increasingly calls the city home.

A few remaining stores exist outside these areas as well though. Exclusive Company near Southridge Mall is the sole survivor of the once-thriving mall record store sector (probably due in part to the fact that the company is not tied to larger national chains that closed underperforming stores in the 2000s, many of them in malls). Spin Dizzy, while still open in 2017 (during the study period) has since closed. Like My Music Man, this store was in a predominantly residential area with few retailers around it. My Music Man, is the remaining store in a predominantly black area in Milwaukee. As I show in chapter two and three, stores were once more prevalent in predominantly black areas in Milwaukee, suffering severe declines during the transition to CD, and later during the transition to digital formats. This suggests a modification to Massey and Denton's (1993) argument that race and class segregation concentrate the effects of economic shocks in poor black areas of the city. My findings suggest that this is indeed true, but specifically for the switch from vinyl and tape to CD. The advent of file sharing was a shock at such a scale that stores in all areas of the city and county of Milwaukee were affected. The analysis of contemporary stores accounts for how neighborhood retail has shifted from one which was more diverse, to one more focused on frequently consumed discretionary goods. It also reveals how most record stores that had survived to 2017 were located in neighborhoods that were becoming increasingly advantaged relative to the

county. But a look more deeply at other stores that have historic importance for Milwaukee suggests that while neighborhood characteristics are important to account for, reasons for closing or opening are complex, and go beyond the local scale. In the following section, I analyze four long-lived stores in the Milwaukee area including Atomic Records, Mean Mountain Music, Rushmor, and Audie's Records, drawing on demographic, local retail change, and archival information.

Historic Stores

Atomic Records

Atomic Records, located near the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, began its life as Ludwig Van Ear in the early 1970s, according to city directory, telephone book entries for Milwaukee, and media coverage (Farkas 2003). Atomic, like Ludwig Van Ear before it, focused on independent and underground forms of rock music (Sieracki 1997; Bates 2002; Farkas 2003; Tanzilo 2008, 2014). The store hosted performances for several notable acts in the genre, including: Smashing Pumpkins, Teenage Fanclub, and Frank Black according to store owner Rich Menning (Farkas 2003). Menning took over the location in 1985, rebranding Ludwig Van Ear as Atomic, and basing the look and layout of the store on other regional independent stores, including Chicago's influential store Wax Trax! (Farkas 2003). Figure 4.2 depicts the building that housed Ludwig Van Ear/Atomic Records in 2007 and ten years later in 2017.

[Figure 4.2 Here]

Atomic Records closed March 15th, 2009 (Jayasuriya 2009), due to what Menning referred to in late 2008 as "…the decade-long (and running) decline of the music industry

combined with the recent economic downturn" (Tanzilo 2008). The Atomic brand continues on in Milwaukee though, with Menning continuing to produce and sell t-shirts emblazoned with the store logo and occasionally resurrecting the store as a limited-term pop-up (Maas 2016). But even more than half a decade after its closure, lamentations continued to be written by local media (Mueller 2015; Maas 2016). In this period, demographic and local business shifts occurred around Atomic. Table 4.11 displays demographic change over roughly the same period that 1813 E. Locust served as a record store, from 1970-2009.

[Table 4.11 Here]

These figures come from the four census tracts that intersect with a quarter-mile radius around Atomic. As can be seen, relative to Milwaukee county, this area has long been a highly advantaged part of Milwaukee. Advantage index values greater than one suggest that the area is a standard deviation above the county on average across several measures. Since at least 1980, nearly 50% of the residents have had a college degree (which makes sense considering the proximity to a university), and nearly 2 in 5 residents were employed in a professional occupation. Percent female-headed households and unemployed figures remained in the single-digits throughout the study period, though the percent poor increased dramatically between 2000 and 2009.

If this is due to increases in the on-campus undergraduate population is difficult to tell, and beyond the scope of this research. Median incomes have followed an n-shaped curve, peaking in 2000, before falling below 1970 levels in 2009. While rent has increased by nearly $140.00 per month, median property values have more than doubled. This is a predominantly white area that is slowly diversifying. In 2010, black, Hispanic, and Asian percentage were all

still single digits, while whites made up 88% of the population on average in these tracts. The population density of the area fell over the study period as well.

The retail environment of the area around Ludwig Van Ear/Atomic shifted as well, but not as dramatically as some of those described above, as can be seen in Table 4.12.

[Table 4.12 Here]

Between 1970 and 2009, this area lost a florist, a hardware store, a used merchandise store, and some repair shops, while gaining a book store, coffee shop, and convenience store. Like other areas, mainstays of the neighborhood were beauty salons and restaurants, which after a slight decay in the 1990s, increased by 2009. When combining both full-service and take out restaurants, these businesses accounted for 46% of the retail mix of the area. This is an area that has been dominated by businesses offering frequently consumed discretionary goods since 1990. Frequently consumed necessity goods shops have declined since 1970 in the area. By 2009, infrequently consumed goods only accounted for 8% of the total retail mix.

While the area surrounding Atomic Records remained highly advantaged, and the area increasingly shifted towards business types that offered frequently consumed discretionary goods (like CDs and records), the very customer base that Atomic served (Bates 2002) was also the first to adopt file-sharing technology (Oberholzer-Gee and Strumpf 2007; Levine 2011). Atomic's location, which served it so well for decades, may have become at the very least irrelevant (considering digitization) or at worst detrimental if property value increases led to increases in operating costs.

Mean Mountain Music

Mean Mountain Music was a long-standing store on Milwaukee's southside, that operated at 926 W. Oklahoma Ave from 1980 until it's closure in 2005, according to directory data I collected for chapter three. Mean Mountain Music was owned by Mike Muskovitz and was situated on the southern end of Milwaukee's Polonia neighborhood, an area long associated with Polish immigrants and their descendants (Gurda [2003] 2018). Mean Mountain Music was archetypical of what Bartmanski and Woodward (2015) describe as a "heritage store" (146) which focused on rock-a-billy, roots, country, early rock and roll genres; forms long associated with the white working-class greaser culture (Amethyst Dawn 2013; Patoski 1979; Rytlewski 2009). Mean Mountain Music also stocked "…vintage R&B, especially the great 45s that flowed from Detroit in the 1960s and early '70s" (Tanzilo 2014). Before opening the store, Muskovitz was already known as an expert in these forms to collectors (Patoski 1979; Rytlewski 2009) operated out of his home, selling obscure and hard-to-find vinyl copies of these genres.

Table 4.13 displays demographic information (four tracts) for the 926 W. Oklahoma Ave location during the years it was open (1980-2005).

[Table 4.13 Here]

In terms of advantages, the area has been relatively similar to the county as a whole, with average values fluctuating around zero. Changes to the components that make up the advantage index are rather modest over time. Median incomes have increased only slightly over time, following a n-shaped curve that peaks in 2000. Rents have increased by nearly $100.00 a month (adjusted for inflation), and property values have increased between 1980 and 2005, with a notable downturn in the 1990, and upturn in the 2000s. The most dramatic

change in the neighborhood demographics is in the racial/ethnic make-up of the area. Reflective of its history as a Polish ethnic enclave, the area was dominated by working-class whites from 1980 (97%) to 1990 (94%). A significant shift happened to the area in the 1990s though, as Hispanics began to move into the area, growing from 18% in 2000 to 32% in 2005, as the average population density for these tracts grew over time from 9,093 to 9,687 per square mile.

Unlike others in this analysis, the area around Mean Mountain Music has been relatively stable over time, save for changes in racial and ethnic composition. It is also unique in that the population density has increased over time. When looking at the retail mix of the area, a similar story of stability emerges in Table 4.14.

[Table 4.14 Here]

This neighborhood had a greater diversity of retail forms (16 categories) in 2005 than in 1980 (12 categories), but only the loss of the number of real estate agents is dramatic (from three in 1980 to zero in 2005). The decrease in infrequently consumed discretionary goods/services likely reflects this decrease in real estate agents. Other than this change the frequency-necessity categories for this area are relatively stable over time as well.

Mean Mountain Music closed its doors in 2005, even though in many ways, the neighborhood and retail mix were relatively stable over time, with the exception of the racial/ethnic mix of the area. Muskovitz, through the store's publicly accessible Facebook page, acknowledged a number of reasons for the closure, including compact disc copying, music downloading, increased fuel costs, and nearby incidents of robbery (Muskovitz 2014). Whether this perception of increased crime was warranted or not is beyond the scope of this analysis,

but it was a significant enough factor in the mind of this owner to consider, and ultimately decide on closure. While racial/ethnic percentages have shifted in the area, so to has the face of retail, if not the mix itself. This is illustrated in Figure 4.3, which shows Mean Mountain Music in 2000 (5 years before closure), and the same location in 2017.

[Figure 4.3 Here]

The change from a business that specialized in white working-class specialist music consumption to one that focuses on a Hispanic customer base (the current tenant being Novedades La Guadalupana) illustrates well how demographic shifts can manifest themselves in retail change.

Rushmor Records

Rushmor Records is alive and well in Milwaukee's Bay View neighborhood (as of early-2018), and in that regard is not like the other three historic stores covered in this section, all of which have since closed. Rushmor began life under the ownership of David and Jacki Haug before changing hands (Jozwik 2009). Current owners Dan DuChaine and Bill Rouleau bought the failing business in 1994, relocating the store a few doors down shortly after (88Nine RadioMilwaukee 2015; Keene 2015). Since DuChaine and Rouleau bought the store, the focus has been on punk, metal, and other related genres, though not exclusively (Jozwik 2009; 88Nine RadioMilwaukee 2015; Keene 2015). The store sponsors and organizes local community events (Lawrence 2007), with one writer referring to owner Bill Rouleau as "the unofficial mayor of Bay View" (Tarnoff 2009).

Five census tracts intersect with the quarter mile radius around Rushmor. Table 4.145 presents demographic information for five years (1972, 1980, 1990, 2000, and 2010).

[Table 4.15 Here]

The area around Rushmor has become more advantaged over time, starting off slightly below the county-level value of zero (-0.153 in 1972) and increasing by the year 2010 (0.651). Increases in the percentage of college educated residents and professionals seems to be driving this reversal of fortunes. In 1972, it was a predominantly white working-class neighborhood, with fewer than 7% of the residents with a college degree. By 2010, 34% were college educated, and 44% were professionals. It has consistently had low levels of unemployment and female-headed households with increasing median incomes, rents, and property values, when adjusting for inflation. In terms of race and ethnicity, the area has long been predominantly white, but began to diversify between 1990 and 2000. While this neighborhood has become increasingly advantaged over time, it has also become less dense in terms of population per square mile. The retail mix around Rushmor has remained relatively stable over the study period, as can be seen from Table 4.16.

[Table 4.16 Here]

The neighborhood had roughly the same number of business in 2017 as in 1970. Only a few changes are of note. Today, fewer drinking places (bars/taverns/lounges) call this strip of Bay View home than in 1972, and the number of auto repair shops has declined to zero. Tattoo shops have increased from zero in 2000 to 2 in 2017. Other than those changes, it has largely been stable, with the dominant type of business being one that offers frequently consumed discretionary goods.

Rushmor is one of the oldest record stores in Milwaukee, with a deep connection to the local community. It persists in an urban context of increasingly advantaged residents and a relatively stable local business environment. The local community has shifted from white and working-class to a more occupationally and racially/ethnically diverse one. This context is not the only explanation for its success, but this connection to the local music consumer and community is an important factor to consider.

Audie's Records

In the introduction of the dissertation, I describe the lot where Audie's Records used to stand. I now describe how the neighborhood around this lot has changed over time. The fate of Audie's Records (2204 W North Ave) and the surrounding neighborhood on Milwaukee's northwest side is quite different from Rushmor. Audie's Records began life as Twin Spin Record Center (according to city directory and telephone book data) sometime before 1970. Owner Audie Dotson operated Audie's Records for 26 years at this location, from the early seventies until 1999. Similar to prominent African American record store owners that Davis (2011) identifies, Audie Dotson was referred to as a "role model" by a music director of a Milwaukee African American radio station (Sacks 1982: 38). Audie Dotson owned not only the record store, but a number of other retail businesses including a wig shop, shoe store, and a clothing store. While Audie took exception to some rap acts (like N.W.A. and 2 Live Crew) because of what he perceived as misogyny and violence in lyrics (Philips 1991), the store was a "hub for hip hop, soul and funk in the Midwest" (Elliott 2007). Over the store's long history, it was a regional contributor to Billboard Magazine's "Hot Black Singles Action" charts (Billboard 1985).

Unlike many of the other stores in this analysis, Audie's Records was located in a consistently disadvantaged neighborhood, as can be seen by demographic information in Table 4.17.

[Table 4.17 Here]

This information comes from the average of two nearby census tracts, and covers the years 1972-2000 (the year just before Audie Dotson took over the record store, and the year just after it closed). As can be seen from the top half of the table, this was a very disadvantaged area relative to the county as a whole, going back to 1972. The advantage index values suggest that this was an area at or very nearly 2 standard deviations below the county level in terms of advantages for 1972-1990. Low percentages of college graduates and professionals, with high percentages of poor, female-headed households, and poor residents explains the low levels of neighborhood advantages. Median incomes in the area have fallen from $31k in 1972 to $22k in 2000, while rents have slightly increased. Unlike other study areas in this chapter, property values in the area have fallen over time (when adjusting for inflation), from $47k in 1972 to nearly $41k in 2000. While the area has been predominantly black over the study period, between 1972 and 1980, the average percentage of white residents fell from 24% to 9% (respectively). This percentage continued to fall in 1990 and 2000. What is most dramatic though is the loss of population density in the area. Between 1972 and 2000, the average population density of the study area fell by nearly ten thousand people per square mile.

The retail mix of the study area around Audie's (Table 4.18) reflects a similarly dramatic downturn.

[Table 4.18 Here]

Between 1972 and 2000, the area within a quarter-mile of Audie's Records along North Ave and Fond Du Lac Ave lost half of the businesses types that I include in this analysis. Ten drinking establishments closed in the area, between 1972 and 2000. Four furniture stores and three auto repair services also closed in this same period. Between 1990 and 2000 the modal category shifted from drinking places to men's clothing stores. While this loss is dramatic, the frequency-necessity categories of the retail mix over time is relatively stable, apart from frequently consumed necessity goods, which were no longer on offer in the area by the year 2000.

Audie's Records was once a central location for culture and community in Milwaukee's Park West neighborhood; an area fighting an uphill battle with highly concentrated poverty and white flight over the study period. As can be seen in Figure 4.4 below, the complex of Cream City brick buildings that made up Audie's small retail empire have all but vanished from the landscape.

[Figure 4.4 Here]

Atomic, Mean Mountain Music, Rushmor and Audie's are just four of many other record stores that managed to persist in Milwaukee's landscape over time. I include them in this analysis because after searching for archival clues, they left the most behind. Each provide a contrast to one another, and to those contemporary stores that have survived into 2017. Each represents a community space for cultural consumption in neighborhoods on different trajectories. Even highly advantaged neighborhoods like those around Atomic Records could not sustain the store during a period of technological change. In many ways, the neighborhood around Mean Mountain Music was stable over time, except for changes in the ethnic make-up

of the area. Rushmor has persisted in an area which is becoming increasingly advantaged and diverse over time, with a high density of nearby businesses. Audie's was in a highly disadvantaged predominantly black neighborhood for nearly 30 years, surviving high levels of unemployment and poverty through most of it. Why it ultimately closed is not clear from archival sources, but it's closure was not unusual in an area where so many businesses folded. The demolition of Audie's Records has all but erased the store from the contemporary landscape of Milwaukee's northwest side.

DISCUSSION

When looking at the location of Milwaukee stores that have survived into 2017, most of them cluster in two neighborhoods: the Eastside and Bay View. These are both areas that are becoming increasingly advantaged over time relative to Milwaukee County. While these advantaged areas have been predominantly white going back to at least 1970, they are gradually becoming more racially diverse. One of the most dramatic changes is the increase in percentage of residents with a college degree. These are areas that are presumably richer with cultural capital (Bourdieu 1984) than in times previous. Along with increases in education, the percentage of people who work in professional occupations is increasing.

This shift is most dramatic in Bay View, which for a long time was a working-class sector of the city, where a modest level of professionals and college graduates lived in the early 1970s. If the changes seen in the Eastside and Bay View qualify as a kind of gentrification, it is of a different brand to the kind noted by Lloyd (2006), where Latino residents of Wicker Park were presumably displaced due to property value increases. It differs as well to the examples given

by Zukin (2010) of Harlem, where a long-standing black population is currently in the process of being displaced by white (among other) residents. Milwaukee's gentrification, at least in regards to these two specific areas, is a case where residents with presumably higher levels of cultural capital are moving to areas with lower levels of cultural capital. In a city rife with racial residential segregation, it is not a surprise that gentrification would be *intraracial* and not *interracial* in nature.

While chapters two and three suggest that record stores were once more closely tied to predominantly black neighborhoods than they are today, confirming assertions by Davis (2011), the findings of this chapter suggest that today, record stores cluster in up-and-coming urban areas of white consumption, confirming qualitative work by Davis (2011), Bartmanski and Woodward (2015), and Harvey (2015). But the findings also suggest that while the process of change in these areas may be a kind of gentrification, it is one that looks slightly different to the one noted by Zukin (2010) and Lloyd (2006).

Stores exist out of these two main areas, but they are in the minority. Against all odds, one store still exists in a predominantly black neighborhood. Another one persists near a major mall, the only one left in Milwaukee County that does. Yet another persisted near the suburbs for many years (it finally closed between 2017 and 2018). These exceptions suggest that while record stores are certainly part of the retail mix of hip neighborhoods, they continue to be important to neighborhoods that are far less "cool". People still love and consume music in material formats in these neighborhoods as well, but survival is particularly difficult for stores there, making these third places of musical consumption outside of walking distance for locals.

Contemporary stores tell us about consumption and the contemporary landscape, but how does this compare to stores that have survived in other areas and periods? While the number is small, historic record stores suggest a few points. While it seems reasonable to assume that local conditions are influential on the founding, persistence, and failure of a business, these historic stores suggest that factors internal to a store are important to consider as well. The case of Mean Mountain Music is an example of a record store that managed to survive for decades in an area that along many metrics, was fairly stable (if not particularly advantaged) over time. A former ethnic enclave of Poles, the area has become increasingly Hispanic over time, while the retail mix has proven to be fairly stable as well. But in ways not measurable by census or directory data, the neighborhood had changed for the owner. That coupled with digitization and increased costs made business untenable for him. Atomic was a store with a significant amount of cultural purchase with fans of alternative and independent music. It persisted for decades in a neighborhood with high levels of advantage relative to the county. It was a few minutes' walk from a large University, but this young customer base was one of the first to adopt file-sharing technology.

Audie's Records closed after decades in an area that was highly disadvantaged and predominantly black. But that is only one way to look at the case of Audie's Records; it also survived for decades as well, so neighborhood conditions alone are likely not the only factor in its demise. Rushmor, a record store that narrowly escaped closure in the nineties before the current owners took it on, has managed to survive in the Bay View neighborhood, even though its customer base likely looks similar to Atomic Records. These findings suggest that the reasons surrounding a store opening, persisting, or closing are complex.

When looking at the neighborhood and retail differences between stores within and outside of predominantly black areas, a few very obvious observations are worth note. My Music Man survives in an area with very few businesses around it, when compared to other record stores in the analysis. This is an area that became increasingly disadvantaged relative to Milwaukee county, as white residents vacated the area. During its lifespan, half of the businesses closed around Audie's Records, especially along the former retail corridor of Fond Du Lac Avenue. Since the 1970s this was a predominantly black area, with consistently low levels of neighborhood advantages. The differences between the stores in predominantly black areas and those outside are straightforward: they persisted in areas with highly concentrated social and economic disadvantages.

