

Arts, Place, and Advocacy Coalition: Policy Network of Creative Placemaking

DISSERTATION

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Wen Guo

Graduate Program in Arts Administration, Education and Policy

The Ohio State University

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Dissertation Committee:

Margaret J. Wyszomirski, Advisor
Skyler J. Cranmer
Shoshanah Goldberg-Miller
Max D. Woodworth

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Abstract

This dissertation studies Creative Placemaking (CPM) policy of the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) from a social network perspective. Bridging the literature in urban arts policy, theories of public policy process, and social network analysis, the dissertation is intended to analyze the socio-political dynamics of federal CPM policy at both federal and local level from a social network perspective.

At the federal level, the dissertation research focuses on explicating the multiple political intentions and coalition building strategies of the NEA by analyzing the hyperlink network patterns of national CPM partners. At the local level, the research aims to unlock the black box of power dynamics and policy process in the CPM-catalyzed arts-led community revitalization of Franklinton, a historic neighborhood at Columbus, OH.

Drawing from the Triple-Bottom Line theory, the analysis on the national CPM policy network discovers a set of coalition building strategies of the NEA driven by a virtuous value cycle of social equity, artistic innovation, and financial sustainability. The research tests a series of hypotheses on the outcome and network formation mechanism of the Franklinton project based on Advocacy Coalition Framework and Ecology of Game.

Integrating the statistical results and interview data analysis, the research discovers an inconsistent “theory of change” proposed by the CPM policy that federal policy values and the local practices and outcomes disconnect from one another.

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Vita

September 2005 Bao Ji High School

2008..... B.A. Journalism, Communication University
of China

2012..... M.A. Arts Administration and Policy, Ohio
State University

2015 to present Graduate Teaching Associate, Department
of Arts Administration, Education and
Policy, The Ohio State University

Publications

Guo, W., and Wyszomirski, M. J. (2018). Arts Entrepreneurship in China: Exploring the Professional Career Development Model for Chinese Emerging Western Classical Musicians. *The Journal of Arts Management, Law, and Society*, 1-15.

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Chapter 1: Introduction: A Snapshot of the Dissertation Research

This chapter introduces the dissertation research by giving a snapshot of each major component of the research. The first section introduces the specific content of Creative Placemaking (CPM), explaining the practice-driven nature of the research and the overarching research inquiries derived from field discourses of the CPM. The rest of the dissertation is divided into seven chapters except for the conclusion chapter. This chapter introduces the main ideas of each of the seven chapters according to their order in the dissertation. Thus, the second section of the chapter briefly introduces the discoveries from literature review and how the overarching research inquiries are boiled down into empirical research questions based on the theoretical framework built on network theories of public policy process. The third and fourth section introduces the research methodology and a summary of the research findings of the dissertation.

1.1 Introduction to the CPM and Research Motivation

1.1.1 Federal Arts Policy: Creative Placemaking

The whitepaper Creative Placemaking published by the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) in 2010 renewed and analyzed arts-led development and revitalization practices of the American cities in the past two decades. Following the whitepaper, the NEA initiated the Creative Placemaking policy with its *Our Town* program. Aligning with the place-based policy and social investment approach brought up by Whitehouse in

2009, the NEA promoted the concept of “Creative Placemaking” as a major American arts policy. The NEA defines the CPM as a process where

“Artists, arts organizations, and community development practitioners deliberately integrate arts and culture into community revitalization work - placing arts at the table with land-use, transportation, economic development, education, housing, infrastructure, and public safety strategies.” (NEA, 2019)

The CPM policy is carried out through partnership, grants, and research (Redaelli, 2016). The NEA introduced the CPM as an unprecedented cross-sectoral and cross-disciplinary partnership to leverage resources and coordinate actions. The partners include fifteen major foundations, six national banks, eight federal government agencies, and a large number of national nonprofit organizations in the arts and development sector. The NEA and its partners distribute CPM-themed grants to catalyze local CPM practices. They also conduct research projects to investigate the implementation process, outcomes, and impact of the local programs for advancing knowledge, funding mechanism, and evaluative tools for the CPM.

The CPM policy is led by three national leaders: the NEA, an independent federal agency; ArtPlace America, a nonprofit consortium of national philanthropies founded and administered by previous senior staff members in the NEA as an arms-length organization of the NEA; The Kresge Foundation, an important private funder for American arts and cultural organizations. The Kresge Foundation is the most active national CPM leader among all the foundation partners of the CPM policy. Since 2011, NEA has supported more than five hundred “Creative Placemaking” (CPM) projects have

been supported through the NEA's *Our Town* program and *Artplace America* across all 50 states, the District of Columbia, and Puerto Rico (NEA, 2015). The Kresge Foundation has transformed its arts funding strategy to a CPM approach which treats the arts and culture as critical component of comprehensive community development. This section specifies the content of the policy by introducing how each of the lead organizations implement the CPM policy.

The NEA funds the CPM projects via its *Our Town* program under the following two themes. The first theme *Arts Engagement, Cultural Planning, and Design Projects* only funds either a nonprofit organization with a three-year history of operation or a local government entity with matching grants ranging from twenty-five thousand dollars to two-hundred-thousand dollars, and subgranting is not allowed. The grant application must be at least co-led by a cultural nonprofit organization and a government agency, but other nonprofit or for-profit organizations are encouraged to be partners. The nonprofit organizations and local government cannot be state-level government agencies, state-designated entities, state higher education institutions, regional governments and entities, quasi-government organizations, regional planning organizations, or business improvement districts (NEA, 2017). The second theme *Build Knowledge About Creative Placemaking* support '...arts and design service organizations, industry, policy, or university organizations that provide technical assistance to those doing place-based work' (NEA, 2017) with matching grants ranging from twenty-five thousand dollars to a hundred thousand dollars. The NEA categorizes programs funded by *Our Town* into nine types based on content of these projects on its website: Asset mapping, community arts

engagement, community design, creative economy, cultural district planning, cultural facilities and spaces festivals and performances, public art and public space (NEA, 2018).

ArtPlace America has two funding channels for creative placemaking projects: National Placemaking Fund (NPF) and Community Development Investment (CPI). By the time the research was planned, the NPF funded various projects that integrated arts into the process of community development. A diversity of entities could receive the grants (arts and non-arts nonprofit organizations, businesses, government agencies, and individuals) as long as the project was a cross-sectoral and arts-relevant projects tied to aspects of community development. The CPI was a one-time grant that provided six place-based non-government organizations with three million dollars, technical assistance, opportunities of financial collaboration, as well as research and documentation to incorporate arts and culture strategies into their core work of community development.

The arts and culture are characterized as creative solutions to various social issues in the community development by ArtPlace America. The community development matrix of ArtPlace America (Figure 1) illustrates the possible interactions and collaborations between various sectors and community members encouraged by CPM policy. ArtPlace America categorizes its funded projects by social issues addressed by a collaboration between the arts and another field: agriculture and food, economic development, education and youth, environment and energy, health, housing, immigration, public safety, transportation, and workforce development (Artplace America, 2018).

	CIVIC, SOCIAL & FAITH	COMMERCIAL	GOVERNMENT	NONPROFIT	PHILANTHROPY
AGRICULTURE & FOOD					
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT					
EDUCATION & YOUTH					
ENVIRONMENT & ENERGY					
HEALTH					
HOUSING					
IMMIGRATION					
PUBLIC SAFETY					
TRANSPORTATION					
WORKFORCE DEVELOPMENT					

Figure 1 Community Development Matrix of ArtPlace America

In the past decade, the Kresge Foundation, as the national CPM leader, completely shifted its grantmaking approach to arts and cultural from supporting traditional arts and artists service organizations to a comprehensive community development approach. Their arts and cultural grants focus on funding cross-sectoral and cross-disciplinary projects that integrate arts and culture with community development and urban planning in economically distressed communities. The funding strategy of the Kresge Foundation emphasizes the role of arts and culture in enhancing equity in community development.

1.1.2. Introduction to Research Motivation and Inquiry

The all-encompassing terms, broad concepts, and the logic chain of the CPM imply difficulties for stakeholders in concocting a consensus view for outcome metrics. Nevertheless, the introduction to the three national CPM leaders and their programs

suggests that CPM is anchored in three general premises : instrumental value of the arts in generating positive economic and social outcomes in community development, arts as a vital service in cross-sectoral and cross-disciplinary partnership, and the CPM as an arts-led comprehensive approach to elevate equity and social justice in distressed communities. The three premises compose a theory of change of the NEA’s CPM policy: policy actors from different fields in community development can build a cross-sectoral and cross-disciplinary coalition with the belief in the instrumental value of the arts in community development. Incorporating the arts and culture in the different aspects of community development can positively enhance the outcomes of the CPM.

However, the CPM is criticized for the difficulty of capturing changes brought by the CPM policy due to the diverse characteristics of communities, their unequal starting points, distinctive community goals, as well as the needs for long-term commitment (Moss, 2012; Markusen, 2013, Webb, 2014). Both the NEA and ArtPlace America created their place-specific indicators to measure their project outcomes: the NEA arts and livability indicators and ArtPlace vibrancy indicators constructed by various aspects from large-scale national census data such as homeownership, length of residence, proportion of housing units owner-occupied, violent crime rate, median earnings of residents employed in arts-and-entertainment-related establishments among others.

The qualitative validation study conducted by the NEA with the support of Urban Institute found that most CPM initiatives in both urban and rural areas were quite interested in these indicators but had mixed views on the relevance of the proposed indicators to outcomes derived from CPM projects. The before-after effect of the CPM

grant can be observed but it is difficult to develop a causal link between the CPM funded project and the broader community outcomes indicators (Morley and Winkler, 2014). Meanwhile, the existing case studies on the CPM policy conducted by the NEA, ArtPlace America, and the Kresge Foundation are intended to capture mechanisms of change. However, most CPM program provide single-shot grants for local policy actors. The short funding period only allows for evaluation on narratives of the funded projects rather than long-term impact.

Despite the aforementioned aspects of change that can be measured by the census data, the change of relationship between people in a CPM-catalyzed community is also important given places are socially produced by social objects including the networks, structures, and relations of people and institutions (Lefebvre, 1991). Thus, cross-disciplinary and cross-sectoral partnership is not an approach the CPM proposed to achieve better community goals, it is a goal on its own that emphasizes the embeddedness of the arts community (both arts organizations and artists) in the various domains of public life in communities (Frenett, 2017). This is also the reason that the NEA expanded its national network by collaborating with sixty-nine national CPM partners in the arts, planning and development fields.

As mentioned earlier, assessing the outcomes and impact of the CPM is a challenge of the policy due to the difficulty of constructing valid outcome metrics and causal relations between CPM projects and community outcomes. However, the national partnership coordinated by the NEA and the local CPM partnership built through the CPM policy can be traced as observable evidences of the impact of the CPM policy.

Therefore, among the three essential themes of the CPM, the cross-sectoral and cross-disciplinary partnership provides a vantage point to understand the policy process of the CPM at both the federal and local level.

Policy network is formed in the policy process that "...includes a large number of public and private actors from different levels and functional areas of government and society" (Hecl, 1978, p. 12). What characterize a policy network is the loss of power center, the consistent battle over policy agendas, the alternative course of actions, and the increasing complexity of issues (Hecl, 1978). The emphasis of CPM policy on forging broad-based partnership across sectors, industries and levels of government implies its adoption of network governance for American cultural issues.

The CPM whitepaper uses a diagram (Markusen, 2010, p. 22) to illustrate the complexity of the CPM network and threats of possible conflicting agendas and operational norms/cultures of policy actors (Figure 2 Axes of Partnership for Creative Placemaking). In fact, it shares the similar problem with any other policy issues in the US federal system where policy responsibilities of government authorities are fragmented. When these authorities are brought together to solve a collective issue, the different or even conflicting priorities of these authorities will create inefficiency for problem-solving (Feiock, 2013). Interested individual policy actors, both governmental and non-governmental, who are involved in the policy issue voluntarily coordinate actions of multiple policy actors to mitigate the problems created by the collective actions of these institutions. These voluntary actions of individual policy actors produce all kinds of self-

organizing mechanisms that influence policy processes critically (Bardach, 1998; Berardo and Scholz, 2010).

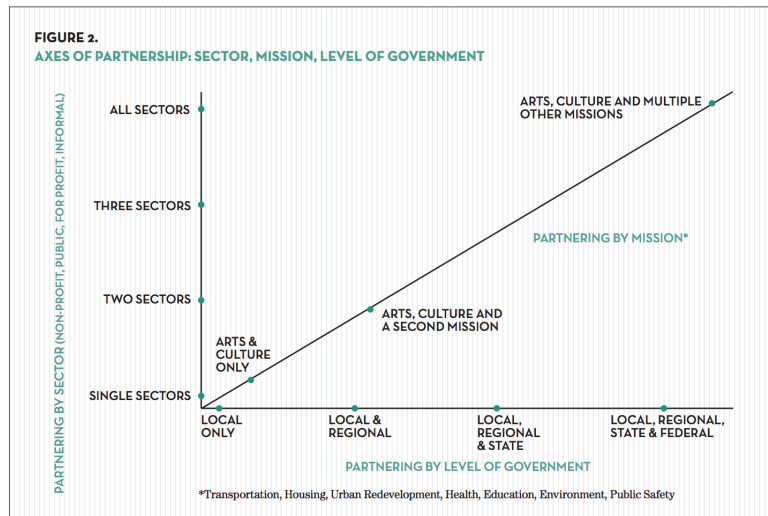


Figure 2 Axes of Partnership of Creative Placemaking

The dissertation research is intended to investigate the policy process of the CPM and the mechanism of its theory of change by looking into the dynamics of both the national network of CPM coalition members and a local CPM policy network. At the federal level, the NEA formed a national CPM partners' coalition network through its funding and research programs. The partnership includes government agencies, national arts service and advocacy organizations, consulting and research organizations in the planning and development field, foundations, and banks. The partnership network is not only organized for the CPM but also part of NEA's strategic plan towards a larger goal for American arts policy. Wyszomirski (2013) noted that triple-bottom-line of financial value, public value, and artistic value remains a dynamic and enduring policy value

system that drives the policy change of American arts policy and shapes standards for American cultural organizations. Therefore, the first research motive of the dissertation is to investigate the underlying cultural policy value system the NEA tries to build through the CPM and what coalition building strategies the NEA uses to promote and achieve the underlying value system.

At the local level, the CPM grants use application requirements to involve cross-disciplinary and cross-sectoral partnership for the funded local CPM projects. However, it should be noted that the CPM projects and their partners are embedded in the local social network and the goal of the partnership is to stimulate broader collaborations and civic participation across communities. The CPM project and their partners are embedded in the local social network. The embeddedness of the CPM policy in the local social network suggests that in order to understand the specific mechanism of the CPM's theory of change, it is not enough to only look at a funded CPM project and the partners who implement the project. A comprehensive understanding of the local policy process of the CPM requires a close-up investigation on how the CPM project and its partners influence a community as a part of the community development policy network.

In summary, the research is motivated by the current challenges of elucidating the theory of change in the current CPM policy practices and fostering cross-sectoral and cross-disciplinary network at both federal and local level. The federal partnership demonstrates the NEA's actions of opening new channels of communication and resource exchange. Understanding the strategical coalition building of the CPM goes beyond the all-encompassing CPM terms and stated goals to identify the fundamental values and

political intentions of the NEA. Unpacking a local CPM case from a structural perspective, one can look into how the assumptions, values, and goals of the CPM policy is played out by the CPM project embedded in the social and political conjuncture of local development process.

Driven by the practical concerns of the CPM policy, the research is interested in understanding the policy process of the CPM from a network perspective with four overarching inquiries:

- 1) What are the political intentions and coalition building strategies of the NEA?
- 2) How is power exercised in the local CPM-catalyzed community development?
- 3) What mechanism can explain CPM policy outcomes in local communities?
- 4) What drives collaborations in the CPM-catalyzed community development?

1.2 Introduction to Literature Review and Research Questions

Based on the four overarching research inquiries, I conducted literature review on three schools of publications: 1) Urban cultural economy and urban development politics; 2) Social Network Analysis; 3) Public policy and administration. The literature review on urban cultural economy and urban development politics suggests a key research gap in the field of cultural policy and arts administration: The concept of “social network” is rarely studied through an empirical approach to understand how policy actors and their relationship paly out in urban creative economy, arts policy, and development politics. The review on social network analysis (SNA) introduces intellectual history, basic assumptions, concepts and theories of social network analysis, preparing the readers with the theoretical scope and analytical techniques used in the later chapters of the

dissertation research. The review on literature of public policy and administration introduces the recent development of the emerging network theory of public policy and public administration, offering concepts and theoretical hypotheses of the Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF) and Ecology of Game (EG) as the theoretical ground for the dissertation research.