CONCLUSION

Research on cultural consumption and gentrification suggests that a variety of retail types are important engines for change in up-and-coming neighborhoods, yet little is known about these specific third places, and how conditions around them shift over time. Less is known about third places that exist in predominantly black areas, or areas outside of those that are in the process of gentrifying (Lloyd 2006; Zukin 2010). The findings I present address both of these gaps in knowledge about urban cultural consumption, by not only looking at what remains in the landscape, but also what has been lost. By looking at the volume and composition of nearby businesses coupled with demographic and economic change over time, this chapter's findings confirm existing work by urban sociologists (Lloyd 2006; Zukin 2010), and scholars of music consumption (Davis 2011; Bartmanski and Woodward 2015; Harvey 2015).

Using a unique dataset of local retail establishments (from street guides within city directories), census tract data from the LTDB, and archival sources, the results suggest that Milwaukee's contemporary record stores cluster in two predominantly white and increasingly advantaged neighborhoods. These areas have business environments that have shifted towards offering frequently consumed discretionary goods, specifically dining. Findings from the historic analysis suggest that while demographic and retail changes are important to account for, some stores fail in the most advantaged conditions, while others persevere for a long time in the least advantaged ones.

The research I present here is subject to some limitations. First, I restrict retail mix data collection to a narrow range of addresses along two avenues that have the highest concentration of businesses today. Other important neighborhood businesses, nestled away on side-streets, or with addresses on other nearby streets could be eliminated using this technique. Ideally, all addresses (businesses or not) for the quarter-mile radius around a location should be accounted for, if these local, walking distance areas are important. This could be an avenue for more thorough future analyses. Second, while the data collection procedures resulted in a large number of businesses being processed, this analysis is not equipped to analyze if any given business type is more or less likely to cluster near a record store. That would require geocoding an entire category of business, similar to what I did for chapters two and three. For instance, this analysis cannot tell me if restaurants and contemporary record stores cluster near one another, because I have not collected data on the all of Milwaukee County's restaurants.

In this chapter I get closer to using the store as a unit of analysis. Future work in this area could go one step further, analyzing stores using semi-structured interviews and participant observation of stores. Do the perceptions of owners and customers differ from the historical record with regards to local change? Classical qualitative techniques would be useful to answer this question. My research here suggests how the local retail environment may be shifting with stores, but it stops short of determining the causes of store founding, failure, or persistence. It seems unlikely that demographic, retail, technological, or economic change would be wholly uncorrelated to the fate of a given store, but without greater numbers of stores to analyze, causality is elusive (statistically speaking).

Future work could employ National Establishment Time-Series (NETS) data (Walls and Associates 2016) in a more comprehensive research design, like others have employed (Meltzer and Capperis 2016). While a potential research design would not include data as far back as 1970, this might be a reasonable trade-off for greater statistical power.[10] While the subject of this research is record stores, the data from this project suggest that an important shift has happened with regards places that offer frequently consumed discretionary goods and services in the city (like restaurants). This surprising finding could be a useful line of inquiry for future research on the city as a place of pleasurable consumption, as well as fertile ground for further theory generation.

[10] National Establishment Time-Series (NETS) data (Walls & Associates 2018) is a commercially available source for this information, complete with business type, longitude, and latitude (among other) information back to 1989, but this data was unattainable due to financial and time constraints. Time constraints are also at play with a third limitation; namely the lack of retail mix information for record stores in other eras. The techniques I use for collecting retail mix data on Milwaukee's contemporary record stores could be used to collect similar data for 1970, 1980, 1990 or any other given year. This would allow for a comparison across eras. A time-consuming process for sure, but one that could determine if today's record stores survive in business environments that are distinct from those of earlier eras, an assertion I necessarily avoid here.

In Milwaukee, and cities across America, record stores continue to provide a space for musical exchange and consumption to their local communities. Record store persistence in 2017 is unique, because it flies in the face of large-scale technological change and restructuring in the music industry following the MP3 Crisis (Hracs et al. 2016). But this persistence occurs within the context of larger historical changes in the city's demographic and business composition. In the case of Milwaukee in 2017, the majority of record stores exist in areas that are increasingly advantaged and predominantly white, with a retail environment that is shifting towards frequently consumed discretionary goods. The taste of rich coffee, the feel of a fresh haircut, a cozy nook in the corner restaurant; these small and (relatively) inexpensive pleasures are all within walking distance of many of Milwaukee's contemporary record stores. But this was not always the case; many of these same areas had very different local retail environments in the early 1970s, less dominated by these kinds of third places. The findings confirm suggestions by sociologists of urban change (Lloyd 2006; Zukin 2010) that up-and-coming neighborhoods have increasingly become centers for consuming these goods and services. The findings also confirm work by scholars studying the subject matter of record stores (Davis 2011; Bartmanski and Woodward 2015; Harvey 2015), namely that this business type should be included alongside boutiques, restaurants, coffee shops, and other kinds of hip consumption spaces. But the findings also suggest that contemporary accounts of consumption spaces could be enhanced by taking a systematic, spatially-driven account of changes to both the volume and composition of local retail over time and space. Taking this approach could help reveal not only what remains in the landscape, but what was lost as well.

Table 4.1 Eastside Neighborhood of Milwaukee Census Tracts (Averages), 1970-2010

Measures	1970	2000	2010
Advantage Index	0.555	1.174	1.197
Advantage Index Components			
Percent College Graduate	21%	55%	60%
Percent Female-Headed Household	6%	8%	6%
Percent of Professionals	33%	51%	48%
Unemployment	4%	5%	5%
Percent Poor	14%	16%	24%
Housing and Income Measures (2010 constant dollars)			
Median Income	$32,269	$44,273	$39,244
Median Rent	$630	$712	$751
Median Property Value	$103,440	$198,687	$261,885
Race/Ethnicity			
Percent White	95%	84%	83%
Percent Black	1%	8%	7%
Percent Hispanic	2%	3%	4%
Percent Asian	0%	4%	5%
Population Density (sq mi)	37,729	28,832	32,037
Number of Tracts = 13			

Source: Longitudinal Tract Database (LTDB)

Note: includes tracts around Bullseye, Records, Off the Beaten Path, Exclusive Company (Farwell), CdMax, and Musical Memories

Table 4.2 Retail Mix in the Eastside Neighborhood of Milwaukee, 1970-2017

	Count			Percentage		
Business Category	1970	2000	2017	1970	2000	2017
Auto Repair	3	3	0	5%	6%	0%
Bakery	1	0	0	2%	0%	0%
Bar/lounge	8	5	6	13%	10%	9%
Barber Shop	4	0	1	7%	0%	1%
Beauty Salon	6	3	9	10%	6%	13%
Beer, Wine, and Liquor Stores	2	0	2	3%	0%	3%
Book Stores	0	1	0	0%	2%	0%
Cafe/Coffee Shop	1	3	3	2%	6%	4%
Children's & Family Clothing	0	2	0	0%	4%	0%
Fitness and Recreational Sports Centers	0	0	1	0%	0%	1%
Florist	0	1	2	0%	2%	3%
Furniture	2	3	2	3%	6%	3%
Gift, Novelty, and Souvenir Stores	1	1	2	2%	2%	3%
Hardware & Paint and Wallpaper Stores	0	1	1	0%	2%	1%
Men's Clothing	1	2	0	2%	4%	0%
News Dealers and Newsstands	0	0	1	0%	0%	1%
Other Home Furnishings	1	1	1	2%	2%	1%
Other Personal Care Services	0	2	4	0%	4%	6%
Pet Stores	0	2	1	0%	4%	1%
Real Estate Agents	10	1	0	16%	2%	0%
Restaurant (full service)	6	11	28	10%	22%	41%
Restaurant (take-out)	2	3	0	3%	6%	0%
Sporting Goods Stores	2	1	0	3%	2%	0%
Supermarkets and Other Grocery Store	5	1	1	8%	2%	1%
Tobacco Store	0	0	2	0%	0%	3%
Used Merchandise Store	5	0	2	8%	0%	3%
Women's Clothing	1	3	0	2%	6%	0%
Total	61	50	69	100%	100%	100%
Frequency and Necessity Category						
frequently consumed necessity goods	16	5	12	26%	10%	17%
frequently consumed discretionary goods	20	29	50	33%	58%	72%
infrequently consumed necessity goods	7	13	2	11%	26%	3%
infrequently consumed discretionary goods	18	3	5	30%	6%	7%
Total	61	50	69	100%	100%	100%

Sources: 1970: Wright's Milwaukee City Directory, 2000 – 2010: Polk's Milwaukee Wisconsin City Directories

Table 4.3 Bay View Neighborhood of Milwaukee Census Tracts (Averages), 1970-2010

Measures	1970	2000	2010
Advantage Index	-0.189	0.012	0.456
Advantage Index Components			
Percent College Graduate	5%	20%	30%
Percent Female-Headed Household	6%	18%	18%
Percent of Professionals	14%	27%	39%
Unemployment	3%	8%	5%
Percent Poor	8%	17%	13%
Housing and Income Measures (2010 constant dollars)			
Median Income	$48,747	$42,320	$48,417
Median Rent	$501	$593	$621
Median Property Value	$77,555	$105,337	$155,817
Race/Ethnicity			
Percent White	93%	76%	70%
Percent Black	0%	3%	6%
Percent Hispanic	1%	17%	20%
Percent Asian	0%	1%	2%
Population Density (sq mi)	9,900	7,372	7,049
Number of Tracts = 6			

Source: Longitudinal Tract Database (LTDB)

Note: includes tracts around Acme Records, Rushmor Records, Bay View Books and Music, and Luv Unlimited

Table 4.4 Retail Mix in the Bayview Neighborhood of Milwaukee, 1970-2017

	Count			Percentage		
Business Category	1970	2000	2017	1970	2000	2017
Auto Repair	5	3	0	9%	13%	0%
Bakery	3	0	0	5%	0%	0%
Bar/lounge	10	2	5	18%	9%	8%
Barber Shop	3	2	2	5%	9%	3%
Beauty Salon	6	4	10	11%	17%	17%
Beer, Wine, and Liquor Stores	3	2	1	5%	9%	2%
Book Stores	0	0	1	0%	0%	2%
Cafe/Coffee Shop	0	1	6	0%	4%	10%
Children's & Family Clothing	1	0	0	2%	0%	0%
Confectionery and Nut Stores	1	0	0	2%	0%	0%
Convenience Stores	0	1	1	0%	4%	2%
Fitness and Recreational Sports Centers	0	1	3	0%	4%	5%
Florist	1	0	0	2%	0%	0%
Gift, Novelty, and Souvenir Stores	1	1	1	2%	4%	2%
Hardware & Paint and Wallpaper Stores	1	1	0	2%	4%	0%
Men's Clothing	1	0	0	2%	0%	0%
Musical Instrument and Supplies Stores	2	1	0	4%	4%	0%
News Dealers and Newsstands	0	0	1	0%	0%	2%
Other Consumer Goods Repair Services	6	0	1	11%	0%	2%
Other Home Furnishings	0	2	1	0%	9%	2%
Other Personal Care Services	0	0	4	0%	0%	7%
Pet Stores	1	0	1	2%	0%	2%
Real Estate Agents	2	0	2	4%	0%	3%
Restaurant (full service)	5	2	12	9%	9%	20%
Restaurant (take-out)	0	0	0	0%	0%	0%
Sporting Goods Stores	1	0	1	2%	0%	2%
Supermarkets and Other Grocery Store	2	0	0	4%	0%	0%
Tobacco Store	1	0	1	2%	0%	2%
Used Merchandise Store	0	0	2	0%	0%	3%
Women's Clothing	0	0	3	0%	0%	5%
Total	56	23	59	100%	100%	100%
Frequency and Necessity Categories						
frequently consumed necessity goods	14	8	13	25%	35%	22%
frequently consumed discretionary goods	22	9	35	39%	39%	59%
infrequently consumed necessity goods	7	3	3	13%	13%	5%
infrequently consumed discretionary goods	13	3	8	23%	13%	14%
Total	56	23	59	100%	100%	100%

Sources: 1970: Wright's Milwaukee City Directory, 2000 – 2010: Polk's Milwaukee Wisconsin City Directories

Table 4.5 Exclusive Company (Southridge Mall) Census Tracts (Averages), 1970-2010

Measures	1970	2000	2010
Advantage Index	0.2072	0.210	0.000
Advantage Index Components			
Percent College Graduate	8%	15%	21%
Percent Female-Headed Household	3%	9%	13%
Percent of Professionals	22%	26%	24%
Unemployment	3%	3%	10%
Percent Poor	4%	7%	7%
Housing and Income Measures (2010 constant dollars)			
Median Income	$62,636	$51,161	$38,667
Median Rent	$810	$687	$634
Median Property Value	$127,641	$139,891	$177,500
Race/Ethnicity			
Percent White	99%	92%	83%
Percent Black	0%	1%	3%
Percent Hispanic	0%	4%	10%
Percent Asian	0%	2%	3%
Population Density (sq mi)	2,862	3,625	3,662
Number of Tracts = 2			

Source: Longitudinal Tract Database (LTDB)

Table 4.6 Retail Mix Within a 1/4 Mile of Exclusive Company (Southridge Mall), 1970-2017

	Count			Percentage		
Business Category	1970	2000	2017	1970	2000	2017
Auto Repair	0	1	1	0%	7%	4%
Bakery	0	0	1	0%	0%	4%
Barber Shop	0	0	1	0%	0%	4%
Beauty Salon	0	1	1	0%	7%	4%
Book Stores	0	1	2	0%	7%	8%
Children's & Family Clothing	0	1	0	0%	7%	0%
Furniture	0	0	1	0%	0%	4%
Gift, Novelty, and Souvenir Stores	0	1	1	0%	7%	4%
Men's Clothing	0	2	2	0%	13%	8%
Pet Stores	0	0	2	0%	0%	8%
Restaurant (full service)	0	2	10	0%	13%	42%
Restaurant (take-out)	0	4	0	0%	27%	0%
Used Merchandise Store	0	0	1	0%	0%	4%
Women's Clothing	0	2	1	0%	13%	4%
Total	0	15	24	0%	100%	100%
Frequency-Necessity Categories						
frequently consumed necessity goods	0	1	3	0%	7%	13%
frequently consumed discretionary goods	0	8	15	0%	53%	63%
infrequently consumed necessity goods	0	6	5	0%	40%	21%
infrequently consumed discretionary goods	0	0	1	0%	0%	4%
Total	0	15	24	0%	100%	100%

Sources: 1970: Wright's Milwaukee City Directory, 2000 – 2010: Polk's Milwaukee Wisconsin City Directory

Table 4.7 Spin Dizzy Census Tracts (Averages), 1970-2010

Measures	1970	2000	2010
Advantage Index	0.256	0.286	0.405
Advantage Index Components			
Percent College Graduate	10%	19%	24%
Percent Female-Headed Household	4%	9%	13%
Percent of Professionals	22%	29%	32%
Unemployment	3%	4%	3%
Percent Poor	5%	6%	10%
Housing and Income Measures (2010 constant dollars)			
Median Income	$57,959	$53,740	$49,093
Median Rent	$695	$665	$612
Median Property Value	$118,015	$133,528	$164,300
Race/Ethnicity			
Percent White	99%	89%	75%
Percent Black	0%	2%	4%
Percent Hispanic	0%	6%	16%
Percent Asian	0%	2%	3%
Population Density (sq mi)	7,839	5,741	5,969
Number of Tracts = 4			

Source: Longitudinal Tract Database (LTDB)

Table 4.8 Retail Mix Within a 1/4 Mile of Spin Dizzy, 1970-2017

	Count			Percentage		
Business Category	1970	2000	2017	1970	2000	2017
Auto Repair	1	2	4	17%	20%	36%
Bar/lounge	1	0	0	17%	0%	0%
Barber Shop	0	0	1	0%	0%	9%
Beauty Salon	1	2	2	17%	20%	18%
Hardware & Paint and Wallpaper Stores	1	0	0	17%	0%	0%
Other Consumer Goods Repair Services	0	3	1	0%	30%	9%
Other Personal Care Services	0	0	1	0%	0%	9%
Restaurant (full service)	0	2	2	0%	20%	18%
Restaurant (take-out)	1	1	0	17%	10%	0%
Supermarkets and Other Grocery Store	1	0	0	17%	0%	0%
Total	6	10	11	100%	100%	100%
Frequency Necessity Categories						
frequently consumed necessity goods	2	2	3	33%	20%	27%
frequently consumed discretionary goods	2	3	3	33%	30%	27%
infrequently consumed necessity goods	1	2	4	17%	20%	36%
infrequently consumed discretionary goods	1	3	1	17%	30%	9%
Total	6	10	11	100%	100%	100%

Sources: 1970: Wright's Milwaukee City Directory, 2000 – 2010: Polk's Milwaukee Wisconsin City Directory

Table 4.9 My Music Man Census Tracts (Averages), 1970-2010

Measures	1970	2000	2010
Advantage Index	0.044	-0.778	-0.759
Advantage Index Components			
Percent College Graduate	5%	7%	10%
Percent Female-Headed Household	3%	39%	39%
Percent of Professionals	15%	20%	20%
Unemployment	2%	13%	15%
Percent Poor	6%	23%	25%
Housing and Income Measures (2010 constant dollars)			
Median Income	$52,296	$36,586	$29,048
Median Rent	$616	$549	$567
Median Property Value	$92,625	$63,500	$99,467
Race/Ethnicity			
Percent White	97%	25%	12%
Percent Black	0%	70%	82%
Percent Hispanic	0%	3%	4%
Percent Asian	0%	1%	1%
Population Density (sq mi)	7,435	6,793	6,435
Number of Tracts = 3			

Source: Longitudinal Tract Database (LTDB)

Table 4.10 Retail Mix Within a 1/4 Mile of My Music Man, 1970-2017

	Count			Percentage		
Business Category	1970	2000	2017	1970	2000	2017
Auto Repair	1	2	1	10%	40%	14%
Bar/lounge	3	1	2	30%	20%	29%
Barber Shop	1	0	0	10%	0%	0%
Beauty Salon	1	0	0	10%	0%	0%
Beer, Wine, and Liquor Stores	1	0	1	10%	0%	14%
Convenience Stores	0	0	1	0%	0%	14%
Hardware & Paint and Wallpaper Stores	1	0	0	10%	0%	0%
Other Consumer Goods Repair Services	0	1	1	0%	20%	14%
Real Estate Agents	1	0	0	10%	0%	0%
Restaurant (full service)	1	1	1	10%	20%	14%
Total	10	5	7	100%	100%	100%
Frequency Necessity Categories						
frequently consumed necessity goods	3	0	1	30%	0%	14%
frequently consumed discretionary goods	5	2	4	50%	40%	57%
infrequently consumed necessity goods	1	2	1	10%	40%	14%
infrequently consumed discretionary goods	1	1	1	10%	20%	14%
Total	10	5	7	100%	100%	100%

Sources: 1970: Wright's Milwaukee City Directory, 2000 – 2010: Polk's Milwaukee Wisconsin City Directory

Table 4.11 Atomic Records Census Tracts (Averages), 1970-2009

Measures	1970	1980	1990	2000	2009
Advantage Index	1.042	1.390	1.280	1.363	1.048
Advantage Index Components					
Percent College Graduate	29%	48%	54%	65%	58%
Percent Female-Headed HH	5%	8%	7%	7%	6%
Percent of Professionals	39%	41%	42%	51%	41%
Unemployment	3%	4%	4%	4%	5%
Percent Poor	10%	13%	19%	19%	35%
Housing and Income Measures (2010 constant dollars)					
Median Income	$42,070	$48,888	$55,150	$57,181	$41,111
Median Rent	$717	$712	$827	$805	$862
Median Property Value	$104,040	$160,947	$149,187	$207,201	$258,815
Race/Ethnicity					
Percent White	96%	93%	90%	88%	88%
Percent Black	1%	2%	2%	3%	4%
Percent Hispanic	1%	2%	2%	3%	3%
Percent Asian	1%	1%	5%	5%	5%
Population Density (sq mi)	14,983	12,664	12,824	11,910	12,090
Number of Tracts = 4					

Source: Longitudinal Tract Database (LTDB)

Table 4.12 Retail Mix Within a 1/4 Mile of Atomic Records, 1970-2009

	Count					Percent				
Category	'70	'80	'90	'00	'09	1970	1980	1990	2000	2009
Auto Repair	0	1	1	1	1	0%	5%	5%	6%	4%
Bar/lounge	1	2	2	1	2	5%	11%	10%	6%	8%
Barber Shop	2	1	1	1	1	10%	5%	5%	6%	4%
Beauty Salon	3	2	2	1	3	14%	11%	10%	6%	12%
Beer, Wine, and Liquor Stores	1	1	1	1	1	5%	5%	5%	6%	4%
Book Stores	0	1	2	1	1	0%	5%	10%	6%	4%
Cafe/Coffee Shop	0	0	0	1	2	0%	0%	0%	6%	8%
Convenience Stores	0	0	0	0	1	0%	0%	0%	0%	4%
Florist	1	1	1	0	0	5%	5%	5%	0%	0%
Hardware & Paint and Wallpaper Stores	1	1	0	0	0	5%	5%	0%	0%	0%
Musical Instrument and Supplies Stores	0	1	0	0	0	0%	5%	0%	0%	0%
Other Consumer Goods Repair Services	2	1	0	0	0	10%	5%	0%	0%	0%
Other Home Furnishings	0	1	2	1	0	0%	5%	10%	6%	0%
Restaurant (full service)	5	2	4	3	8	24%	11%	19%	19%	31%
Restaurant (take-out)	0	0	4	3	4	0%	0%	19%	19%	15%
Supermarkets and Other Grocery Stores	4	3	1	2	1	19%	16%	5%	13%	4%
Tobacco Store	0	1	0	0	1	0%	5%	0%	0%	4%
Used Merchandise Store	1	0	0	0	0	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Total	21	19	21	16	26	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Frequency Necessity Categories										
frequently consumed necessity goods	10	7	4	4	6	48%	37%	19%	25%	23%
frequently consumed discretionary goods	8	7	14	10	18	38%	37%	67%	63%	69%
infrequently consumed necessity goods	0	1	1	1	1	0%	5%	5%	6%	4%
infrequently consumed discretionary goods	3	4	2	1	1	14%	21%	10%	6%	4%
Total	21	19	21	16	26	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Sources:
1970-1980: Wright's Milwaukee City Directories, 1990 – 2010: Polk's Milwaukee Wisconsin City Directories

Table 4.13 Mean Mountain Music Census Tracts (Averages), 1980-2005

Measures	1980	1990	2000	2005
Advantage Index	-0.007	0.074	0.156	0.088
Advantage Index Components				
Percent College Graduate	6%	12%	17%	17%
Percent Female-Headed Household	6%	8%	11%	14%
Percent of Professionals	14%	18%	25%	25%
Unemployment	4%	4%	4%	6%
Percent Poor	4%	4%	6%	7%
Housing and Income Measures (2010 constant dollars)				
Median Income	$47,374	$49,481	$50,673	$48,556
Median Rent	$492	$574	$597	$596
Median Property Value	$119,838	$91,349	$114,872	$133,961
Race/Ethnicity				
Percent White	97%	94%	77%	63%
Percent Black	0%	0%	1%	2%
Percent Hispanic	2%	4%	18%	32%
Percent Asian	0%	0%	2%	2%
Population Density (sq mi)	9,093	8,777	8,903	9,687
Number of Tracts = 4				

Source: Longitudinal Tract Database (LTDB)

Table 4.14 Retail Mix Within a 1/4 Mile of Mean Mountain Music, 1980-2005

	Count				Percentage			
Business Category	1980	1990	2000	2005	1980	1990	2000	2005
Auto Repair	1	2	1	1	4%	8%	7%	4%
Bakery	0	2	1	1	0%	8%	7%	4%
Bar/lounge	4	3	1	2	17%	12%	7%	8%
Barber Shop	2	2	2	1	8%	8%	13%	4%
Beauty Salon	3	2	2	3	13%	8%	13%	13%
Beer, Wine, and Liquor Stores	2	2	1	1	8%	8%	7%	4%
Children's & Family Clothing	0	0	0	1	0%	0%	0%	4%
Convenience Stores	0	0	0	1	0%	0%	0%	4%
Florist	0	1	1	1	0%	4%	7%	4%
Gift, Novelty, and Souvenir Stores	0	1	0	1	0%	4%	0%	4%
Hardware & Paint and Wallpaper Stores	1	2	0	1	4%	8%	0%	4%
Other Consumer Goods Repair Services	4	2	0	3	17%	8%	0%	13%
Other Home Furnishings	1	1	0	0	4%	4%	0%	0%
Real Estate Agents	3	1	0	0	13%	4%	0%	0%
Restaurant (full service)	1	1	1	2	4%	4%	7%	8%
Restaurant (take-out)	0	1	1	2	0%	4%	7%	8%
Sporting Goods Stores	1	1	1	1	4%	4%	7%	4%
Supermarkets and Other Grocery Stores	1	1	1	0	4%	4%	7%	0%
Used Merchandise Store	0	1	1	2	0%	4%	7%	8%
Women's Clothing	0	0	1	0	0%	0%	7%	0%
Total	24	26	15	24	100%	100%	100%	100%
Frequency Necessity Categories								
frequently consumed necessity goods	6	9	6	7	25%	35%	40%	29%
frequently consumed discretionary goods	7	9	5	9	29%	35%	33%	38%
infrequently consumed necessity goods	1	2	2	2	4%	8%	13%	8%
infrequently consumed discretionary goods	10	6	2	6	42%	23%	13%	25%
Total	24	26	15	24	100%	100%	100%	100%

Sources: 1980: Wright's Milwaukee City Directory, 1990 – 2005: Polk's Milwaukee Wisconsin City Directory

Table 4.15 Rushmor Records Census Tracts (Averages), 1970-1992

Measures	1972	1980	1990	2000	2010
Advantage Index	-0.153	-0.083	0.056	0.189	0.651
Advantage Index Components					
Percent College Graduate	6%	9%	15%	23%	34%
Percent Female-Headed HH	7%	10%	12%	17%	15%
Percent of Professionals	15%	15%	21%	29%	44%
Unemployment	4%	5%	7%	6%	5%
Percent Poor	8%	8%	9%	15%	10%
Housing and Income Measures (2010 constant dollars)					
Median Income	$49,222	$45,256	$46,904	$45,272	$52,665
Median Rent	$522	$505	$585	$612	$647
Median Property Value	$85,023	$104,836	$79,505	$114,619	$165,480
Race/Ethnicity					
Percent White	95%	94%	93%	83%	79%
Percent Black	0%	0%	0%	2%	4%
Percent Hispanic	2%	4%	5%	11%	13%
Percent Asian	0%	0%	1%	1%	1%
Population Density (sq mi)	10,455	9,159	8,852	7,838	7,341
Number of Tracts = 5					

Source: Longitudinal Tract Database (LTDB)

Table 4.16 Retail Mix Within a 1/4 Mile of Rushmor, 1972-2017

	Count					
Business Category	1972	1980	1990	2000	2010	2017
Auto Repair	2	3	2	0	0	0
Bakery	2	1	0	0	0	1
Bar/lounge	7	6	6	2	2	2
Barber Shop	1	1	0	0	2	1
Beauty Salon	2	3	3	2	6	4
Beer, Wine, and Liquor Stores	2	1	1	1	1	1
Book Stores	0	0	1	0	0	1
Cafe/Coffee Shop	0	0	1	1	2	3
Children's & Family Clothing	1	0	0	0	0	0
Confectionery and Nut Stores	1	0	0	0	1	0
Convenience Stores	0	0	0	1	1	1
Fitness and Recreational Sports Centers	0	0	1	1	2	4
Florist	0	0	1	0	0	0
Furniture	1	1	0	0	0	0
Gift, Novelty, and Souvenir Stores	0	2	2	1	1	1
Hardware & Paint and Wallpaper Stores	1	1	1	1	1	0
Men's Clothing	0	0	0	0	1	0
Musical Instrument and Supplies Stores	1	1	1	0	0	0
Other Consumer Goods Repair Services	3	2	1	1	1	1
Other Home Furnishings	0	0	1	3	1	1
Other Personal Care Services	0	0	0	0	1	2
Pet Stores	0	0	2	0	0	0
Real Estate Agents	0	0	0	0	1	1
Restaurant (full service)	3	3	3	1	3	4
Restaurant (take-out)	1	2	2	1	2	1
Sporting Goods Stores	1	1	0	0	0	1
Supermarkets and Other Grocery Store	1	0	0	0	0	0
Tobacco Store	0	0	0	0	0	1
Used Merchandise Store	1	0	0	0	1	1
Women's Clothing	0	0	0	0	1	1
Total	31	28	29	16	31	33
	Percentage					
Business Category	1972	1980	1990	2000	2010	2017
Auto Repair	6%	11%	7%	0%	0%	0%
Bakery	6%	4%	0%	0%	0%	3%
Bar/lounge	23%	21%	21%	13%	6%	6%
Barber Shop	3%	4%	0%	0%	6%	3%
Beauty Salon	6%	11%	10%	13%	19%	12%
Beer, Wine, and Liquor Stores	6%	4%	3%	6%	3%	3%

Table 4.16 continued

Book Stores	0%	0%	3%	0%	0%	3%
Cafe/Coffee Shop	0%	0%	3%	6%	6%	9%
Children's & Family Clothing	3%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Confectionery and Nut Stores	3%	0%	0%	0%	3%	0%
Convenience Stores	0%	0%	0%	6%	3%	3%
Fitness and Recreational Sports Centers	0%	0%	3%	6%	6%	12%
Florist	0%	0%	3%	0%	0%	0%
Furniture	3%	4%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Gift, Novelty, and Souvenir Stores	0%	7%	7%	6%	3%	3%
Hardware & Paint and Wallpaper Stores	3%	4%	3%	6%	3%	0%
Men's Clothing	0%	0%	0%	0%	3%	0%
Musical Instrument and Supplies Stores	3%	4%	3%	0%	0%	0%
Other Consumer Goods Repair Services	10%	7%	3%	6%	3%	3%
Other Home Furnishings	0%	0%	3%	19%	3%	3%
Other Personal Care Services	0%	0%	0%	0%	3%	6%
Pet Stores	0%	0%	7%	0%	0%	0%
Real Estate Agents	0%	0%	0%	0%	3%	3%
Restaurant (full service)	10%	11%	10%	6%	10%	12%
Restaurant (take-out)	3%	7%	7%	6%	6%	3%
Sporting Goods Stores	3%	4%	0%	0%	0%	3%
Supermarkets and Other Grocery Store	3%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Tobacco Store	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	3%
Used Merchandise Store	3%	0%	0%	0%	3%	3%
Women's Clothing	0%	0%	0%	0%	3%	3%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

	Count					
Frequency Necessity Categories	1972	1980	1990	2000	2010	2017
frequently consumed necessity goods	6	5	4	4	10	7
frequently consumed discretionary goods	14	14	20	8	15	19
infrequently consumed necessity goods	4	4	2	0	2	1
infrequently consumed discretionary goods	7	5	3	4	4	6
Total	31	28	29	16	31	33

	Percentage					
Frequency Necessity Categories	1972	1980	1990	2000	2010	2017
frequently consumed necessity goods	19%	18%	14%	25%	32%	21%
frequently consumed discretionary goods	45%	50%	69%	50%	48%	58%
infrequently consumed necessity goods	13%	14%	7%	0%	6%	3%
infrequently consumed discretionary goods	23%	18%	10%	25%	13%	18%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Source: Sources: 1980: Wright's Milwaukee City Directory, 1990 – 2017: Polk's Milwaukee City Directories

Table 4.17 Audie's Records Census Tracts (Averages), 1972-2000

Measures	1972	1980	1990	2000
Advantage Index	-1.746	-1.680	-2.066	-1.400
Advantage Index Components				
Percent College Graduate	2%	2%	0%	7%
Percent Female-Headed Household	32%	51%	59%	53%
Percent of Professionals	6%	5%	9%	18%
Unemployment	10%	15%	39%	25%
Percent Poor	30%	38%	59%	49%
Housing and Income Measures (2010 constant dollars)				
Median Income	$31,910	$25,588	$17,641	$22,002
Median Rent	$410	$376	$458	$468
Median Property Value	$47,622	$45,474	$37,180	$40,971
Race/Ethnicity				
Percent White	24%	9%	4%	3%
Percent Black	68%	88%	92%	93%
Percent Hispanic	1%	2%	2%	3%
Percent Asian	0%	0%	1%	1%
Population Density (sq mi)	17,573	13,825	11,871	7,778
Number of Tracts = 2				

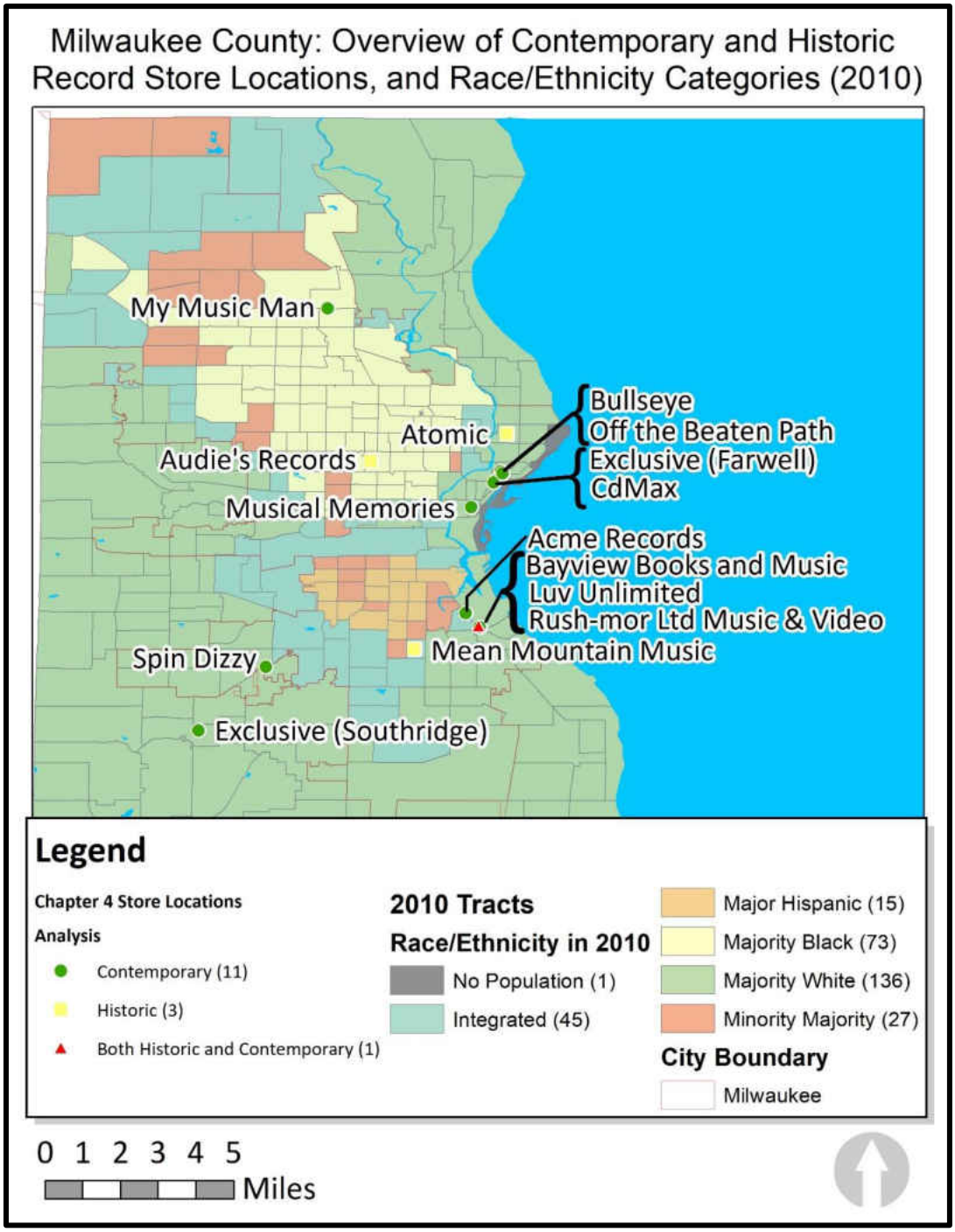
Source: Longitudinal Tract Database (LTDB)

Table 4.18 Retail Mix Within a 1/4 Mile of Audie's Records, 1972-2000

	Count				Percentage			
Category	'72	'80	'90	'00	1972	1980	1990	2000
Auto Repair	4	4	3	1	11%	19%	10%	6%
Bar/lounge	11	7	6	1	31%	33%	20%	6%
Barber Shop	1	1	0	0	3%	5%	0%	0%
Beauty Salon	1	0	1	0	3%	0%	3%	0%
Beer, Wine, and Liquor Stores	0	1	1	1	0%	5%	3%	6%
Confectionery and Nut Stores	0	0	1	1	0%	0%	3%	6%
Florist	1	0	1	0	3%	0%	3%	0%
Furniture	5	3	3	1	14%	14%	10%	6%
Gift, Novelty, and Souvenir Stores	0	0	2	2	0%	0%	7%	11%
Men's Clothing	1	0	1	5	3%	0%	3%	28%
Musical Instrument and Supplies Stores	2	1	0	0	6%	5%	0%	0%
Other Consumer Goods Repair Services	1	0	0	1	3%	0%	0%	6%
Other Home Furnishings	1	0	0	0	3%	0%	0%	0%
Restaurant (full service)	3	0	2	2	8%	0%	7%	11%
Sporting Goods Stores	1	1	1	1	3%	5%	3%	6%
Supermarkets and Other Grocery Store	1	0	0	0	3%	0%	0%	0%
Used Merchandise Store	3	3	5	2	8%	14%	17%	11%
Women's Clothing	0	0	3	0	0%	0%	10%	0%
Total	36	21	30	18	100%	100%	100%	100%
Frequency Necessity Categories								
frequently consumed necessity goods	3	1	1	0	8%	5%	3%	0%
frequently consumed discretionary goods	15	8	13	7	42%	38%	43%	39%
infrequently consumed necessity goods	10	7	10	7	28%	33%	33%	39%
infrequently consumed discretionary goods	8	5	6	4	22%	24%	20%	22%
Total	36	21	30	18	100%	100%	100%	100%

Sources: 1972: Wright's Milwaukee) City Directory, 1980-2000: Polk's Milwaukee City Directory

Figure 4.1 Overview of the Study Area for Chapter Four



Sources:
Demographics: Longitudinal Tract Database (LTDB)
Shapefiles: US Census Bureau
Record Store Locations: 1970: Wright's Milwaukee City Directory, 1990 – 2017: Polk's Milwaukee City Directory

Figure 4.2 Atomic Records Location in 2007 (above) and 2017 (below)

Photo Credit: Google Street View © Google 2018

Figure 4.3 Mean Mountain Music Location around 2000 (above) and 2017 (below)

Photo Credits: Mike Muskovitz, Mean Mountain Music Facebook Profile (2018) (Above)
Google Street View © Google 2018 (Below)

Figure 4.4 Audie's Records Location in 2007 (above) and 2017 (below)