Based on the literature review, the four overarching research inquiries are boiled down to a series of research questions that can be studied empirically:

- 1) What are the political intentions and coalition building strategies of the NEA?
 - a. What policy actors make up the national CPM policy network?
 - b. What is the nature of policy network?
 - c. How does the policy network manifest the coalition building strategies of the NEA?
 - d. What does the NEA want to achieve with the network?
- 2) How is power exercised in local CPM-catalyzed community development?
 - a. What policy actors make up a local network of the CPM-catalyzed community development where policy coalitions are formed to influence policy?
 - b. What coalitions does the local network of the CPM-catalyzed community development include?
 - c. How does the local network structure manifest the socio-political relationship of the different policy coalition?

- d. How do policy entrepreneurs strategically lead competing sub-coalitions to influence the CPM-catalyzed community development?
- 3) What mechanism can explain CPM policy outcomes in a local community?
- a. Drawing from the ACF and the EG theoretical frameworks, how do actor-level social capital, policy beliefs, and policy learning influence the performance of policy actors in a CPM catalyzed urban development network respectively?
 - b. How does the arts community, particularly the artists, contribute to achieving goals of the CPM in community development?
 - c. What's the policy implication of the influencers to the CPM policy?
- 4) What drives collaborations in the CPM-catalyzed community development?
- a. What type of network-level social capital drives the formation of the policy actor and how does the social capital influence the overall collaborative culture of the community development?
 - b. How do policy beliefs corresponding to the federal and local CPM goals drive the formation of the local CPM-catalyzed policy network?
 - c. How do policy learning and risk perception of the external environment of individual policy actors drive the formation of the policy actor?
 - d. What is the level of value and goal congruence between the federal CPM policy and the local CPM-catalyzed development? How does the situation influence the implementation and “success” of the CPM?

1.3 Introduction to Research Methodology and Case Context

This section introduces the research methodology of the dissertation briefly and gives a rich description to the geographic, historic, and social context of the selected local case for the research.

1.3.1 Research Methodology

The research used a mixed-method approach that combines quantitative social network analysis and qualitative content analysis for data analysis. At the federal level, the policy network of the national CPM partners is constructed by hyperlinks of policy actors involved in the partnership. At the local level, the research conducts a case study on a CPM-catalyzed community development project in Franklinton, a neighborhood at the urban center of Columbus, OH.

To construct the network, I interviewed and surveyed policy actors through a snowball-sampling technique, generating a local CPM policy network with seventy policy actors who are active policy actors who represent organizational and individual entities involved in the process of Franklinton creative revitalization at Columbus, OH. These policy actors include administrative staff members or leaders of relevant nonprofits or business organizations, government officials, artists, and politically active individual citizens involved in the Franklinton creative revitalization project in Columbus, OH. Two levels of analysis are carried out for the local case. The investigation of the policy outcome is analyzed at the nodal level, using bonding and bridging social capital measured by network statistics of individual nodes. The examination of the network

formation is executed by taking the dominant network-level structural configurations as measures of driving social capital of the network.

Statistical analysis is performed on both local and federal social network data. Except for the basic descriptive social network statistics, the research also uses social influence model and Exponential Random Graph Model (ERGM) to test proposed hypotheses. The application and specifications of sampling method, process of data collection, justification of case selection, and statistical models are explained in chapter four.

1.3.2 Case Context: Franklinton, Columbus, OH

Compared to other large Rust Belt Cities in Northeast and Midwest, Columbus has not been deeply troubled by economic recessions, since most factories moved out of downtown Columbus after the Great Flood in 1913. The downtown Columbus had transitioned to office space gradually after the flood and evolved into the current post-industrial image with mid to high-rise buildings even before the city approved the de-industrialization plan in early 1920s. Some scholars attribute the economic resilience of the city to its annexation policy, meaning adding new lands to the city and providing water and sewage service to these suburbs (Upper Arlington, Bexely, Grandview, Worthington, and Westerville) annexed to the city as considerable tax revenue resources since 1950s (Jonas, 1991; Cox, 2010). The annexation policy resulted in two-thirds of the central county's total population residing in metropolitan Columbus, which is unusual among American cities (Cox, 2010). The annexation policy successfully prevented the city from being strangled by other suburban communities while the extended

infrastructure and service provided by the policy encouraged people flocking to the planned and invested suburbs.

Since early 2000s, the focus of development shifted back to the center of Columbus when Mayor Coleman introduced “Pay as you Grow” to transfer infrastructure costs associated with adding annexed lands to developers and residents in order to halt the aggressive annexation maintained as a standard operation of Columbus in the past 50 years. Based on the structural regionalism through proactive annexation, the City of Columbus gained more leveraging power to control urban development consistent with the city’s interest in growth (Jonas, 1991). The metropolitan structure of Columbus is usually conceptualized by geographers as multiple-centered or multiple nuclei. The development ambition of the City of Columbus was shift to its downtown only in the recent decade. The downtown Columbus development is a reorganization and integration of the influence brought by historical city development plans from 1908 to 2002 and community-based development projects surrounding downtown Columbus.

The Franklinton community was founded by Lucas Sullivant in 1791 with predominantly white Appalachian descendants. It was originally designated as the state capital of Ohio until the city of Columbus was founded in 1812. In the second year of the designation, a flood damaged the Franklinton but Sullivant preserved the town. People in the neighborhood then gave it a nickname “the bottom” as it lies below the level of the Scioto River and Olentangy River. The Great Flood in 1913 razed the town and destroyed more than four thousand homes, which became a turning point of both Franklinton and Downtown Columbus. Franklinton and downtown Columbus had been prosperous

industrial districts due to their easy access to Scioto River as an important transportation resource until the Flood. Franklinton never recovered after the Flood and most factories moved out of Downtown Columbus. Now Franklinton is the most impoverished neighborhood where two thirds residents do not have a high school diploma and the annual average household income is less than \$16,000.

The Scioto River, recurrent flooding, and the later building of interstate highway SR 315 that eliminated the Sandusky Street set the boundary between downtown Columbus and Franklinton neighborhood, which makes Franklinton as geographically bounded community without mobility and access to resource, which led to social isolation of people from the rest of the city. The location and social status of the community then became an interesting paradox, in the words of *The Atlantic*, the magazine, that the poorest part of the city has the best view of the city skyline (Tierney, 2014).

Columbus has had five culture-led urban development projects: a successful renewal project of historical German Village and Brewery District developed in the 1960s, Short North Arts District developed since 1980s, and historical King Lincoln District redeveloped since 2001 as African American community, sports culture oriented Arena District developed by Wexner family since 1980s, and the East Franklinton revitalization project since 2010. The Franklinton community is the only community located at the Scioto Peninsula on the west side of the Scioto River, gazing at Downtown Columbus on the other side where the other four projects are located. Being ten-minute walking distance from downtown Columbus, the 200-acre community is bounded by SR

315 on the west and Scioto River on the south. Built on the west side of the Scioto Peninsula, this community was plagued by floods. It became the poorest part of the city after the devastating flood in 1913 and has never truly recovered since then.

Over ninety percent of the housing units are rental properties and approximately forty percent of the residents do not have a high school diploma. The socioeconomic vulnerability index of Columbus Public Health ranks Franklinton residents among ‘the most socioeconomic vulnerable and susceptible to poor health outcomes in Columbus’ (City of Columbus, 2012, p. 13). Although, the Community Reinvestment Act passed during the civil rights movement empowered nonprofit organizations to revitalize inner-city communities with the support of banks, the revitalization plan was still very difficult to carry out due to the building restrictions issued by the city to prevent more buildings from being destroyed in this floodplain (Sweeney, 2014).

The city of Columbus and the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers built a floodwall along the Scioto River to protect Franklinton from future flood in 1993. The completion of the floodwall in 2003 is the critical initial condition for the later revitalization project. The development of this area started since 1993 led by Franklinton Development Association (FDA) formed after the announcement of the floodwall project. West Edge Business Center (WEBC) established by the completion of the floodwall project introduced more business investment and created more jobs in this area. The property value of both East and West Franklinton has been rising steadily since 2002 even in the years of the national financial crisis.

With more investment projects going into downtown Columbus since the issue of Downtown Business Plan in 2002 and the release of 2010 Downtown Columbus Strategic Plan, the community has the potential to be connected to the resources such as Mt. Carmel Hospital, COSI, and the Franklinton County Veterans Memorial adjacent to it, as well as downtown Columbus, Brewery District, historic neighborhoods like German Village and Victorian Village, the main campus of OSU, and King Lincoln Art District, etc. on the other side of the river. The plan proposed an arts-led development project for the community based on the trendy theory of ‘creative class’ to attract creative workforce to revive the community with strategies to mitigate potential gentrification problems. The city believes that the beauty of the East Franklinton area is that there are fewer than 50 houses in the industrial East Franklinton and developments were planned for vacant buildings and lots, so displacement of existing residents in the community should not be an issue. Besides, Franklinton community is also an indigent urban community with predominantly white low-income Appalachian-descended residents, which is a rare case of poor whites in concentrated poverty, which makes the neighborhood a unique and rich case for research.

Before the release of the official revitalization plan of the East Franklinton community, a bottom-up force of artists led by Jim Sweeney, who was the director of Franklinton Development Association (FDA) and Chris Sherman, who has been the manager of 400 West Rich invested by a Los Angeles-based entrepreneur Lance Robbins later, established the earliest arts network Franklinton Art District (FAD) in the community and initiated the signature annual two-day music and arts festival named

Urban Scrawl. The support of FDA and the emerging creative vibe have attracted many businesses to stay in the community. 400 West Rich was founded in 2011 and it was the first organization established in the community to provide (co)working and demonstration space for artists. In 2014, the world's biggest makerspace Idea Foundry moved into the neighborhood with the grant of ArtPlace America obtained by FDA. Meanwhile, two other arts nonprofit organizations: the Columbus Harmony Project, a community arts organization, and Glass Axis, a non-profit glass studio, received state capital improvement grants to renovate two buildings in the neighborhood to house their organizations. Although, the expansion of community network was not secured by the CPM grant of ArtPlace America, the flexibility of the grant, as argued in the previous section of response, allows for-profit organizations and other creative businesses that are inclined to choose the for-profit status to be part of the CPM policy, which led to network expansion of the local CPM project.

In the case of Idea Foundry, it expands its network with large for-profit companies for corporate sponsorship such as Nationwide (insurance), Taivara (technology and software), VSP Global (eye wear company), and Cardinal Health (health service and products). Most importantly, it fosters networking activities between the tenants to create clustering effect as a hub for small business owners and entrepreneurs who are artists, craftsmen, engineers, technicians, etc. Among about four hundred members of Idea Foundry, half of them claimed themselves as small business owners with registered business status of different kinds, although only forty-two small businesses physically work in the offices within the building of Columbus Idea Foundry

(CIF). These small businesses and entrepreneurs share and exchange their resources and information formally or informally in the process of sharing space, resources, information, and infrastructures provided by the organization to form a small-scale creative cluster.

Under the roof of the CIF, people of diverse businesses can connect to people who need their skills or innovation collaborators in similar or different fields. Some members rent space within the building of Idea Foundry but many of them are actually not physically located in the community. These members expand the network of the organization beyond the geographic boundary of the neighborhood. The network is not only expanded within the community but also throughout the Columbus area with a strong focus on cultivating entrepreneurship, resource sharing, and interdisciplinary collaboration. The Idea Foundry is a key creative place of the community that facilitates the success of self-supported artists and entrepreneurs, which fits the goal of government fostered concept of the CPM that makes ‘creative places incubators of arts and cultural enterprises. The proposed research will investigate the components and mechanism of the network in detail.

The revitalization plan was released by the city government of Columbus with strong commitment of Mayor Coleman and the city council. The city government is the official leader of the revitalization plan which is also an integrated part of revitalization plan of downtown Columbus. However, the formation of the plan is based on the continuous efforts of FDA, entrepreneurs and artists who have invested in this

community. Franklinton and Columbus residents, artists, entrepreneurs, for-profit and non-profit enterprises also led the project from the bottom-up.

The Franklinton Art District (FAD) was initiated by the director of FDA and the manager of 400 West Rich reopening in the community later in 2007. They were the first wave of effort and leadership in the community to gather creative minds together in hope of enriching the lives of current residents and attracting new residents and visitors to the area. The future development of the community is essentially shaped by visions and performance of these organizations. The project plan and an online forum reported the process of a series of input meetings in detail. Unfortunately, the website of the forum has been removed. These meetings invited seven types of stakeholders constituted by Franklinton area commissioners, neighborhood stakeholders, major property owners, city-wide creative class representatives, urban design stakeholders, and arts institution representatives. The types of representatives are expected to be participants of the CPM policy. Specificities about the constituents of these groups are needed to reach conclusions about the breadth, diversity, and power of the groups.

Short North Arts District, King Lincoln district, and Franklinton neighborhoods are all parts of the regeneration of downtown Columbus. The intervention of city government expedited the transition of Short North from a naturally occurring art district to the “heart and soul of Columbus” where displacement happened at the same time. Thus, Short North became a case that people will refer to when discussing the future of Franklinton. The development of Franklinton started after the finish of a floodwall in

2003 when the city imposed a boundary divided the community into east and west parts which did not exist originally in the perception of local residents.

The east part of the community where the thriving arts and cultural scene is happening was almost vacant space and abandoned buildings without residents and most business left the west part of the community after the flood-plain regulation. The thriving arts scene happens in the east part of the community and more than 150 businesses have moved to the west part since early 2000s. The West Franklinton development plan approved in 2017 focuses on building mixed-used community with affordable housing for existing thirty-six thousand residents with more than sixty percent whites.

The history of Columbus urban development and arts-led development projects above manifests the flow of creativity between locales and scales, which connects the local creative development in the Franklinton to the global networks of arts, cultural, social and political activities. Creativity emerges as clusters in urban development practice. However, they are not bounded in a certain location due to the mobility of people and their dynamic social relations built across geographic boundaries. The encountering and interplay of arts and creativity, urban development, and space within the boundary of Columbus and the Franklinton is a salient and dramatic moment of “time-space compression” (Massey, 2013) when the underlying transient, fluid and open engagements of creativity in the form of capital accumulation through the changing structure of social relations (Edensor and Golubchikov, 2016). The dissertation research on the Franklinton CPM-catalyzed policy network focuses on the social space of Franklinton development as a part of Columbus downtown development and how the

interplay of network politics and geographic space produce a new Franklinton labelled as a “creative place”.

1.4 Research Findings

Integrating the research finding through the research, I argue that the proposed theory of change of the federal CPM policy is a result of the NEA’s efforts of linking the arts policy to other mainstream policy domains. However, it fails to connect the policy value of the NEA, the goals of the CPM, and local implementation of the CPM projects in many ways. First, the NEA intended to elevate the narrow arts policy to the scale of cultural policy that bridges the aesthetic creativity and collective ways of life. The NEA manages a national policy coalition network advocating CPM through a set of strategies built on its intention to reframe its policy value system to allow public value, artistic value, and financial value to feed one another. Second, the Franklinton case demonstrates the possible mechanism that explains policy outcomes at the individual level and the formation of local CPM-catalyzed network at the network level.

At the nodal level, the actor-level financial outcome is a function of both nodal-level bonding and bridging social capital, policy belief in arts instrumentalism and local arts impact, and social policy learning. The actor-level service innovation outcome is a function of nodal level bonding social capital, policy-core belief in arts instrumentalism, and social learning. The actor-level community engagement outcome is a function of nodal level bonding capital and bridging capital, policy-core belief in arts instrumentalism, and social learning. In general, the arts instrumentalism has a positive impact on actor-level performance in the three aspects of outcomes, local arts impact only

positively influences their financial health but the knowledge on the creative placemaking does not significantly influence service innovation and community engagement.

At the network level, bonding social capital, policy belief in arts community development through arts organizations, policy learning, the homophily effect of local policy preference on development equity and balanced Franklinton development, belief homophily in Downtown Columbus development, and risk perception of the external changes have statistically positive impact on Franklinton policy network formation while the policy belief homophily in balanced Franklinton development and risk assessment on financial challenges negatively influence the formation of Franklinton policy network with statistical significance.

On the basis of the statistical results, I argue that the positive social and economic impact of the arts (arts instrumentalism) are perceived important to all the three dimensions of actor-level policy outcomes. Though, the impact of the belief in the influence of local arts community is only limited to the financial outcome of individual policy actors. However, the all-encompassing “instrumentalism” hardly motivate connections and partnership of policy actors while the belief in development equity through community engagement does play a significant role.