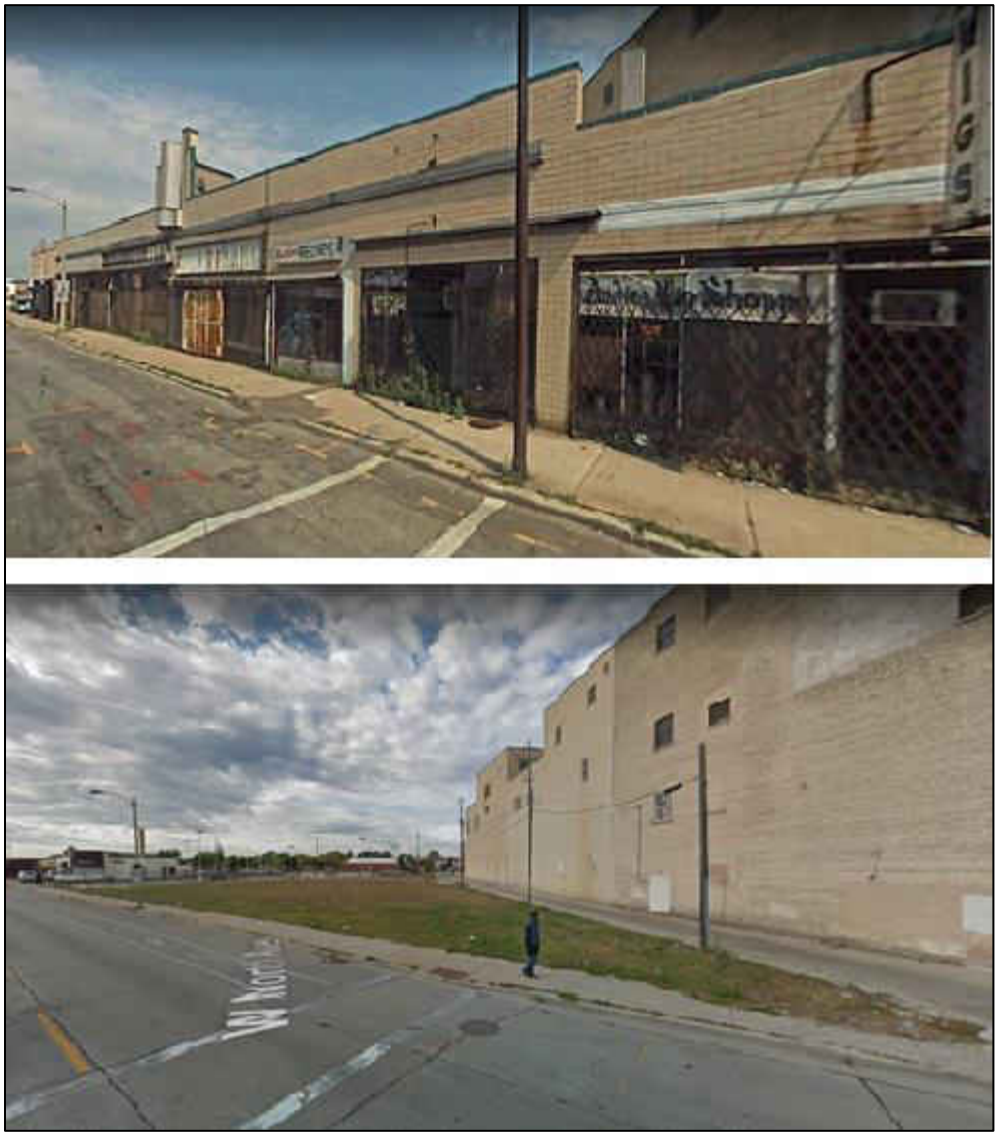


Photo Credit: Google Street View © Google 2018

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5. Conclusion

In this dissertation, I present three analyses of record stores at different scales. Going from the regional scale in chapter two, to the city scale in chapter three, to the neighborhood scale in chapter four, this study covers a wide span of time and space. Through this multi-scalar approach, the dissertation asks: how has the relationship between urban space and musical consumption changed over time? Music consumption continues to happen in record stores, and plenty of places that are not record stores, in the city today. But the findings of this dissertation suggest that the consumption of physical formats, which had a long-standing relationship with black neighborhoods, is now primarily done in up-and-coming white ones—for several reasons, some of which I had expected to find, others of which emerged only through analyzing the data.

The findings of the analysis in chapter two suggest that the odds of failure for stores in non-white majority areas were significantly higher than for those in majority white ones during the 1980s.

Chapter three's findings suggest that in Milwaukee County between 1970 and 2010, spikes in store failure were common, but were often met with a spikes in store foundings soon after. Two main exceptions are of note though. During the 1980s, when music executives were attempting to force store owners to adopt the compact disc through buy-back policies, store foundings in predominantly black areas decreased for a period, leading to overall losses. The second exception occurs throughout all of Milwaukee County. While many stores closed during the MP3 Crisis (between 1999 and 2001), this number was not unusual for the entire study

period. What was different was that fewer and fewer record stores were opening to take the place of these closings.

This drop occurred before the onset of the Great Recession, and this suggests that multiple kinds of parties (prospective owners, banks, and other financial partners) were averse to the risks of opening a record store in a period of economic stability generally. When looking at the stores that remained after this process (chapter four), most of them cluster in neighborhoods that are predominantly white and up-and-coming. The relationship between urban space and music consumption in some ways is similar to the way it was before: bands still play bars, basements, and festivals in the city. DJs still spin in corner bars, on the local radio station, and in sweaty, packed clubs on the weekends. People still argue about hard bop, hip-hop, punk, and polka in record stores. But now, the arguments, laughter, joy, foot-tapping and cultural exchange happens in fewer record stores than before, and in a less diverse set of neighborhoods.

Geographers adept at techniques like point pattern analysis and spatial auto-correlation models are going to be able to take the same information I have collected for this dissertation and produce more sophisticated results. As a student of urban sociology, the sociology of culture, and consumption, what I have set out to do is take seriously Gieryn's (2000) call to engage with space in sociological research. This is not a novel idea in sociology. Burgess ([1925] 2008) explains how the development of Chicago follows a series of concentric zones of urban social development, radiating from downtown outward. Writing a quarter-century earlier, DuBois ([1899] 1996) provides one of the earliest and most through accounting of neighborhoods environs in *The Philadelphia Negro*. Burgess and DuBois before him recognized

early what later sociologists of the city also recognize: space is where social differences play out.

In the United States, these differences are primarily racial in nature (Sampson 2012), but they are also cultural. In an interview with the former owner of Mean Mountain Music, Mike Muskovitz explains the difference between Milwaukee's Eastside neighborhood and the more working-class southside (Rytlewski 2009):

> The East Side has historically been a home for hippie culture, but the South Side always had more of a greaser attitude: black leather, blue jeans, turned-up collars. Much like you'd have your Polish neighborhood and your German neighborhood, you had your hippie neighborhood and your greaser neighborhood.

Record stores are one space in a host of others that facilitate music culture and its consumption, including: expansive concert halls and tiny corner bars, sprawling festival grounds and cramped basement shows. But music consumption, while important, is only one type of cultural consumption, and record stores are but one kind of retailer among many others.

Developments in retail have researchers and journalists taking note. Stores are closing across the US. Michael Issa (2017), writing in November 2017 (five months prior at time of writing), states that "[r]etail bankruptcies are nearing a post-recession high" (36). During the Great Recession, the number of store closings was 6,163 (Issa 2017). While the timing of these failures with the 2008 recession makes sense, almost 10-years later, a large spike of 8,640 closures has occurred, according to Forbes Magazine (Issa 2017). Music retailers were particularly vulnerable to digitization early on, but now many other forms of retail are becoming similarly vulnerable, as online retailers expand their mix of products. In a way, record stores here can function as a potential, hypothetical proxy for other types of retail—bookstores

or florists or clothing stores, even grocery stores and banks. The methods I develop here can be employed in the investigation of changes in other forms of retail over time as well.

Figuring out the causes of these failures is going to keep researchers of retail busy for the immediate future. In the case of record stores, the exact causes of failure are difficult to ascertain. Finding the cause(s) of every store to open, persist, and in most cases to close would be a fruitful but nearly impossible endeavor. For those locations I analyze in chapter two, determining causality would likely require collecting interviews on nearly 1,464 locations. For those Milwaukee County locations in chapter four, this number drops to 434 locations. In many cases the owners of these locations would have long passed away. Considering the time and resources required to collect, process, and analyze this number of interviews, I saw this as impractical given my other goals. Certainly, I could obtain a subset of interviews, but I set that aside for possible future research. Even though it seems reasonable to assume that changes in the local demographics, format changes, and retail environment would have an "effect" on the opening and survivability of a business, I necessarily avoid a strict reading of causality.

I had originally thought that this dissertation would be about gentrification in cities smaller than Chicago and New York. I originally sketched out a plan to use record stores as a way to analyze the consumption of a particular kind of material culture, and tie that to gentrification, and the results of chapter four suggest that is true. But two important things happened which altered the course of my research. First, while collecting and analyzing data, research began to come out which more specifically dealt with the materiality and meaning of record stores, namely Bartmanski and Woodward's (2015) book *Vinyl: The Analogue Record in the Digital Age* and Harvey's (2015) article on Record Store Day. These two pieces essentially

alleviated from me the need to make the case for why physical formats are relevant in an age of digital distribution. This allowed me to focus on the "where" of consumption more. Second, and more importantly, the data sent a very clear message early on that while gentrification was likely part of the story, racial residential segregation was a much bigger part. This came to me only after constructing rough drafts of some maps.

Had I focused on Bay View or the Eastside of Milwaukee, where contemporary stores cluster, I could have told a richer story of what those places look like, who runs them, who comes into them, what the conversations are like, how the neighborhood has changed, and the like. It may have been an enjoyable dissertation to write, but in telling that story, I would have missed the very important reality of loss and change elsewhere. Certainly, a kind of gentrification is happening in Milwaukee, but it is slower in its progression, and seems to be somewhat less about racial displacement than it is about class displacement, unlike Wicker Park (Lloyd 2006) or Harlem (Zukin 2010). Based on census data, changes in Bay View seem to be about whites with a higher level of cultural capital moving into an area where whites with a lower level of cultural capital live. Because of this, a focus on the neighborhoods that stores are in and working backwards in time would have generated an interesting but incomplete picture, mostly about white cultural consumption. This alternative dissertation would have likely missed the very same areas of extreme poverty that have gained national attention following the publication of Matthew Desmond's Pulitzer prize-winning research on Milwaukee (2016).

In the introduction to this dissertation, I discuss a particularly magical moment of unwrapping a record in the corner coffee shop, while eavesdropping on some patrons discussing gentrification. From my seat in that shop, I could look out and see a neighborhood

undergoing very tangible, physical changes, as more upwardly mobile residents began to call this once sleepy party of the city their home. From the north-facing windows I could see the standard issue bus shelter, common to every other stop in the city. Within a few years this would become an abstract, brutalist, concrete-and-rust sailboat-looking monument with the words “Bay View” emblazoned on the side.

[Figure 5.1 Here]

This level of investment in a bus stop, as a way to brand the neighborhood, sits in stark contrast to the triangular plot of common grass that once was Audie’s Records (see chapter one). Certainly, there are neglected and improved plots in both Park West and Bay View, but the differences between the two neighborhoods is stark. If I had only focused on changes in Bay View, hanging out in businesses I like, talking to people I know, being comfortable in a space that reflects my own cultural and racial background, the story of Audie’s would have been lost on me, along with all the other vanishings over time. This is not only true for stores like Audie’s, it would have been true for stores downtown like Radio Doctors (who stayed in business for seventy years), or stores in the suburban malls that ring the city of Milwaukee. It would have limited my analysis to just Milwaukee as well. Stores in Detroit or Chicago that I do not have first-hand knowledge of, all would have been excluded from a narrow focus on a few neighborhoods where many people like myself (a highly-educated white male) enjoy going.

When scholars of urban change study consumption, it is important to look beyond the hip neighborhoods that make for great reading, to those other places that may have once been alive with so much energy and exchange, that have long since vanished. Using the techniques that I have deployed in this dissertation is one way to (incompletely) accomplish this. Studying

the artists, musicians, mixologists, artisanal cheesemakers, barbers, graphic designers, or record store owners of contemporary hip areas will almost certainly produce interesting results. But they will be results that run the risk of further silencing and ignoring areas of the city which have already been so forgotten by others in power. If the goal is to better understand the role of consumption in urban change, then retail loss is an important phenomenon to consider when trying to make sense of contemporary landscapes.

The loss of Audie's Records on Milwaukee's northwest side was one of hundreds of losses throughout the region, thousands throughout the country. The story of its owner, Audie Dotson, echoes stories unearthed by Davis (2011) in his examination of black-owned stores in the American South. Zukin (2010) describes the vanishing of the Record Shack, a black-owned musical institution priced-out of its longtime space in a gentrifying area in Harlem. Zukin (2010) makes note of the Record Shack's motto as a place "where 'the VINYL is precious, the staff is wise & Brother Sikhulu Shange is a wealth of BLACK HISTORY & MUSICAL KNOWLEDGE'," (83) and is one of the only accounts of black-owned record stores in sociology on consumption and urban change. Audie was a businessman, for sure, but like Mr. Shange, he was more than that. With more time and resources, I do not doubt other equally evocative stories could be found in Chicago and Detroit, but also Philadelphia and Los Angeles, Atlanta and Seattle, and many other places. Audie's Records represents a contradiction: it managed to survive so long in difficult circumstances, yet the landscape bears very little trace of it. The only thing that remains from this storied history is memories. Artist Molly Brennan captured that moment before Audie's Records vanished from the landscape, when the green plywood that adorns condemned buildings shields the windows and the doors (Brennan 2018).

[Figure 5.2 Here]

Back in 1982, in the same building depicted in this painting, Motown artists The Dazz Band stopped by for a meet-and-greet, as reported in the trade magazine *Cash Box* (Goodman 1981).

[Figure 5.3 Here]

All around the band members, representatives from the label and distribution company, store manager and owner, are copies of the LP, along with records by many other artists. The band was from Cleveland, Motown had since moved to Los Angeles, and all of this was taking place in a store in Milwaukee. It does not take much to imagine the many layers of cultural production and consumption captured in this single moment in time. While this was the only documented in-store at Audie's I could find, it is likely not the only one. In-store promotions like this were especially crucial to the black music business, simply because for a very long time, white stores were not promoting black music (Davis 2011).

Not every store was as important for their immediate area as Audie's Records was to Park West and Milwaukee's northwest side, but every one of them has its own biography. This includes stores in predominantly black areas, but also Hispanic parts of town. It includes stores downtown, but also in suburban malls. It includes flash-in-the-pan stores that did not survive a year, and those that survived decades. Every dot on the maps I present in chapter two was a place inhabited by owners, clerks, and consumers alike (see also Appendix A). While I include stories from a very small number of locations in chapter four, this dissertation does not do all the other shops justice. That is beyond the scope of the dissertation. But to varying degrees, each were places for people in search of music, musical knowledge, pleasure, distraction, and distinction.

The findings of this dissertation suggest that areas outside of predominantly white up-and-coming areas have all but lost local and chain record stores. While stores used to be more closely tied to predominantly black areas in the early 1970s, format changes in the 1980s may have led to significant declines in store openings in these areas. But the shift from CD to Mp3 in the late 1990s, coinciding with peer-to-peer file-sharing may have reduced the number of stores everywhere. The loss of record stores in predominantly black areas of Chicago, Detroit, and Milwaukee is even more striking if one considers how indebted 20th Century American music is to black musical production and consumption. Any form of popular music that utilizes the blues scale has a relationship, even if cursory, to black music (Gridley 2003). While most obvious in forms like jazz, r&b, and soul, it is also true of forms dominated by white musicians as well (including all sub-branches of rock & roll music, and bluegrass). If contemporary record stores are interested in stocking the canon of 20th century music (Bartmanski and Woodward 2015), then a sizable proportion of that music has a connection to black cultural producers.

This is to say nothing about other important music forms like funk, disco, rap, hip-hop, techno, house, and other associated forms of electronic dance music, all of which have a long history with people of color generally, and African Americans in particular. Outside of ordering a record online, the consumption of these genres in physical formats is likely happening in a predominantly white up-and-coming neighborhood, and not at a place like Audie's Records anymore. White consumers of these forms in Chicago, Milwaukee, and Detroit are less likely to cross the color line, to engage with and confront difference (Lofland 1998) in the common pursuit of musical pleasure.

By following one particular type of retailer over time and space, the research I present here provides the basis for future work on both record stores and other kinds of retail. The strategy of zooming-in on record stores, from the regional to the neighborhood, could lead in a few possible directions. Going one step further to the next smallest scale, the internal life of record stores could be a rich site for future work. This could look very much like traditional qualitative work on third places (Oldenburg 1997), like bookstores (Miller 2006) or vintage clothing stores (Veenstra and Kuipers 2013). A mix of semi-structured interviews coupled with participant observation of stores could help bring the analysis to the level of one-on-one human interaction and decision-making. Future work might also include more sophisticated statistical modeling, either collecting or purchasing data for a greater number of cities. In chapter two, the use of three cities over five time points provides enough cases to justify pursuing event history modeling (in essence, a logistic regression), but as the analysis focuses on the city of Milwaukee, the number of cases per year becomes rather small, in terms of statistical power. This problem might be addressed by using longitudinal business data for multiple cities (Walls and Associates 2016). This would allow the analysis to cover a greater spatial but not temporal difference, but would also include geocoded business of many other types as well.

Academics need to pay attention to consumption in non-gentrifying areas, but this argument extends to policymakers too. Small businesses are an important part of community identity, empowerment, and quality of life. With that in mind, city planners, administrators, economic development groups, and the mayor's office would be well-served by analyzing the relationship between demographic, economic, and retail change over time and space. Understanding the how, what, and where of business survival, loss, and change could inform

policy decisions. If a city has directories or phone books, then data exists in a hardcopy format. If they go back many years, then a rich description of business and cultural change can be constructed from boring and dusty directories. One example of this might be to use a similar strategy to the one I use in chapter four, to better understand what kinds of businesses were lost in the push to develop an interstate system. To my knowledge, an extensive account of the number and types of businesses lost to eminent domain (especially in ethnic and minority neighborhoods) during this period does not exist. Directory street guides, if available, are a useful source for this information.

In cities across the US, record stores continue to serve the neighborhoods they persist in. Record Store Day, now an unofficial holiday for many music lovers, is celebrating its tenth year at the time of writing. Lines will form early, and crowds will stay late. Twitter will light up with characters, voices bemoaning the lack of releases, voices bragging about snatching that beloved disc that they researched months ago. Bands will load amps too large for the spaces they are about to play onto stages too small for them to fit on. Management will look the other way as poorly concealed beers are sipped among the record shelves. Even places that are not record stores will host DJs and pop-up stores on sidewalks. The love of musical consumption and exchange will continue in cities and small towns across the US and elsewhere, but not in all the neighborhoods that it could have.

Figure 5.1 Bus Stop at the Corner of Kinnickinnic Ave and Lincoln Ave, Bay View, Milwaukee in 2011 (above), and 2016 (below).

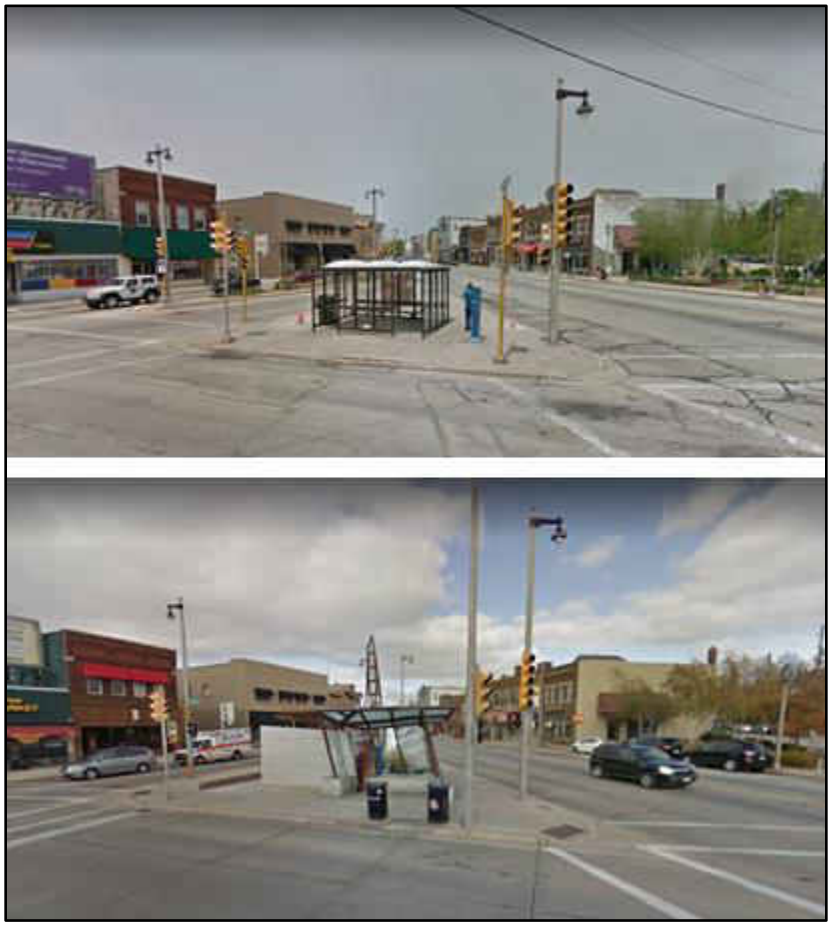
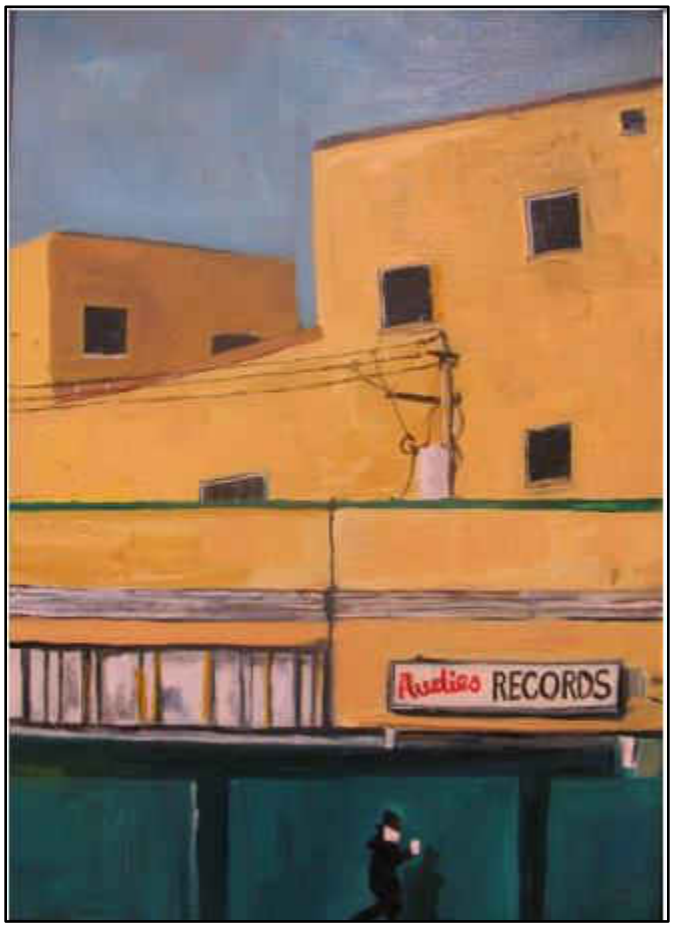


Photo Credits: Google Street View © Google 2018

Figure 5.2 Screen Capture of Artist Molly Brennan's Original Painting (2011) of Audie's Record's.



Artist: Molly Brennan, 2011

Figure 5.3 Screen Capture of Cash Box Magazine Issue (1981) Featuring Audie's Records.

DAZZ THE NIGHT AWAY *— Motown recording group the Dazz Band recently stopped at Audies One Stop in Milwaukee to promote its current "Let The Music Play" LP. Pictured* ***kneeling*** *are (l-r): Skip Martin of the group; and Ben Sheats of Motown. Pictured* ***standing*** *are (l-r): John Reed, store manager; Jimmy Cochran, Motown promotion; Bobby Harris of the group; Marsla Price, Progress Distributors; Audie Dotson, one-stop owner; and Pierre De Mudd and Kenny Pettus of the group.*

Photo Credit: Unknown, Cash Box Magazine, 1981

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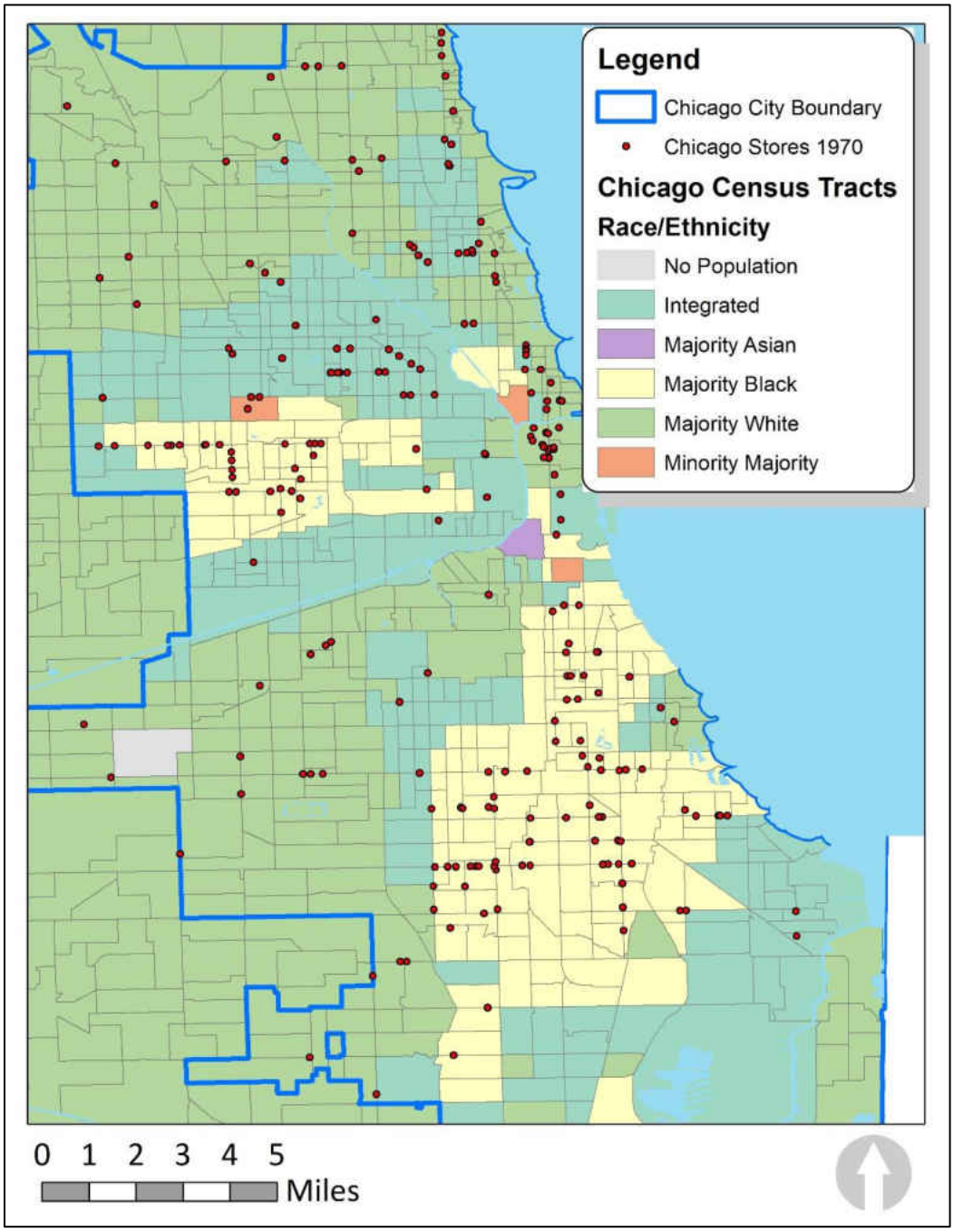
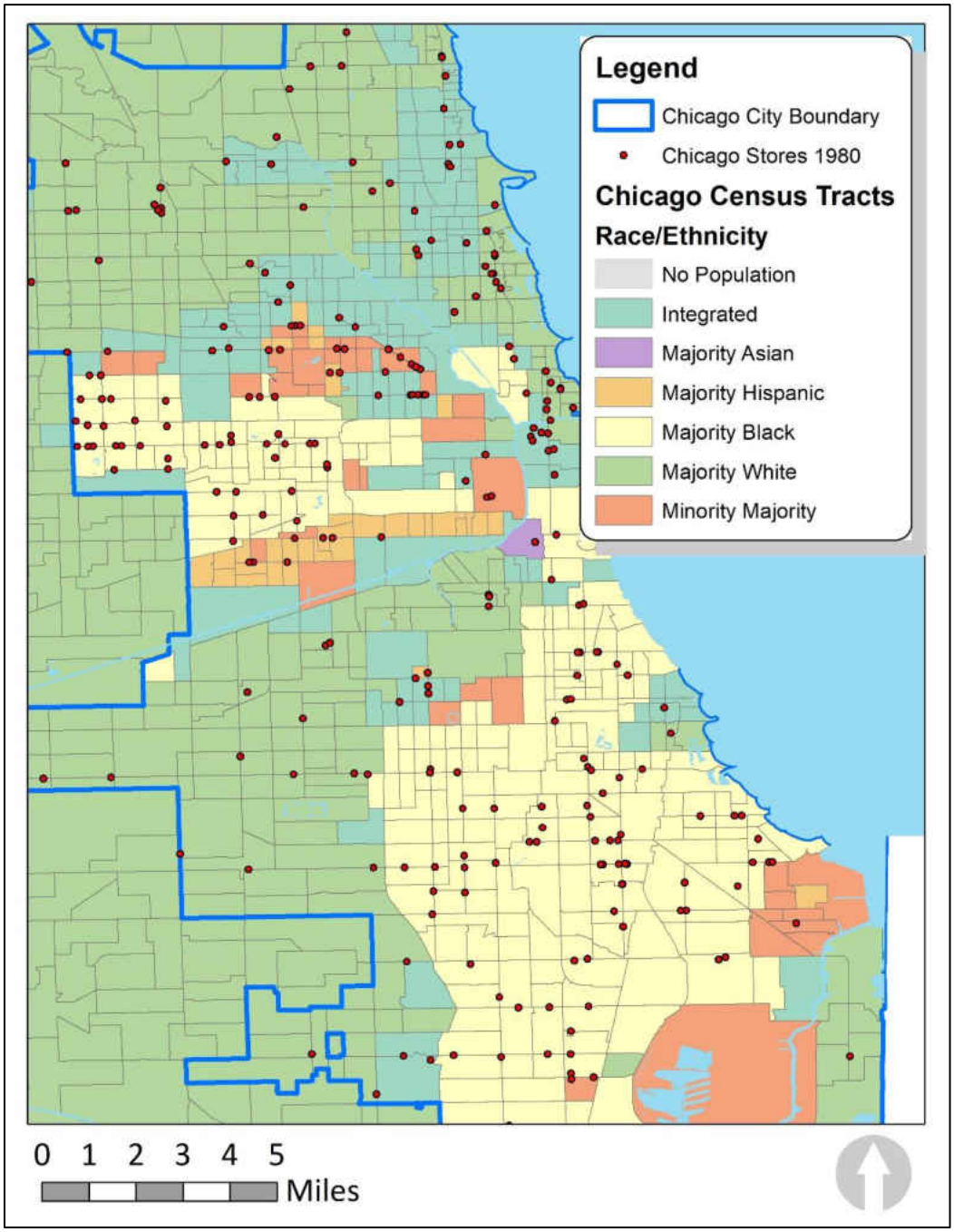
APPENDIX A:

Record Store Locations and Census Tract Racial Demographics, Chicago, Detroit, and Milwaukee, 1970-2010 (Full Color Maps)