With respect to coalitions, the results of secondary policy belief the belief preferences in development equity and balanced Franklinton development play a significant role in forming the Franklinton CPM-catalyzed policy network. However, the significant heterophily effect of policy actors believing in the balanced Franklinton development suggest that the group of policy actors do not form a well-coordinated

coalition to realize their shared goal of balancing economic growth and equity. The external policy change motivates policy actors to be more socially active in order to make influence while the economic risk leads to cautious moves in network building activities.

In terms of network structure, both bonding and bridging structure are critical to the performance of individual policy actors in the network controlling for homophily effect of policy actors with geographic and institutional proximity. At the network level, only bonding social capital based on reciprocity drives the formation of Franklinton CPM-catalyzed policy network, indicating the development is considered a project involving high risks to individual policy actors. Besides, the significance of reciprocal relationship rather than transitive clustering shows that the connections between Franklinton policy actors are mainly transactional. The statistically significant reciprocity-based bonding capital and the insignificant bridging capital imply that the policy actors in Franklinton do not have the intention to implement large-scale partnership that requires high-level of trust among multiple policy actors and coordination work that bridging policy actors of different kinds.

Drawing evidence from observations in the statistical results, interview data, and document analysis at both federal and local level, I conclude that arts organizations do not play a significant role in catalyzing economy and advocating for development equity in Franklinton though the policy actors tend to believe that arts organizations do better than artists in terms of advancing development equity. With little intention to influence policy in the development process, most artists are complicit in the Franklinton

development process as part of an arts-themed co-working space invested by a California developer.

Most arts organizations moved into the neighborhood very recently without much economic and social impact. The CPM grant in Franklinton is sidetracked by the co-optation of resources of the local development coalition that introduces a science-technology focused for-profit co-working space to the neighborhood. The arts community is not empowered by the incentive to lead significant change at the level of perception, behaviors or policy, though a few individual artists used their artwork to address the social reality and equity issues in the development. Some creatives, artists, and the co-working space of developers actively work with local civic and social agencies in the neighborhood. However, their attempt to engage and help disadvantaged populations in west Franklinton does not seem to be well-received by those residents.

Referring to the definitions, goals, and implications of the CPM policy proposed by the national CPM policy actors, the Franklinton case shows the missing links in the theory of change of the CPM policy which result in the possible migration of the CPM policy at the local level:

- 1) The CPM assumes that arts community have strong leadership intention and leadership capacity for making social change in community. However, the structural patterns of the arts community and the interview data do not bear the assumption. It also ignores the critical nature of the arts community, particularly artists who are often remain suspicious and resistant to any forms of institutions (Lorey, 2009). Even though the arts community is critical to

potential equity issues generated by development, their positions cannot be assumed representative of the disadvantaged populations in communities.

- 2) In comparison with the long time needed for organic and equitable community development, the one-shot game supported by the CPM grants can barely cultivate arts leadership for existing disadvantaged communities. The success of one-shot game requires high-level of goal congruence between federal agencies and local policy actors (Terman et al., 2016). Without strong local leadership assured to be accountable to the NEA's goals, the outcome is difficult to predict.
- 3) The broad term of "creative" is inclusive to attract partners of different kinds to leverage resources. However, it is not clear and focused enough to empower arts organizations and artists to lead in the complicated development policy system with competing policy agendas. However, the Franklinton case shows that the blurring concept of "creative" and "placemaking" is almost an invitation to more entrepreneurial science and technology actors and the trending co-working space development. The agenda and goals of the NEA can be easily diverted by the predominant development force at the local level.
- 4) The research finds great potential for conversations on the overlapping areas and integration of social entrepreneurship and arts entrepreneurship in Franklinton revitalization, though resource insufficiency and entrepreneurial leadership is required to sustain, expand, and deepen such partnership.

5) Finally, the research find that arts and culture of the disadvantaged residents is grounded in the daily craftsmanship and skills. The discrepancy between the arts and culture connotated by the NEA, the creative activities supported by the CPM grant, and the residents' perceptions of arts and culture demonstrate that more in-depth critical conversations on the social reality and cultural life of disadvantaged communities is needed to inform the reimagined "creative place" by the NEA's cultural policy.

Chapter 2 Review of the Literature

2.1 “Creative Placemaking” in the Discourse of Creative Economy/City Studies

As a federal policy with a history of less than ten years, much knowledge has been developed around this concept from both practitioners and academic researchers. Although these studies have not reached a consensus on how this concept is different from existing concepts, such as creative economy, creative city, or creative class, etc. Arts-led (re)development are studied under two underlying narratives that direct different types of creative city policies and development strategies: cultural economy that takes creative and cultural industries as the central part of ‘knowledge economy’; cultural amenities that enhance city image and attract investment, tourists, creative labors (Grodach et al., 2017). Teasing out the two narratives in the previous scholarship of arts-led (re)development helps us understand how the underlying assumptions and practices of “creative placemaking” shed lights on the theoretical development of arts-led urban development, though it is still too early to render any generalized arguments or findings for the CPM.

The production-oriented narrative primarily focuses on the production chain with an ensemble of culturally essential and non-culturally essential industries. These industries provide service outputs (e.g., motion pictures, gaming, recorded music,

advertising, or museums) and manufactured products (e.g., fashion clothing, or jewelry) that cater to consumers' demands for entertainment, information, edification as well as consumers' construction of distinctive forms of social display and self-affirmation (Scott, 2004, p. 462; Pratt, 2008) through commercial exchange of intellectual property (Howkins, 2002, Flew, 2011). Creative industries only constitute a moderate proportion of national economy and contribute a substantial number of jobs and incomes (Scott, 2004). In the United States, for-profit creative industries, nonprofit cultural and service institutions of various sizes, and individual artists and the emerging concept of arts entrepreneurs are considered important components in an interdependent ecosystem of creative economy (Markusen, 2011). Commercial entertainment industries, traditional subsidized arts, and amateur or community arts are considered as three parts of the single conceptual entity of creative industries (Wyszomirski, 2008; Cunningham, 2009, p. 4) that solely focuses on production and distribution of the arts rather than general information work (Americans for the Arts, 2008). They are overwhelmingly located at naturally occurring artists' neighborhoods/communities like SOHO in New York or industrial agglomerations like Hollywood in big cities that provide organic or reorganized organizational and geographic clusters where creative industries and their associated labor markets thrive based on the advantageous geographical form (Hall, 1998; Scott, 2004; Zukin and Braslow, 2011).

The consumption-oriented narrative is often associated with city-branding strategies that are meant to improve the visual image (Evans, 2003) or cultural amenities of cities to attract investment and tourists. The Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao is referred

to as a successful city-marketing campaign in attracting tourists and making attractive image for the region (Plaza and Haarich, 2015). Naturally occurring cultural districts like SOHO in New York City, 798 Contemporary Art District in Beijing, and Kreuzberg in Berlin (Goldberg-Miller, 2017, p. 122) where artists occupy cheap vacant buildings left by declining manufacturing industries inspired policy makers to fill vacant and historic buildings and areas in city hubs with artists' studios and mixed-used complex by providing policy incentives for developers (Grodach, et.al., 2017). Such developer-led arts-based branding projects are also considered as an invitation to gentrification of neighborhoods in cultural districts (Chapple and Jackson, 2010). In addition, this policy trend echoes with strong promotion of creative industry policy, exacerbating social and economic inequalities and reducing well-paid job opportunities built on manual skills in manufacturing industries in city cores (Gibson et al., 2015). In addition to the influence of rising force of mass media empowered by technological advancement, arts professionalization nurtured by cultural policy of the NEA during 20th century suppressed art-making as a daily *expressive form* by shifting the meaning of *arts participation* towards *arts appreciation* and *consumption* (Ivey, 2008). The emphasis on arts consumption reinforced the agenda of consumption-based urban economic development.

The creative class sits somewhere between two narratives. The creative class thesis essentially encourages cities to build cultural assets that appeal to cultural consumption demands of elites working in knowledge-intensive industries (Florida, 2004; Grodach et. al., 2017). In terms of production, it takes knowledge-based high-income jobs as the economic driver of cities. From a consumption perspective, it takes arts and

cultural workers and institutions as entities that provide an attractive lifestyle consumed by those knowledge workers with spending power. Early works of Florida (2002, 2004) argued for a people-centric planning approach for creative labors working in knowledge-intensive, particularly high-tech industries who are economic drivers of cities. The constituents of his creative class including a diversity of workers ranging from super-creative core- 'scientifically and technologically creative workers', bohemians- 'artistically creative workers', and 'creative professionals'- 'technicians, consultants, brokers, mediators, and organizational/management experts' (Krätke, 2010, p. 3). To attract the 'superc-reative core', cities need to advance cultural amenities for quality of life, to make universities to be magnet of talents, and to appeal their values and lifestyles to retain theses social elites (Florida, 2014).

Creative class theory is primarily criticized for the fuzzy and broad concept of 'creative' and 'creative class' (e.g., Peck, 2005; Markusen, 2006; Krätke, 2010) and its problematic causality between creative class and urban economic growth (e.g., Peck, 2005; Markusen, 2006; Pratt, 2008). In response to the strategies of creative industry and various city-branding approaches, cities make policy under the rationale of creative class that results in 'bifurcated and polarized' economy of highly skilled professionals working in the knowledge economy and often minority and immigrant workforce in the lower wage service industries (Grodach et al., 2017, p. 2). Furthermore, the life style and demographic characteristics of artists are quite different from those incorporated in 'supercreative core', so creative class thesis tends to generate policy that misunderstands the demands of artists and deprecates the value of culture, the arts community, and

working-class residents in low-income communities (Markusen, 2006). Although the evolving creative class thesis in recent years starts paying attention to the narratives of production and consumption of cultural goods, it owes a discussion on the duality of production/consumption replacing the dualism of production/consumption in relation to its spatial context. Creativity is a result of a spatialized innovation collectively produced and consumed by a diversity of participants ‘...linked together by the organization of production’ (Pratt, 2004, p. 118; Pratt, 2008).

As a continuation of the global cultural turn of economic and community development strategies (Miles, 2005; Nicodemus, 2013), CPM policy and research on CPM tend to be more cautious with questionable assumptions, unexpected consequences, and critiques on existing strategies and precedent strategies and cases of arts-led (re)development. CPM adaptively used the progressive concept of ‘placemaking’ known to the field of urban planning and design during the 60s and 70s to name its new urban agenda (Borrup, 2016). The idea of ‘placemaking’ became recognized by mainstream planning academic field after a systemic discussion in the 1995 book of Lynda Schneekloth and Robert Shibley, *Placemaking: The art and practice of building communities*. They promote the concept of placemaking to create a relationship between people in a place rather than people *to* a place, which emphasizes people’s control over places (Borrup, 2016). Of course, creative placemaking is not only about a participatory of planning. It brings the concept of “creative” and “place” back to the center of arts-led urban development, which allows us to contemplate the underlying assumptions we hold about “place” and extrinsic value of “art”.

Prioritizing place-based assets recognizes the historicity within the sense of place that a CPM project is going to make. Spatial forms of a place alter historical events and social relations embedded within the events which can reproduce the place in return (The history of Franklinton reviewed shortly clearly illustrates the inseparability of the idea). She contends that socially constituted spatiality present the political dynamics existing in time-space, which is similar to the view of Lefebvre on the social production of space. She made a further step of the social embeddedness by claiming that “space is created out of the vast intricacies, the incredible complexities, of the interlocking and non-interlocking, and the networks of relations at every scale from local to global” (p. 80). Besides, the inseparability of temporality and spatiality and complexity of social production of space also derive the duality of order and chaos of space represented by consistent spatial form directly socially caused and “unintended consequences” not directly socially caused respectively. I will explain how the characteristics of the key view guide the CPM policy practices below.

The CPM is intended to “employ cultural awareness and cultural differences as assets in the process of building vibrant, distinctive, diverse, and sustainable communities and economies” (Borup, 2016, p. 5). The CPM policy respects cultural and social diversity of people and places. Doreen Massey stated in her *Global Sense of Place* that people have multiple identities, so their different senses about one place construct multiple communities with internal structures of domination and subordination on which multiple relations between people and places at certain moments are built. Therefore, a unique sense of a place is a mixture of identities shaped by a diversity of people and the

constellation of relations among people and space, which projects a global sense of place in people's conception. Places then become moments in networks of social relations and perceptions constructed within or beyond a certain bounded geographical place where a pre-defined sense of place becomes less important (Massey, 2013). In terms of the theory of economic growth, the CPM policy focuses on fostering arts entrepreneurs who efficiently use local assets, which seems contradictory with the non-reductionist interpretation of space and the spirit of regionalism embraced by the CPM (Markusen, 2010). Nevertheless, if the social relations are not territorially based but as an object in a place ever in motion, then "place-based assets" does not necessarily mean people or physical objects spatially bounded but an exercise of network power resulted from the various kinds of socio-spatial embeddedness in the new economy instead of territorial power (Amin, 2004). Then, the CPM is to coordinate political relations that produce a place and being produced by the place.

Places are constituted by three interdependent levels produced by social activities during a finite historical period and united in the triad of the perceived, conceived and lived experience: representations of space (i.e. physical elements of space), spatial practices (i.e. everyday lived experience and discursive practices), and representational space (i.e. the institutions and systems within a physical space). The places and the production of places includes a variety of natural and social objects including the networks, structures, and relations through which materials and information can be transmitted and exchanged (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 73). Lefebvre's conceptualization of place penetrates the myth of arts-led urban development: using the creativity generated by arts

to reorganize the spatial relations between physical elements space, the social relations between human beings, the institutional configurations, or the relations between the triads of space towards the vitality and equality of communities socially, culturally and economically.

All the criticism on the existing practices of arts-led urban development and theories used to support them fall into the identification of problematic coordination of the spatial triads. For instance, early government strategies focus on used the arts to change the physical objects of a place to attract tourism and corporate investment with the physical determinism theory of “build it and they will come” (Vazquez, 2012). The aggregated presence of arts institutes and artists in city cores interrupted the unpleasant images of cities and altered the relations between people in places locally and globally. Zukin (1995) noted that the consumption of culture or arts “lift” people out of their everyday lives to enjoy “ritualized pleasure” (p. 1). Cities become a perceived space where the concentration of performing arts centers, museums, theaters, and galleries become representations of space that symbolizes the vitality of culture and middle-class consumerism. The changing physical objects in cities driven and facilitated by government policy reproduce the social objects of cities by using the representational space constructed by the arts to change spatial practices. With the colonization of elite social groups in cities, the “abstract space”, the space of bureaucratic politics (Lefebvre, 1991) is also reproduced to facilitate “the exercise of state power and the free flow of capital” as “homogeneous, instrumental, and ahistorical” (McCann, 1999, p. 164).

Leading scholars and practitioners of creative placemaking challenged the problematic assumptions of space and arts in existing arts-led urban development strategies and rendered their awareness into policy design and practices. The CPM policy discourse is highly influenced by the research of regional economist and policy scholar Ann Markusen who wrote the government whitepaper *Creative Placemaking*. She critiqued the theory of creative class for the simplified logic between the presence of creative class and the level of creativity of places and the contention that artists can attract high tech industries based on a series of her empirical studies (e.g., Markusen, 2006, 2008, 2013; Gilmore et al., 2006).

She distinguishes the spatial-social behaviors and impact of artists as well as the spatial distribution of their working and living from those of other constituents of creative class like scientists, engineers, managers, and lawyers, rejecting the grouping logic of the creative class. Artists create arts in a wide range of geographical locations across public and private sectors (Markusen, 2013). Moreover, they have been actively engaged in social and political issues in their neighborhoods for building a more inclusive, progressive, equitable, and advanced community (Markusen, 2006). Based on these findings, Our Town program and ArtPlace American fund all kinds of communities in the city and rural areas without geographical preferences. Artplace America funds both individual artists and small businesses that carry a social mission of making a difference in their communities.

Being aware of the representational space, the creative placemaking policy redefined the arts-led development funded by the NEA as an ongoing process that

“public, private, not-for-profit, and the community sector partner to strategically shape the physical and social character of a neighborhood, town, tribe, city, or region around arts and cultural activities” (Schupbach, 2012). The recognition of complex relations in redevelopment projects politicizes previous simplified imagination about societies harmonized by arts and culture. Based on Markusen’s findings on artists’ geographic distribution, the CPM policy encourages the arts community to take the social responsibility in different types of communities, which opposes to geographically unequal access to the arts as well as the assumption that some places have more culture than other places. Borrup (2016, p. 3) explicitly brought up the production of space a theoretical origin of “placemaking”, emphasizing the power of “...everyday lived experience including the cultures and stories of place – the ways people make space their own...” in creating an equilibrium of the spatial triads and generating social cohesion.