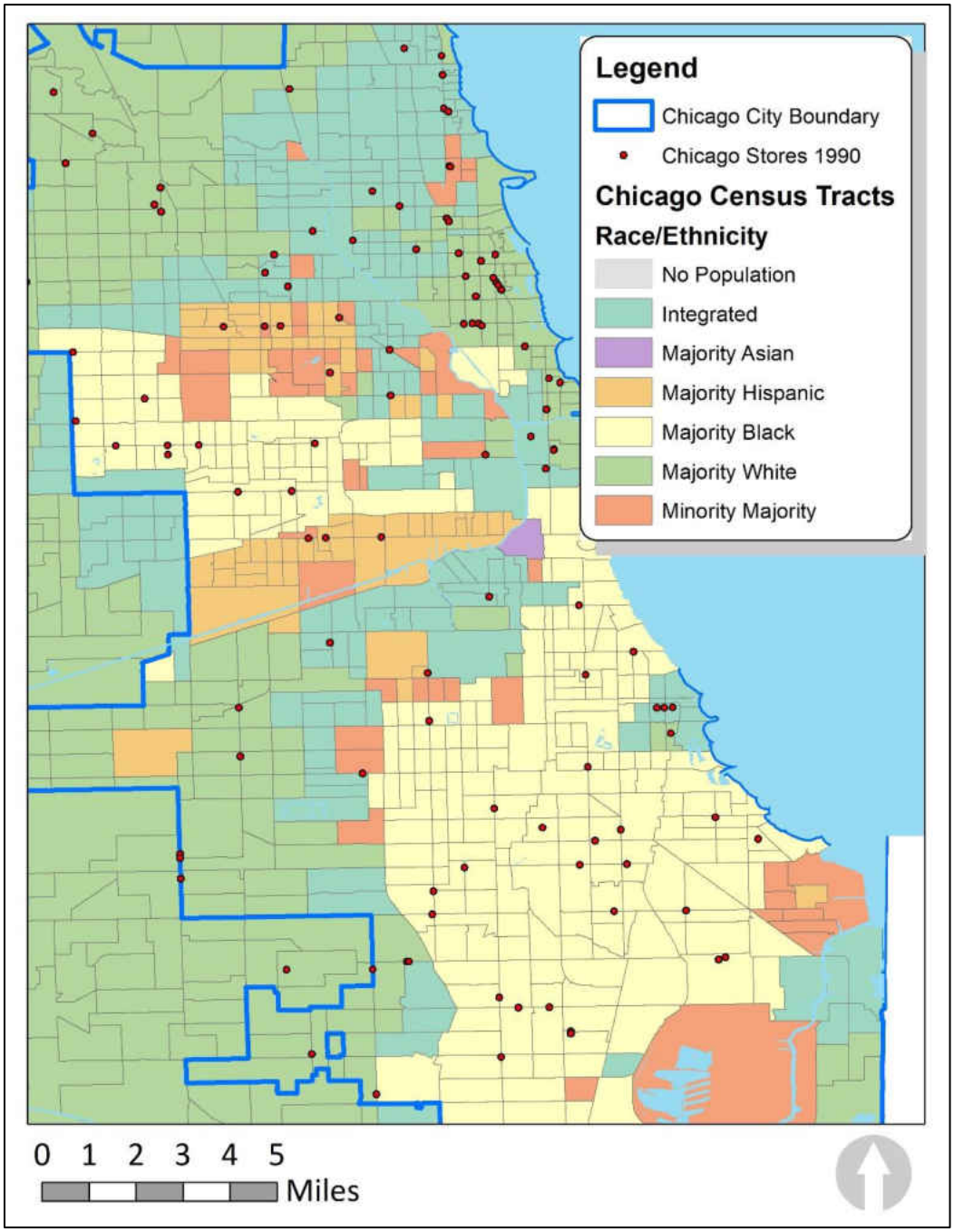
Chicago 1970



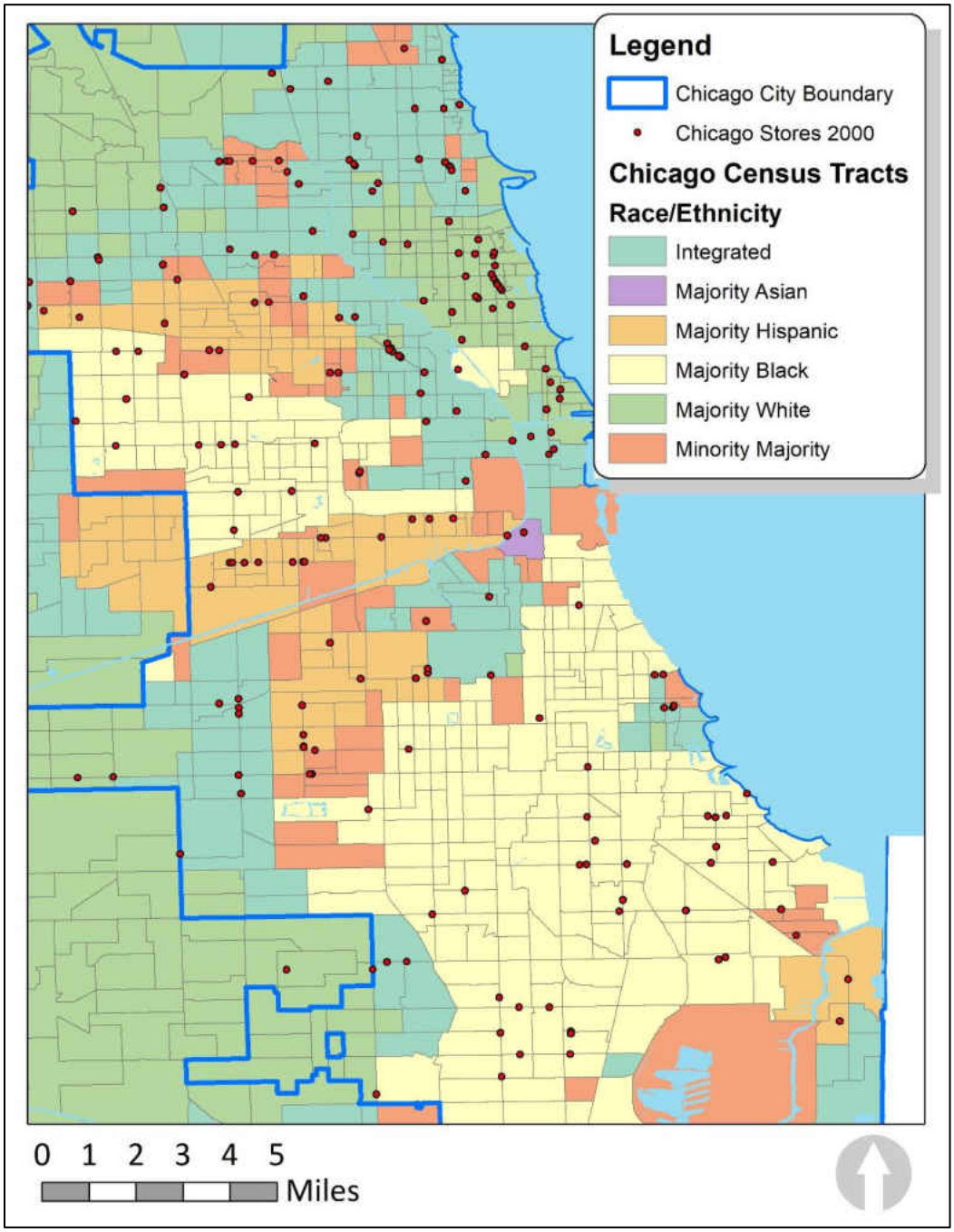
Chicago 1980



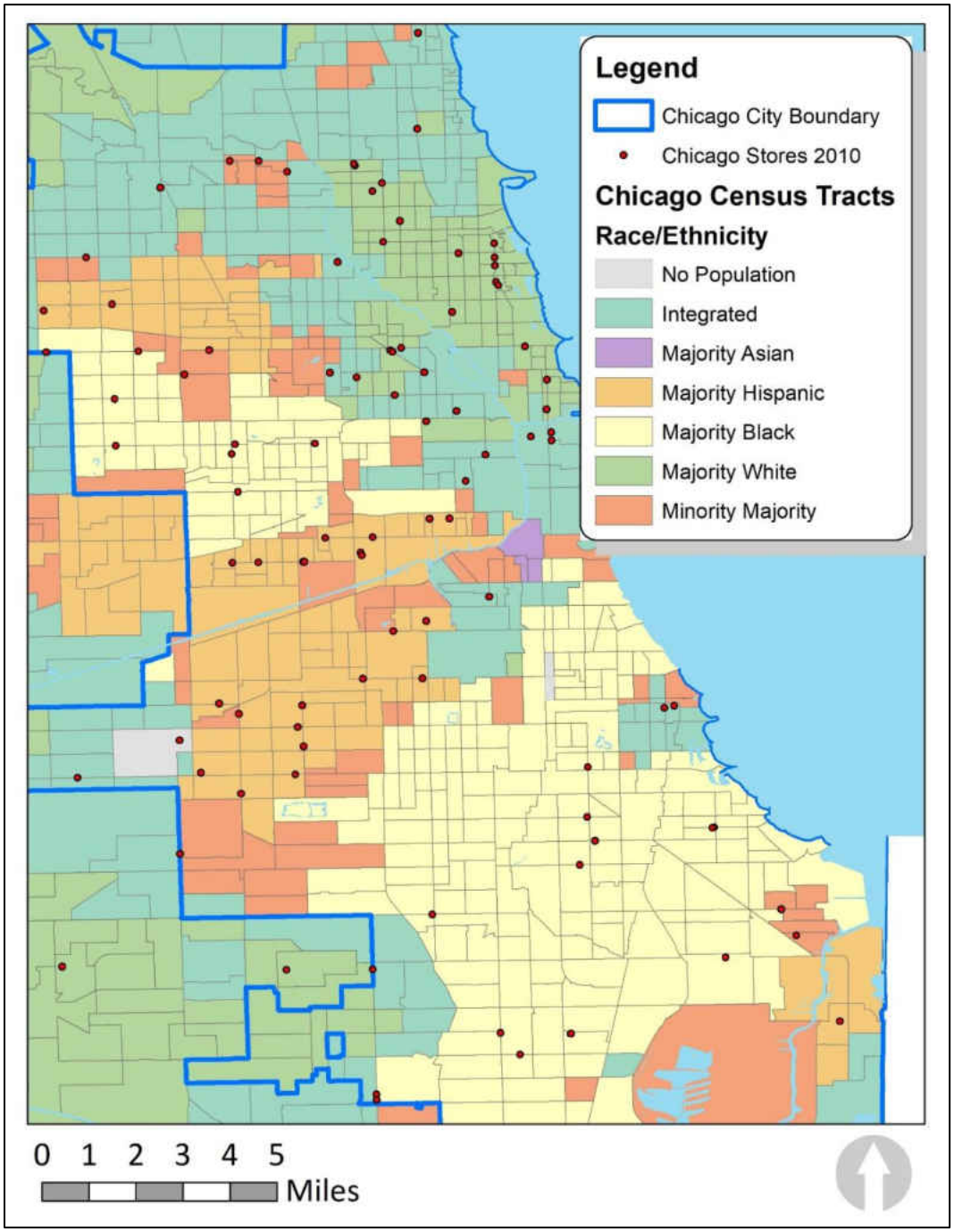
Chicago 1990



Chicago 2000

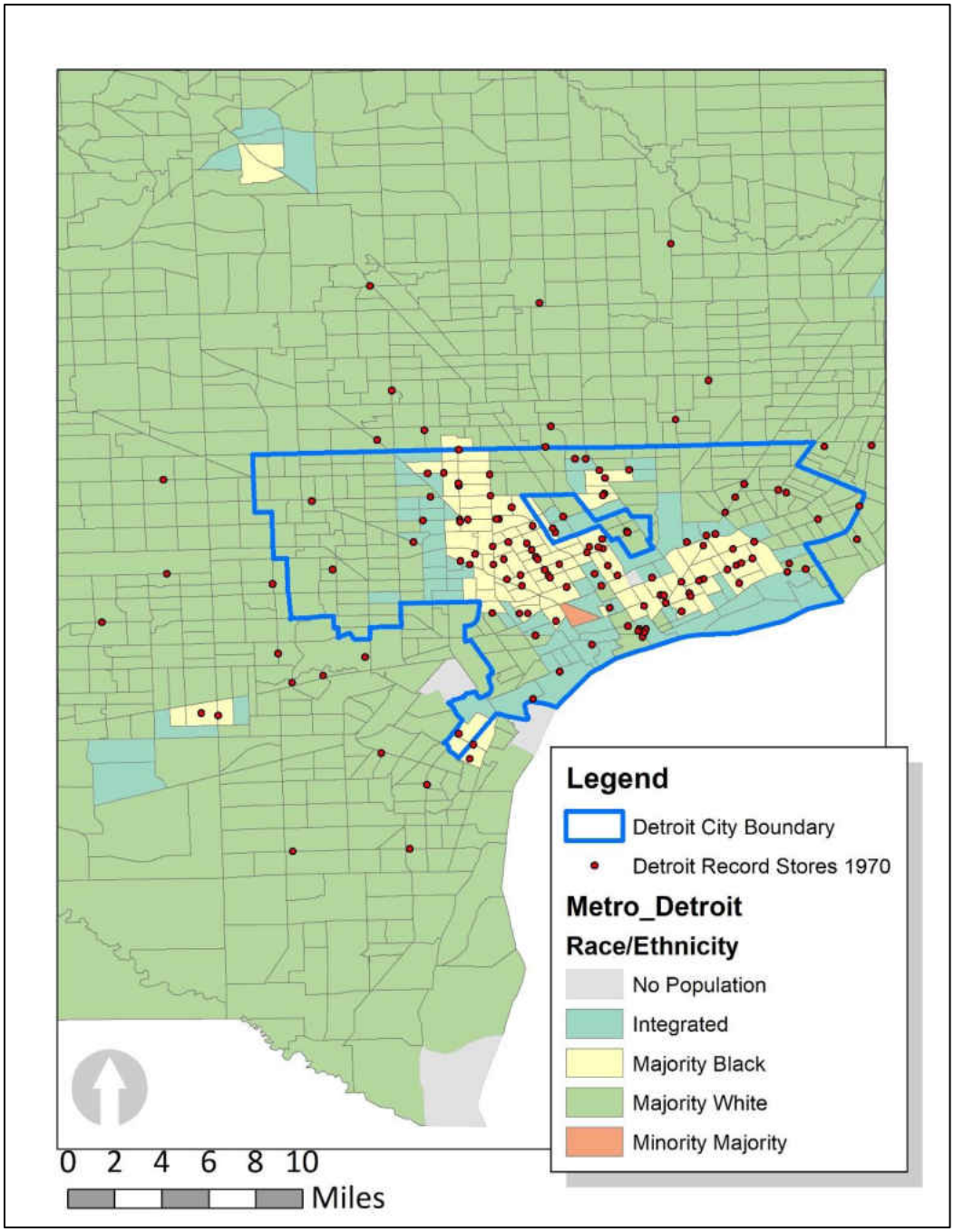


Chicago 2010

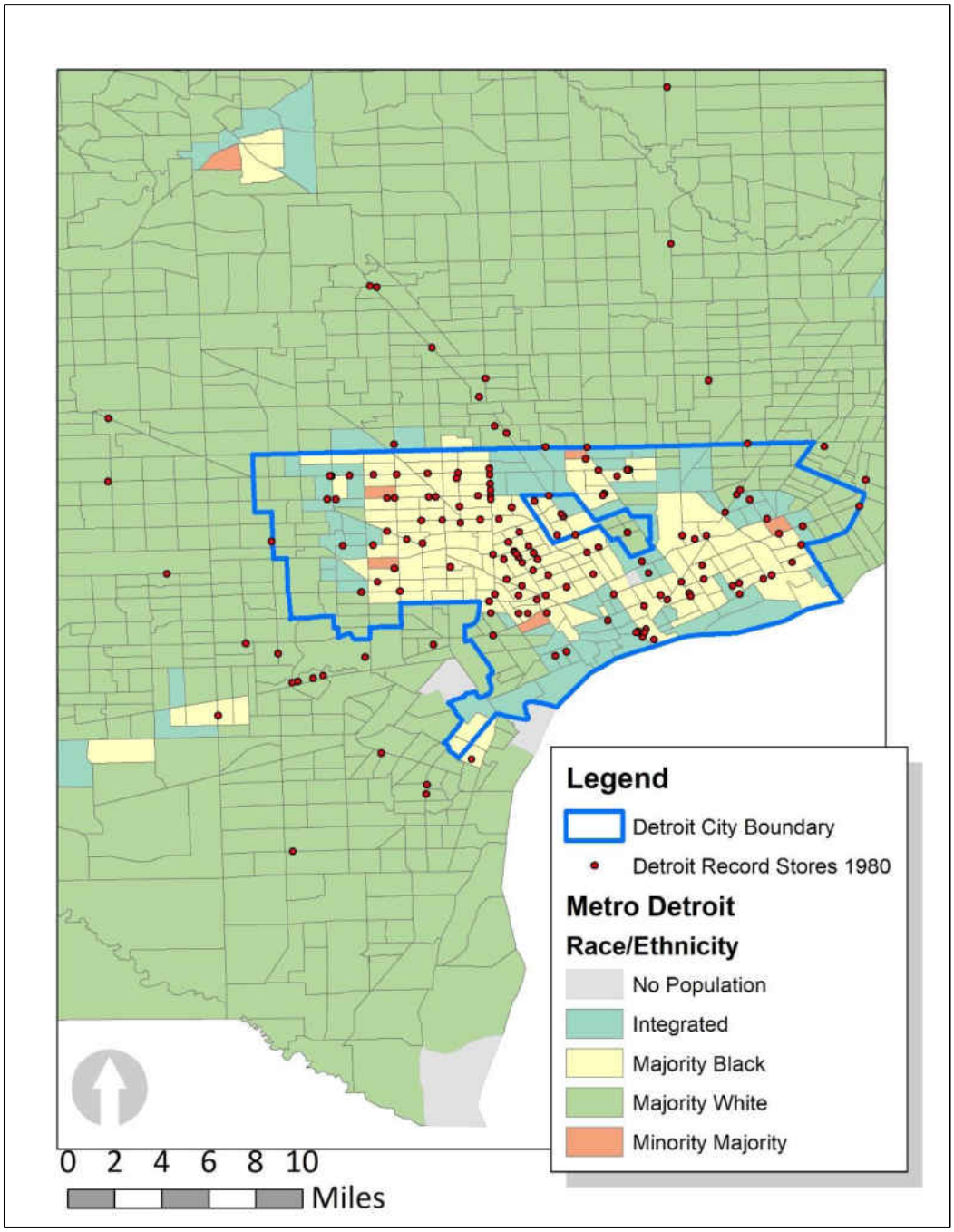


Sources for Chicago Maps:
Demographics: Longitudinal Tract Database (LTDB)
Shapefiles: US Census Bureau
Record Store Locations: The Red Book: Chicago Yellow Pages 1970
The Red Book: Chicago Yellow Pages, Consumer Buying Guide Directory 1980
Consumer PlusPages (1990)
Chicago Consumer Yellow Pages (2000)
Yellowbook: Chicago, Yellow Pages and White Pages (2010)

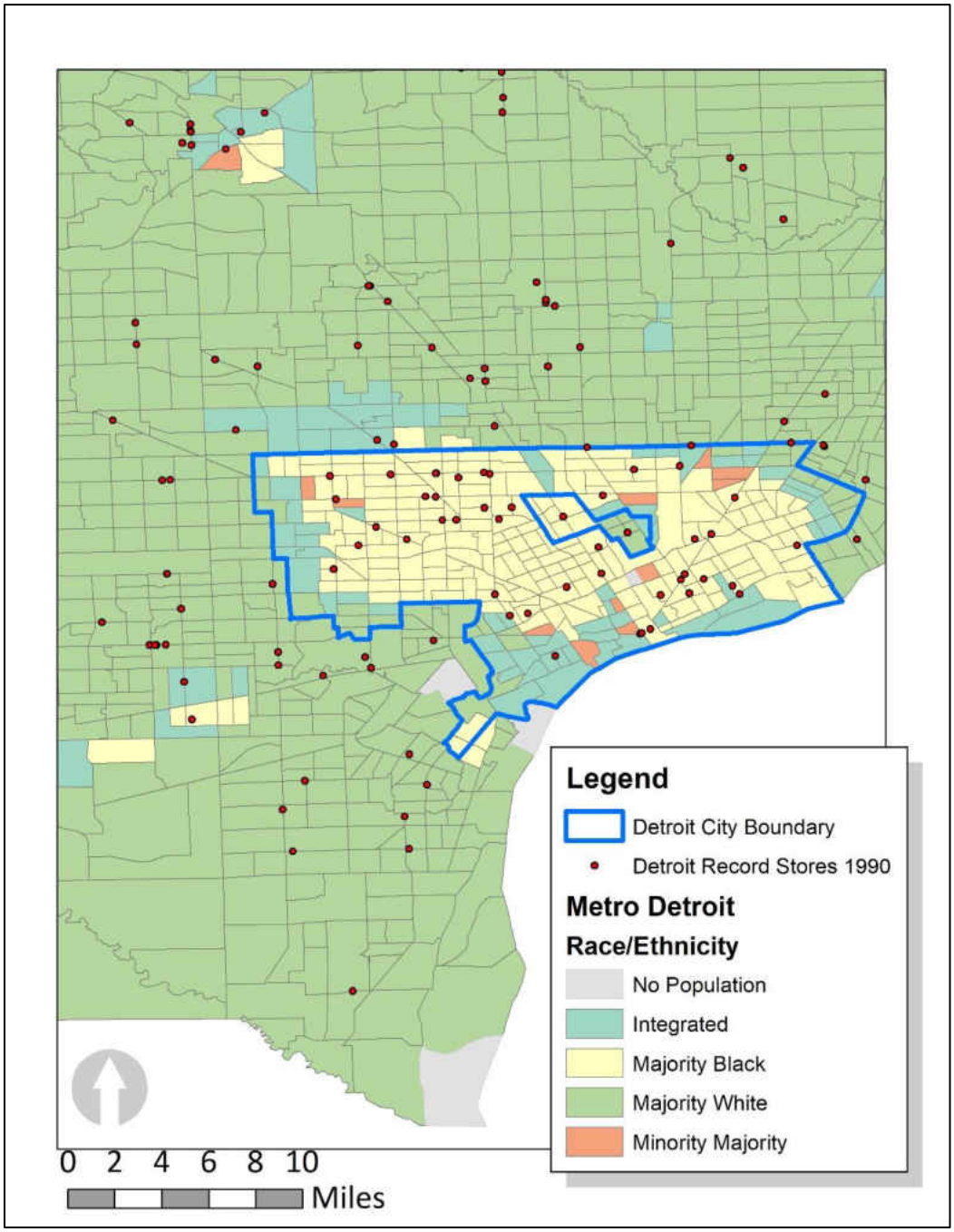
Detroit 1970



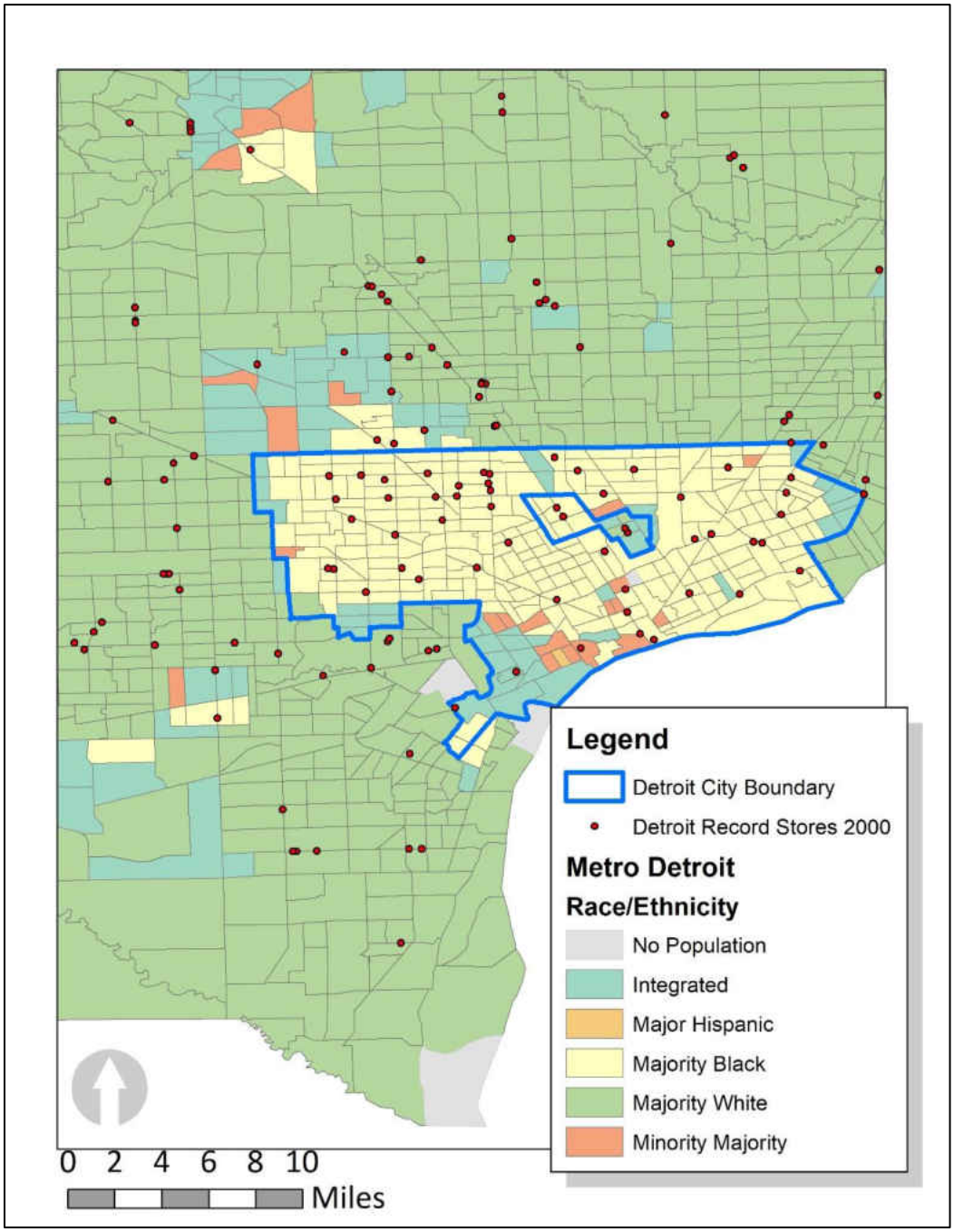
Detroit 1980



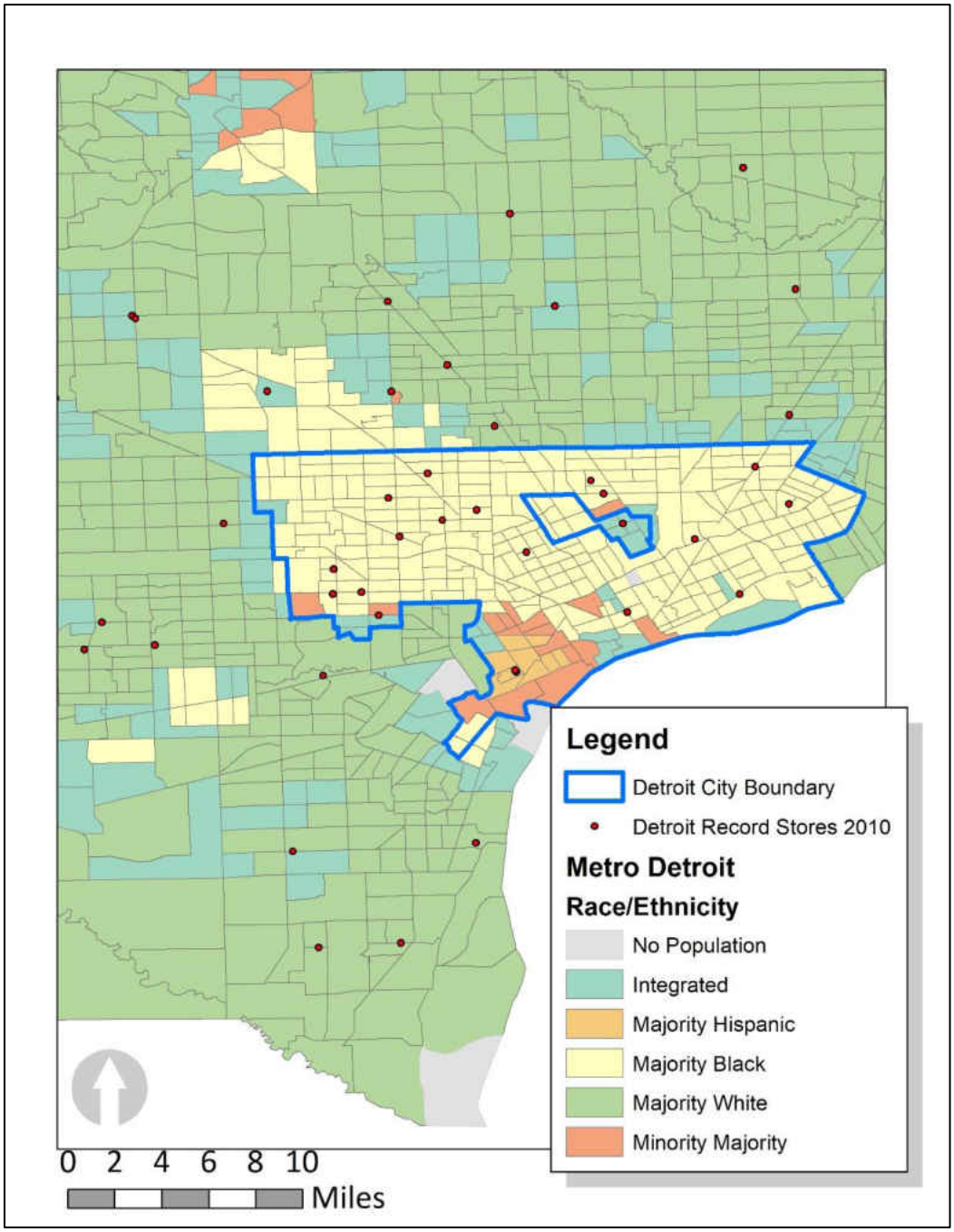
Detroit 1990



Detroit 2000

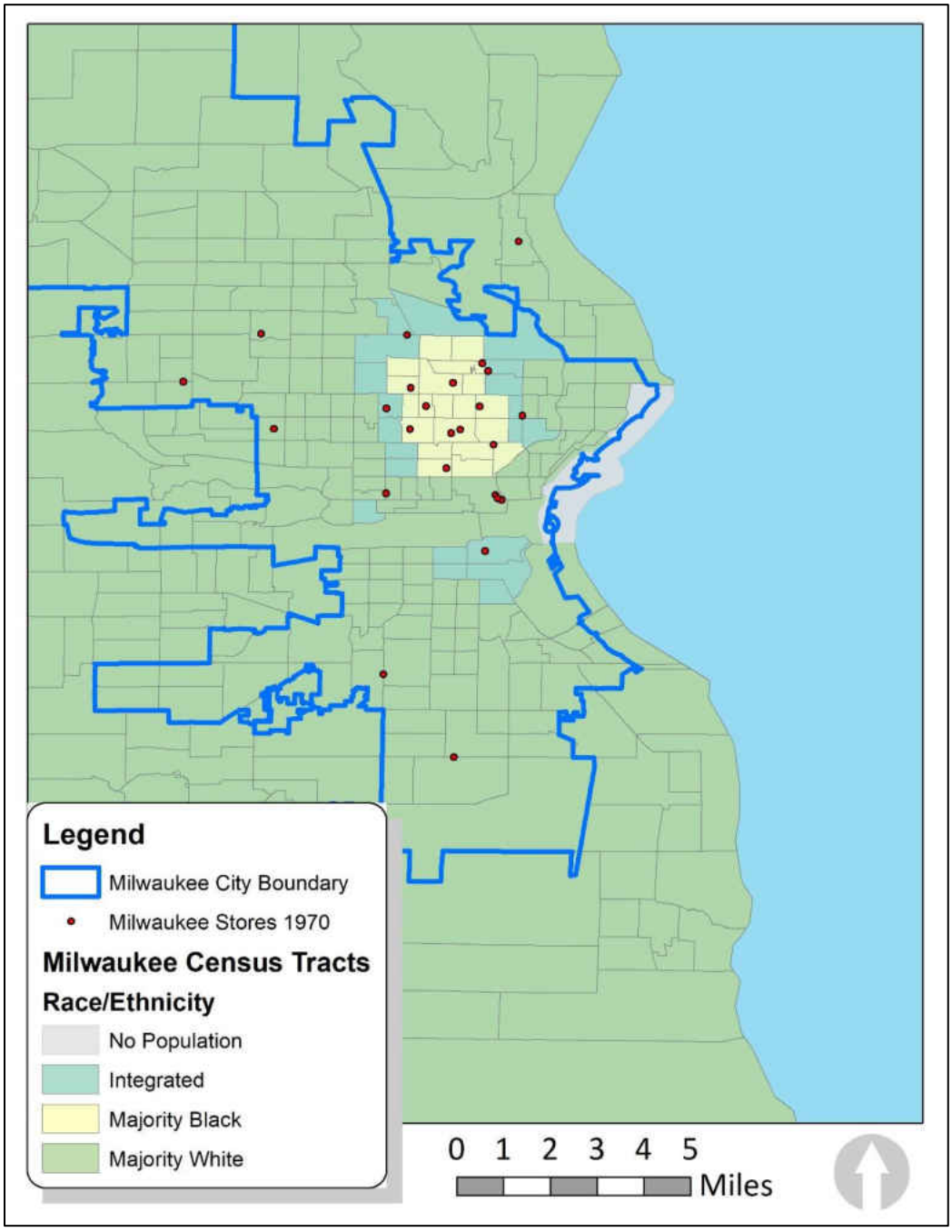


Detroit 2010

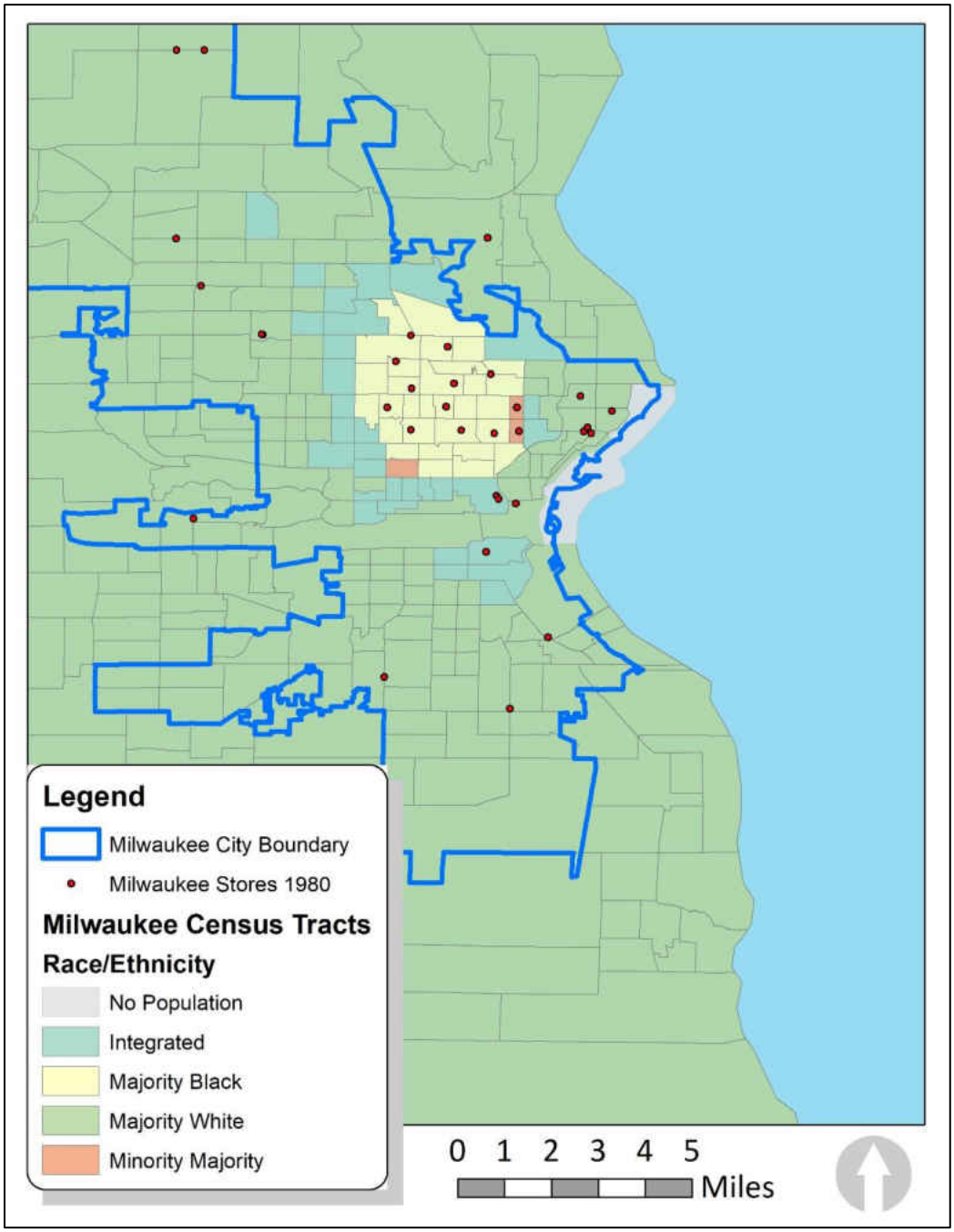


Sources for Detroit Maps:
Demographics: Longitudinal Tract Database (LTDB)
Shapefiles: US Census Bureau
Record Store Locations: Detroit Yellow Pages (1970, 1980)
Michigan Business Directory 1990-1991
Michigan Business Directory 2000
Michigan 2010-2011 Business Directory