The CPM shifts the previous focus on altering physical objects (visual image and cultural infrastructure) of cities to reorganizing local social networks through which resources and information are transferred to make places. Different kinds of social actors have been parts of arts-led urban development strategy. However, the key issue that determines the outcome of such development is which group of actors control the development in practice and how they collectively act towards development goals. In the network of previous development practices, arts community and original community members are eventually pushed to be at the periphery position in the network as the handmaids of developers and government who are at the center of the network. As mentioned early on, both grants of the NEA and ArtPlace American have specific

requirements about partners and evaluation of projects they fund. These requirements is intended to encourage local arts community and community leaders to unleash the imaginative power of arts and produce a *social space* where equitable collective actions take place to solve critical issues of communities. However, we do not know if the limit amount of funding and the participation of arts community can really leverage the power dynamic of the governance network. It is unknown whether the partnership brought in by the NEA grant could ultimately benefit nonprofit arts organizations and disadvantaged residents so that everyone's "right to the city" is broadened eventually (Zukin and Braslow, 2011, as cited in Lefebvre, 1968).

2.2 The Roles of Arts Community in American Urban Policy History

The industrial expansion changed the social, spatial and institutional structures of the US fundamentally and impelled the formation of modern cities. From middle to late 19th century, American cities attracted a great number of venture capitalists, entrepreneurs, immigrant workers, artists and entertainers, which led to rapid growth of population, sizes, and wealth of American cities and the formation of mega cities in coastal regions. During the same period, the expanding upper-middle class in urban areas started investing in libraries, museums, concert halls, theaters, ballet companies, symphony orchestras, and botanical gardens, etc. Urban elites successfully transferred their economic privilege to cultural capital by institutionalizing high culture and classifying tastes of high and low to differentiate themselves from working class and solidify their preferred value systems and moral standards (DiMaggio, 1982). Besides, the public-private bargaining for the erection of the institutions created the unique system

of philanthropy and private support for the arts: cities were responsible for providing the land, construction, facility maintenance, and security while private donors operated the professional functions of these institutions and maintained their financial stability (Stewart, 2008). American modern cities became the true center of commercial activities, modern industries, political events, as well as the production of arts and culture.

The 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago gave rise to the urban pride in American culture. The finely designed waterways and promenades in accompany with the elegant architect of grand international exhibition halls located in the clean and safe lakefront park of the South Side Chicago created a Beaux-Arts vision, which led the City Beautiful Movement that upheld the European classical design principles in the American history of architecture (Stewart, 2008, p.106). Entering the Progressive Era from the end of 19th century to 1920s, the movement of social museums replacing patrons' museums built during the Gilded Age led by John Cotton Dana expanded the audience of libraries and museums, which was the starting point of democratization of culture and cultural institutions in the US (DiMaggio, 1991).

This movement of cultural democratization joined the City Beautiful Movement by revealing the connections between cultural institutions and local communities to municipal governments and urban middle class: libraries could be the cultural center of communities and museums; Libraries and other cultural institutions could increase social cohesion of a city and make the city a better place to live (Mattson, 2000). During the same period, the nation's first residential zoning ordinance in New York separated

residential and industrial activities and led the trend of building Art Deco skyscrapers across the country since 1920s.

Arts, cities, and government have evolving and intertwined relationships that synthetically reproduce the space of cities in different periods of American urban history. Arts had been playing an important role in shaping the geographic, social and political landscape of modern cities long before the arts-centered development strategies were on vogue. The arts community has been playing a seminal role in the evolution of American cities and developed an entangled relationship with the vicissitude of cities and American arts policy. However, the roles and impact of artists, arts organizations, the federal arts agency, and arts advocates on urban physical and cultural scenes are drastically different from each other in different periods of America history. In comparison with a simple historic review, this section chooses the arts community, arts organizations, artists, the NEA, and arts advocates as the vintage points to tease out the complicated relations between arts and urban development policy since 1930s when federal policy started inventing local urban policy issues.

2.2.1 The Encountering of City and Arts in the Realm of Federalism

By the end of 1920s, the population of many central cities in the US stopped growing and cities like New York, Chicago, Cincinnati, Atlanta, Philadelphia, and Buffalo, among many other cities experienced increasing physical deterioration of neighborhoods and the loss of commercial districts and population in their city cores. The Great Depression is also a tipping point of American urban decline and the following waves of urban revitalization in the past century. The Great Depression, the most severe

periodical crisis of capitalist economy in the 20th century, pushed city government, corporations, commercial and political elites to work together to prevent cities from further decline. The revival of American cities and the survival arts community met in the New Deal policy. A series of federal grants under New Deal policy of President Franklinton D. Roosevelt were invested in cities to renovate and renew infrastructures and buildings of inner cities, though the government investment to save cities were halted by the WWII later. The Great Depression led to the nation's first federal program, the Working Projects Administration program (WPA). Artists became a part of the first round of city redevelopment movement through Works Projects Administration (WPA) program that provided artists with job opportunities including creating mural painting and sculpture projects for public places to revive the image of cities and teaching in performing and education programs in schools to rejuvenate the spirit of cities in dismal (Stewart, 2008). The program was a prior instance of federal support for the arts as a government intervention, which directly validated the establishment of the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA).

While the Lincoln Center project of Robert Moses was finished, the bulldozer approach to urban renewal had fallen out of favor with the release *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* written by Jane Jacobs in 1961 (The Villager, 2016). Leaders of Civil Rights movement criticized such projects as an institutional discrimination on lower-income residents and reinforcement of racial/class segregation (Sutton, 2008). The "Model Cities" was a groundbreaking program created by the HUD in 1966 to integrate physical, economic, and social programs and encourage citizen participation (Thomas,

1997). This program did not only provide development funding but also grants for building community arts/cultural centers and arts/cultural/recreational programming in urban communities. Although the program was ended as a disappointment resulted from uneven distribution of inadequate resources, poor federal leadership, competing agendas and downplay of citizen participation at local level (Weber and Wallace, 2012), the arts and cultural grants indicated its early awareness of using arts and culture as a remedy for urban education problems (Eddy, 1970).

2.2.2 The Cooperation of Large Arts Organizations and Urban Development Initiatives

The WWII halted many New Deal programs and the decline of American urban cores was aggravated after the war. Returning soldiers from the WWII, low-income citizens, immigrants, and minority population who were deprived of jobs and educational opportunities by discriminatory economic and racial policies flocked into inner cities. Upper-middle class residents moved to suburban areas due to the fear of unsafe and dirty environment. The federal interest in redeveloping increasingly deteriorating urban areas after WWII simulated the second round of urban redevelopment movement to boost land values and anchor businesses and households in central cities while the local political structures of most cities were not able to support large-scale urban redevelopment projects (Beauregard, 2001; Gotham, 2001).

American suburbanization and redevelopment of urban areas happened with the facilitation of federal policies at the same time in big and highly industrialized cities. The passage of Title I of the Housing Act of 1949 and 1954 for urban slum clearance gave rise to urban renewal projects in American cities since the 1940s (Gotham, 2001). The

National Association of Real Estate Boards (NAREB) and its research agency the Urban Land Institute (ULI) took the lead to lobby for freeing urban land for private business development from 1930s to 1950s. Besides, a bundle of federal housing, tax and transportation policies such as the Federal Housing Agency (FHA) mortgage insurance, mortgage interest rate deduction, interstate highway system, etc. in favor of development in suburban areas reinforced the existing tendency of decentralization and deconcentration of white middle-class households as well as manufacturing industries and businesses (Jackson, 1975).

Instead of using government subsidy to renew slum neighborhoods or improve dilapidated housing for local poor minorities and working-class residents, urban renewal essentially became a process of property acquisition, slum clearance, and neighborhood displacement funded by federal grants but dominated by local real estate development coalition. These projects focused on attracting unsubsidized businesses and middle-upper class households through the improvement of urban image (Gotham, 2001). The passage of the Housing Acts gave backing to the building of Lincoln Center in New York and the Los Angeles Music Center as two phenomenal examples of American cities using flagship performing arts center to renew neighborhoods with a large number of low-income residents and businesses being displaced (Grodach and Loukaitou-Sideris, 2007). The erection of the Lincoln Center was a great gift for the arts community and became a prelude to the arts-led development urban revitalization strategies with performing arts space and museums in need of wealthy and well-educated donors as their major collaborators.