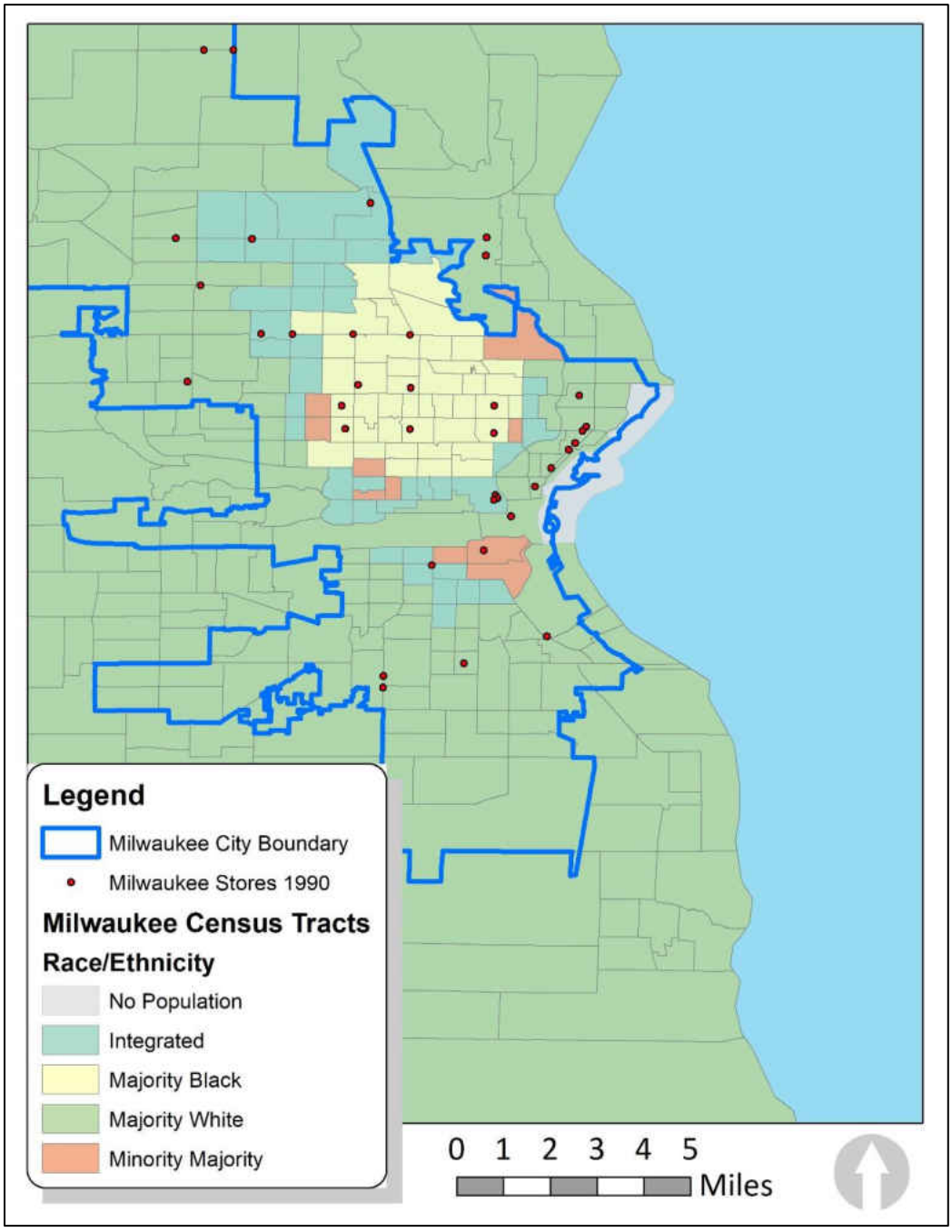
Milwaukee 1970



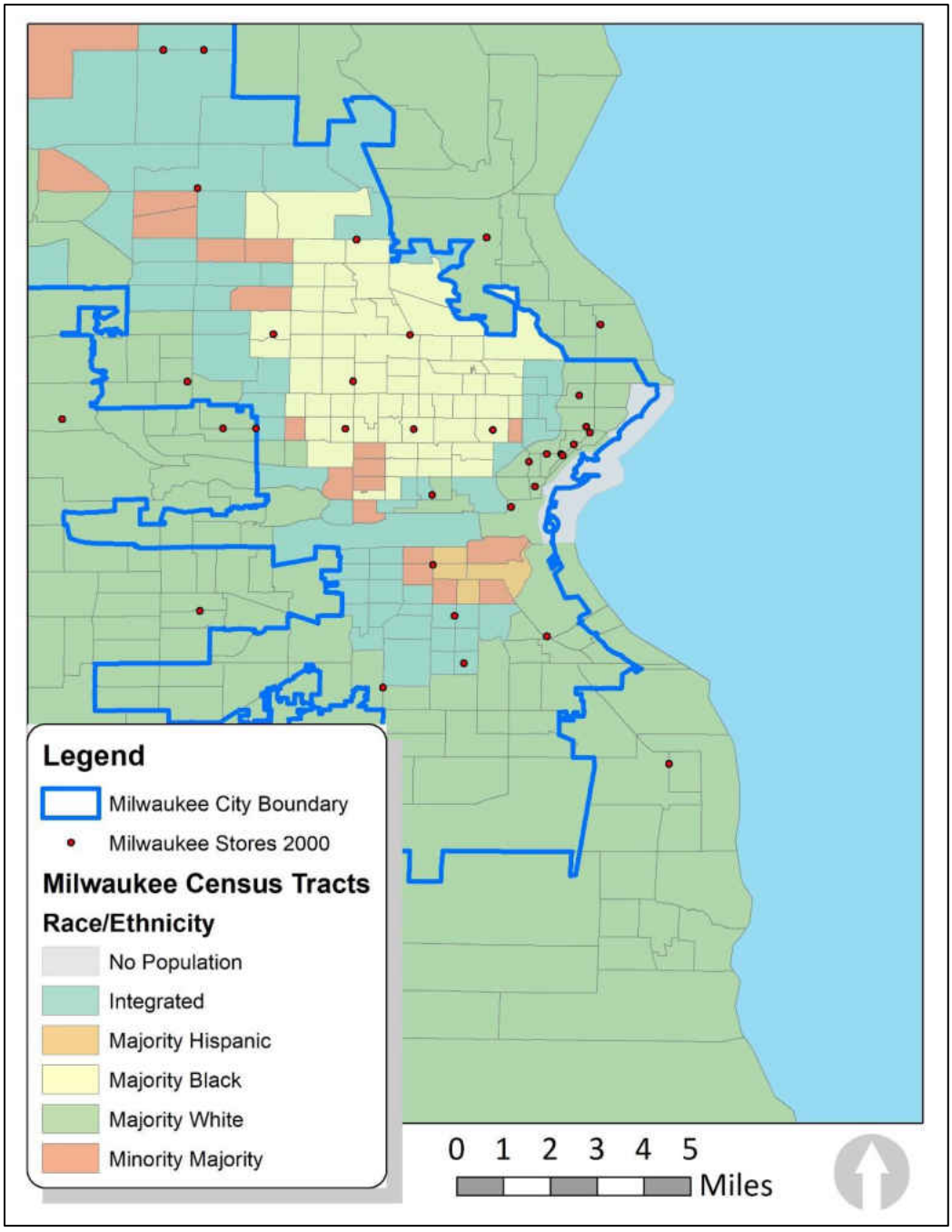
Milwaukee 1980



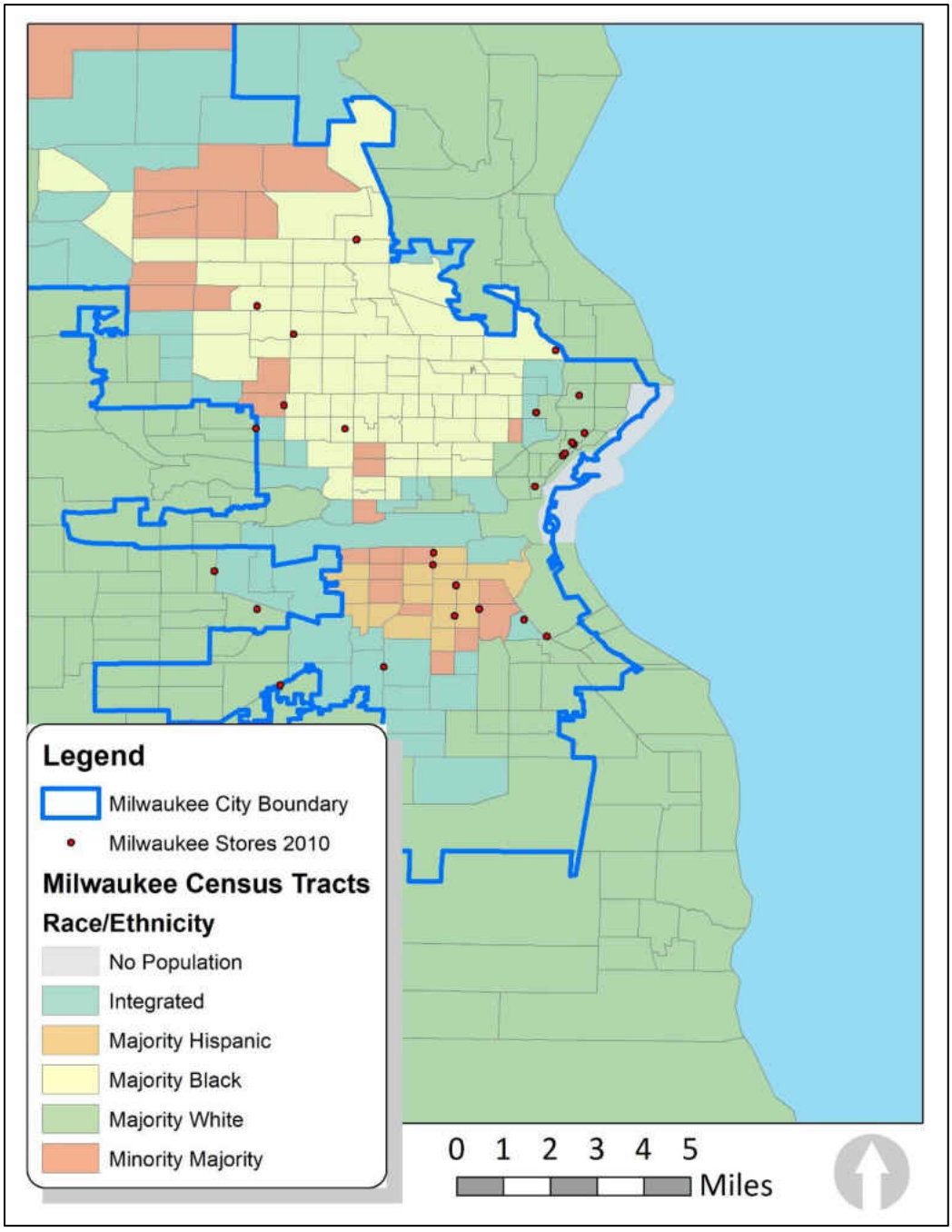
Milwaukee 1990



Milwaukee 2000



Milwaukee 2010



Sources for Milwaukee Maps:
Demographics: Longitudinal Tract Database (LTDB)
Shapefiles: US Census Bureau
Record Store Locations: Wrights Milwaukee City Directory (1970-1990)
Polk Cross-Reference Directory for Milwaukee County, Wisconsin (2000-2010)

APPENDIX B:

Address Information and Business Types Included in Chapter Four

Listing of Chapter 4 Locations and Address Ranges (Milwaukee County)

Contemporary Stores	Store Address	Address Range 1	Address Range 2
Acme Records	2341 S Kinnickinnic Ave	2165 to 2510 S Kinnickinnic Ave	182 - 806 E Lincoln Ave
Bullseye	1627 E Irving Pl	1700 - 2169 N Farwell Ave	n/a
CD Max	1709 N Farwell Ave	1531 - 1947 N Farwell Ave	1150 - 1500 E Brady St
Exclusive Farwell	1669 N Farwell Ave	1500 - 1920 N Farwell Ave	1117 – 1500 E Brady St
Exclusive 74th	5026 S 74th St	4820 – 5150 S 76th St	4805 - 5005 S 74th St
Luv Unlimited	2649 S Kinnickinnic Ave	2472 - 2759 S Kinnickinnic Ave	442 - 1159 E Potter Ave
Musical Memories	833 E Kilbourn Ave	751 - 1299 N Marshall St	500 - 923 E Kilbourn
My Music Man	3531 W Silver Spring Dr	3136 - 3932 W Silver Spring Dr	5403 - 5748 N 35th St
Off the Beaten Path	1936 N Farwell Ave	1700 - 2169 N Farwell Ave	n/a
Spin Dizzy	5244 W Forest Home Ave	4952 - 5530 W Forest Home Ave	4821- 5630 W Morgan Ave
Historical Stores			
Audie's Records	2204 W North Ave	1801 - 2475 W North Ave	1844 - 2415 W Fond Du Lac Ave
Mean Mountain Music	926 W Oklahoma Ave	617 - 1227 W Oklahoma Ave	3014 - 3142 S 13th St
Atomic Records	1813 E Locust St	1567 - 2298 E Locust St	2702 - 3098 N Oakland Ave
Included in Both			
Rushmor Records	2635 S Kinnickinnic Ave	2472 - 2759 S Kinnickinnic Ave	442 - 1159 E Potter Ave

Listing of Chapter 4 Businesses by Business Type (adapted from Meltzer and Capperis 2016)

Frequently Consumed Discretionary Goods and Services	
2017 NAICS Industry Code	Description
445292	Confectionery and Nut Stores
445310	Beer, Wine, and Liquor Stores
446120	Cosmetics, Beauty Supplies, and Perfume Stores
446191	Food (Health) Supplement Stores
451211	Book Stores
451212	News Dealers and Newsstands
452210	Department Stores
453110	Florists
453210	Office Supplies and Stationery Stores
453220	Gift, Novelty, and Souvenir Stores
453910	Pet and Pet Supplies Stores
532282	Video Tape and Disc Rental
713940	Fitness and Recreational Sports Centers
722320	Caterers
722410	Drinking Places (Alcoholic Beverages)
722511	Full-Service Restaurants
722513	Limited-Service Restaurants
722515	Snack and Nonalcoholic Beverage Bars
812199	Other Personal Care Services

Frequently Consumed Necessity Goods and Services	
2017 NAICS Industry Code	NAICS Category
444130	Hardware Stores
445110	Supermarkets and Other Grocery (except Convenience) Stores
445120	Convenience Stores
445210	Meat Markets
445220	Fish and Seafood Markets
445230	Fruit and Vegetable Markets
446110	Pharmacies and Drug Stores
447110	Gasoline Stations with Convenience Stores
452319	All Other General Merchandise Stores
522110	Commercial Banking
522120	Savings Institutions
522130	Credit Unions
812111	Barber Shops
812112	Beauty Salons
812310	Coin-Operated Laundries and Drycleaners

812320	Dry Cleaning and Laundry Services (except Coin-Operated)
812331	Linen Supply

Infrequently Consumed Discretionary Goods and Services	
2017 NAICS Industry Code	NAICS Category
441120	Used Car Dealers
441210	Recreational Vehicle Dealers
441320	Tire Dealers
442210	Floor Covering Stores
442291	Window Treatment Stores
442299	All Other Home Furnishings Stores
444120	Paint and Wallpaper Stores
444190	Other Building Material Dealers
444220	Nursery, Garden Center, and Farm Supply Stores
448310	Jewelry Stores
451110	Sporting Goods Stores
451120	Hobby, Toy, and Game Stores
451130	Sewing, Needlework, and Piece Goods Store
451140	Musical Instrument and Supplies Stores
453310	Used Merchandise Stores
453920	Art Dealers
453991	Tobacco Stores
453998	All Other Miscellaneous Store Retailers (except Tobacco Stores)
532210	Consumer Electronics and Appliances Rental
541940	Veterinary Services
713120	Amusement Arcades
713950	Bowling Centers
812910	Pet Care (except Veterinary) Services

Infrequently Consumed Necessity Goods and Services	
2017 NAICS Industry Code	NAICS Category
442110	Furniture Stores
443141	Household Appliance Stores
443142	Electronics Stores
446199	All Other Health and Personal Care Stores
448110	Men's Clothing Stores
448120	Women's Clothing Stores
448130	Children's and Infants' Clothing Stores
448140	Family Clothing Stores
448150	Clothing Accessories Stores
448190	Other Clothing Stores
448210	Shoe Stores
811412	Appliance Repair and Maintenance

APPENDIX C:

Descriptive Statistics of Milwaukee County Census Tracts, 1970 - 2010

The County: Milwaukee County Census Tract Averages, 1970 - 2010

Measures	1970	1980	1990	2000	2010
Advantage Index	0	0	0	0	0
Advantage Index Components					
Percent College Graduate	10%	15%	18%	22%	25%
Percent Female-Headed HH	7%	14%	19%	22%	24%
Percent of Professionals	20%	19%	23%	30%	31%
Unemployment	4%	6%	9%	9%	11%
Percent Poor	9%	12%	17%	17%	22%
Housing and Income Measures (2010 constant dollars)					
Median Income	$52,928	$48,098	$46,863	$48,417	$44,242
Median Rent	$612	$555	$634	$638	$640
Median Property Value	$106,606	$131,58	$103,538	$120,999	$162,664
Race/Ethnicity					
Percent White	86%	79%	71%	59%	51%
Percent Black	9%	16%	21%	28%	31%
Percent Hispanic	1%	3%	5%	9%	13%
Percent Asian	0%	0%	2%	3%	4%
Population Density (sq mi)	10,060	8,704	8,653	8,156	8,075
Number of Tracts = 297					

Source: Longitudinal Tract Database (LTDB)

The Suburbs: Milwaukee County Census Tracts Outside of Milwaukee City Limits (Averages), 1970-2010

Measures	1970	1980	1990	2000	2010
Advantage Index	0.542	0.583	0.634	0.675	0.635
Advantage Index Components					
Percent College Graduate	15%	21%	26%	32%	35%
Percent Female-Headed HH	3%	5%	6%	9%	10%
Percent of Professionals	29%	26%	31%	38%	40%
Unemployment	3%	4%	3%	3%	6%
Percent Poor	4%	3%	4%	5%	8%
Housing and Income Measures (2010 constant dollars)					
Median Income	$67,445	$62,639	$65,505	$66,903	$62,280
Median Rent	$668	$650	$752	$763	$713
Median Property Value	$141,129	$183,832	$145,955	$175,214	$217,413
Race/Ethnicity					
Percent White	98%	97%	96%	91%	84%
Percent Black	0%	1%	1%	2%	5%
Percent Hispanic	0%	1%	2%	3%	6%
Percent Asian	0%	0%	1%	2%	4%
Population Density (sq mi)	4,977	4,585	4,505	4,460	4,438
Number of Tracts = 88					

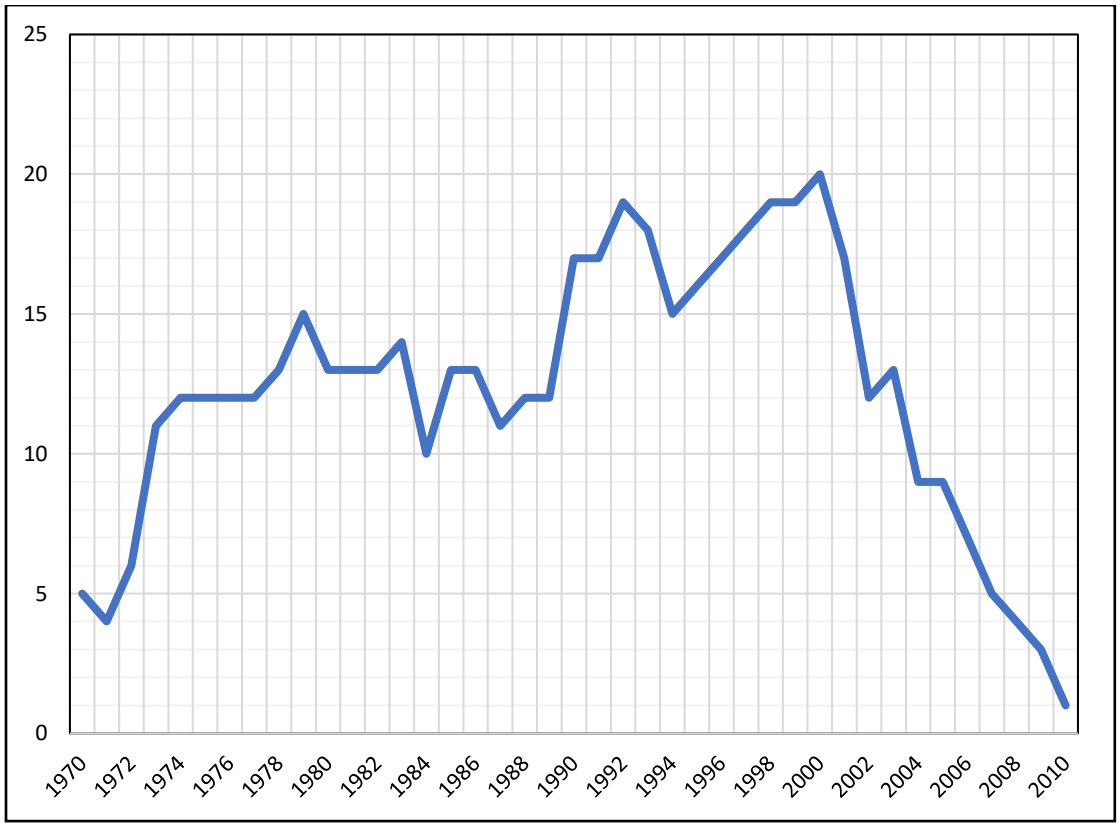
Source: Longitudinal Tract Database (LTDB)

The City: Milwaukee County Census Tracts Within City Limits (Averages), 1970-2010

Measures	1970	1980	1990	2000	2010
Advantage Index	-0.228	-0.245	-0.267	-0.284	-0.267
Advantage Index Components					
Percent College Graduate	7%	12%	14%	18%	21%
Percent Female-Headed HH	8%	18%	25%	28%	30%
Percent of Professionals	17%	17%	20%	26%	28%
Unemployment	4%	8%	11%	11%	13%
Percent Poor	11%	15%	23%	23%	27%
Housing and Income Measures (2010 constant dollars)					
Median Income	$46,815	$41,976	$39,014	$40,634	$36,647
Median Rent	$589	$515	$584	$585	$611
Median Property Value	$92,027	$109,625	$85,881	$98,431	$139,429
Race/Ethnicity					
Percent White	81%	72%	61%	45%	37%
Percent Black	12%	22%	30%	39%	43%
Percent Hispanic	1%	4%	6%	11%	16%
Percent Asian	0%	0%	2%	3%	4%
Population Density (sq mi)	12,200	10,438	10,400	9,712	9,607
Number of Tracts = 209					

Source: Longitudinal Tract Database (LTDB)

APPENDIX D:
Line Graph of the Number of Record Stores Located in Malls by Year,
Milwaukee County (1970 – 2010)



Sources: Wright, Polk Milwaukee City Directories, Milwaukee Yellow Pages

Curriculum Vitae

Thomas Calkins
Department of Sociology
University of Wisconsin – Milwaukee
Bolton 776
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Milwaukee, WI 53201

Education

PHD **University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee**, Sociology (Spring 2018)
Dissertation: "Grooves in the Landscape: Vanished and Persistent Record Stores in the Post-Industrial City."

MA **University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee**, Sociology (Spring 2012)
Thesis: "The Wild Hunt for Omnivores: Socioeconomic Stratification and Taste in Music."

BA **University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee**, Sociology (Spring 2008)
Magna Cum Laude, with Honors in the Major

Dissertation Title: Grooves in the Landscape: Vanished and Persistent Record Stores in the Post-Industrial City.

Research and Teaching Interests

Quantitative Methods
Urban Sociology
Social Inequality
Sociology of Culture
Consumers/Consumption

Employment

Instructor
Sociology 101: Introduction to Sociology (online course) (Summer 2016 – Summer 2017)

Teaching Assistant
Sociology 982: Advanced Quantitative Analysis
with Nancy Mathiowetz, UW-Milwaukee (Fall 2014)

Sociology 261: Introduction to Statistical Thinking
with Aki Roberts, UW-Milwaukee (Spring 2013)
with Heeju Shin, UW-Milwaukee (Spring 2011, Fall 2012)
with Pat Rubio-Goldsmith, UW-Milwaukee (Fall 2011)

Research Assistant
The Cultural Authority of Science: Public Perceptions of Science in Society
with Gordon Gauchat (Summer 2014)

Muslim Milwaukee Project: 2013 Individual Survey data analysis
with Caroline Seymour-Jorn, Kristin Sziarto, Anna Mansson McGinty (Spring 2014 – Fall 2014)

Racial Disparities in Infant Mortality Rates
with Marcus Britton and Heeju Shin, UW-Milwaukee (Fall 2010 – Spring 2011)

Project Assistant
Sociology 101: Introduction to Sociology (online)
with Kent Redding, Jennifer Jordan, Thomas Moore, UW-Milwaukee (Summer 2012)

Other relevant work:
Colloquium Coordinator
Assisted with departmental job talks (Spring 2012- Spring 2013)

Survey Interviewer
Assisted with data collection at the Center for Urban Initiatives and Research (Summer 2014)

Fellowships and Awards
Fall 2013 - 2015 Advanced Opportunity (AOP) Fellowship
Fall 2012 - 2013 Chancellor's Graduate Student Award (CGSA)

Conference Presentations
2018. "Crossfading: The Living and Lost Record Stores of Milwaukee, Chicago and Detroit, 1970-2017." Sociology Department Graduate Student Colloquium, University of Wisconsin - Milwaukee.

2017. "Record Store Failure in Chicago, Milwaukee, and Detroit, 1970 – 2010." American Sociological Association Annual Meeting, Montreal.

2017. "Tracking Changes: The Survival and Loss of Chicago's Independent Record Stores, 1970-2010." Consumers and Consumption @ Yale Symposium, Yale University, New Haven.

2016. “Down on the Street: Detroit’s Shifting Record Store Landscape, 1970-2010.” Detroit Sound Conference III, Lawrence University, Detroit.

2014. “Stratification and Taste in Music in the US: Evidence from the 2012 Survey of Public Participation in the Arts.” American Sociological Association Annual Meeting, San Francisco.

2014. “Urban Social Space and the Continued Significance of Record Stores.” International Association for the Study of Popular Music, Erasmus University, Rotterdam, the Netherlands.

2013. “The Wild Hunt for Omnivores: Socioeconomic Stratification and Taste in Music.” Midwest Sociological Society, Chicago.

Publications

2017. “More Than Sound: Record Stores in Majority Black Neighborhoods in Chicago, Milwaukee, and Detroit, 1970 – 2010.” *City & Community.* (Invited to Resubmit)

Workshop Presentations

2016. “Shifting Record Store Landscape of Chicago, Detroit and Milwaukee, 1920-2010”. International Record Store Research Group Workshop, University of Southampton, UK, with meetings in London.

Professional Development

2015. US Census Bureau Data Access Tools Workshop, presented by Ryan Dolan, Data Dissemination Specialist, US Census.

2015. Writing a Data Management Plan, presented by Kristen Briney, Data Services Librarian, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee Libraries.

Professional Affiliation

American Sociological Association
2017-2018. Assistant Social Media and Communications Coordinator for the Consumers and Consumption section.

Research Software Skills

Stata, Excel, SPSS, SAS, ArcGIS, HLM, Pajek