2.2.3 Resistant Power or Gentrifiers? Artists Living-Working Space

While the Lincoln Center project of Robert Moses was finished, the bulldozer approach to urban renewal had fallen out of favor with the release *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* written by Jane Jacobs in 1961 (The Villager, 2016). Moses's plan of having the Lower Manhattan Expressway cut across SoHo and Little Italy was dropped in 1962. Led by Jane Jacobs, artists and residents in the West Village formed the *Committee to Save the West Village* to act against another Moses's project to knock down and rebuild 14 blocks in the West Village. During the climax of the preservation movement, the old Jefferson Market Courthouse at W 10th St. was turned into a library in 1967 instead of being demolished. Artists started using vacant warehouse lofts in "South of Houston" (SOHO) illegally as living-working space at the same time, which eventually became legal in 1971 after a fierce conflict between SOHO artists and New York government over Moses's Lower Manhattan Expressway (LOMEX) that would uproot the entire neighborhood. This battle set stage for one of '...the first projects of adaptive reuse of industrial buildings for artistic and residential use' (Westbeth, 2017) initiated by the NEA and funded through J.M. Kaplan Fund, Inc. in 1965.

The Westbeth Artists Housing Development Corporation converted the vacant building of previous Bell Lab in the far West Village into an affordable work-live artist rental habitat. The project developed by J.M Kaplan with the support of the newly founded NEA was intended to support the arts inasmuch as it was intended to mitigate the tension between artists and development. However, it had never fulfilled its original promise as an arts incubator with affordable housing for emerging artists due to the

unexpected overall increase of working space rent for artists in New York (Trask, 2015). As an experiment to resolve the conflict between disadvantaged artists and powerful urban revitalization agencies, the NEA created Artists' Housing program as a subsidy to improve the living and working conditions of artists in many American cities.

Many planned and naturally occurring arts districts flourished around the US since the 60s, however, they ended up being gentrified like other original residents by exploitative developers and middle-class yuppies who pursued a 'loft lifestyle' (Zukin, 1989) in the following decades. Media reports and popular creative class theories coalesced to form a story that artists were saviors first saved rundown communities but eventually priced out by businesses without giving voices to urban working-class and ethnic minorities who previously resided in the neighborhoods but replaced by artists and following new middle-class residents (Makagon, 2000).

The story is a continuation of conflicts between residents, artists, developers and government that meant to protect original residents and unique artistic space from being pushed out by the invasion of homogenous commercial complex built by developers. However, artists were pictured as a sign of gentrification and unwelcoming gentrifiers in public opinions (Makagon, 2000). The transformative social change brought by community-based artists and small arts organizations have long been underappreciated and under supported.

2.2.4 Policy Entrepreneurship: The Institutionalization of Arts Policy and Its Urban Agenda

The cooperative federalism built through the New Deal built a complex system of American cultural policy through the establishment of the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA), the National Endowment for the Humanities, and the Corporation of Public Broadcasting (CPM). The NEA created regional/state/local arts councils as its arts policy pipeline for funding distribution, policy formulation, information delivery in the arts sector (Wyszomirski et al., 2000, 2014). The NEA also invested in building local arts infrastructure by funding a wide spectrum of activities including new arts venture creation, programming and production, performing space, technical and managerial service, research and innovation. Most chamber music groups, half of the museums, over 90 percent dance troops, and more than 85 percent opera companies with budgets over \$100,000 were created after the establishment of the NEA in 1965 (Wyszomirski et al., 2000). More than one third of member facilities in the Association of Performing Arts Presenters were built between the 1980 to 1993 (McCarthy et al. 2001).

Wyszomirski (2013) argued that the policy of the NEA is defined by a triple-bottom line of arts excellence, financial sustainability, and recognized public value. The changing social environment and institutionalization of American arts policy require the NEA to align its priorities with resources and powerful allies for its survival and maturation. The priority of making excellent art during 70s coalesced with the goals of local city governments and real estate developers. During 70s and early 80s, the NEA funded the building and renovation museums and performing arts centers designed famous architects. Its Arts in Public Place program also funded internationally known

contemporary visual artists to create installation or sculptures of large scale in more than 37 large metropolitan cities. For instance, James Rosati, Alexander Calder, Isamu Noguchi were commissioned to erect their sculptures in Wichita, Grand Rapids, and Seattle in 1971 (NEA, 1971, p. 77). These sculptures added unique characters to the built environment of these cities and became important public memories of residents and tourists in these cities. Guided by the urban entrepreneurship in “a framework of zero-sum inter-urban competition for resources, jobs, and capital” (Harvey, 1989, p. 5), cities started building flagship projects for in the next couple of decades as a branding strategy to boost local economy. These flagship projects were often conducted by big cities in their prime city areas along with spectacular events and promotional activities (Grodach and Loutaitou-Sideris, 2007). Cities with a population of 250,000 built 71 major cultural facilities including museums, theaters, performing arts centers, and galleries from 1985 to 2005.

Notwithstanding the contribution of federal subsidy through the NEA, cities competed with other cities and suburbs (Whitt, 1987; Strom, 2002; Grodach, 2007) to attract tourism and catalyze private sector investment by subsidizing flagship cultural/sports venues, water-front projects, convention centers, blockbuster events, and city promotional campaigns through local public-private partnership (Grodach, 2007; Sutton, 2008).

The NEA design program, (namely, Architecture, Planning and Design program, Architecture and Environment, etc.), was created since the establishment of NEA. Since the small and young agency was still “teetering on the brink of its ‘initial survival

threshold” (Wyszomirski, 1987, p. 207), the early version of this program was only funded to improve Federal architecture and design as well as academic research and design education.

As stated by Chairman Biddle in the 1978 NEA annual report (NEA, 1978, p. 2):

“But with the resources we have and are likely to have, we can’t minister properly to the needs of the arts, let alone the wider needs of the city or its neighborhoods. In short, it’s an instance where the problem is beyond our power to solve but not beyond our ability to provide intelligent help” (NEA, 1978, p. 2).

In early 70s, the theme of “livability” of the NEA design program converged with the view of emerging new environmentalism and new urbanism led by upper-middle class in need of higher quality of life. The NEA soon created many collaborative opportunities through its design program with newly founded but resourceful allies including Department of Transportation (DOT), Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), the Federal Home Loan Mortgage Corporation (FHLMC) supervised by Federal Home Loan Bank Board (FHLBB), and Environment Protection Agency (EPA). Partnering with these federal agencies through the NEA design grants empowered the impact of the NEA on the cultural landscape of cities in physical forms and opened a policy window for its impact on local urban planning issues. For instance, “Livable Cities” was a joint enterprise of the NEA and the HUD launched in 1978 when the Nixon

administration had consolidated hundreds of federal urban development programs into the Community Development Block Grant (CDBG) program.

The program guideline (NEA, 1978, p. 10) states:

“Under this program, nonprofit groups, particularly on the neighborhood level, will be encouraged to apply to HUD if their projects: (1) have "substantial artistic, cultural, historical, or design merit"; and (2) represent community initiatives having "a significant potential for conserving or revitalizing communities or neighborhoods, and for enhancing community or neighborhood identity and pride.”

In the 1978 NEA annual report, Chairman Biddle expressed his sound belief on the transformative power of the arts in changing communities and his thrills for the cooperative endeavor with 5 million dollars out of \$10 billion HUD budget (NEA, 1978, p. 2):

“That small speck is really a seed, however – one that can take root and become a permanent part of the development of our cities. It is also the first acknowledgement in law of the fact that the Endowment’s consultative role with another federal agency is to be of value.”

The NEA also funded and promoted the adaptive use of underutilized building through a series of city-themed NEA grants created for heritage preservation in

celebration of American bicentennial in 1974 and Challenge Grant created in 1976 to leverage private dollars contributed to the arts. The idea of renovating cultural facilities for urban economic development was initially promoted by NEA Chair Nancy Hanks in the United States Conference of Mayors in 1975. Following two NEA reports on the economic impact of arts in Baltimore and the whole country in 1977 and 1981 respectively, the Department of Commerce and the HUD among several other federal agencies collaborated and created programs for assisting cultural resources and arts-based community development (Strom and Cook, 2004). In collaboration with local planning agencies, historical preservation agencies, arts councils, and private funders, these NEA programs enabled many medium to small-sized emerging arts nonprofits to purchase abandoned historic buildings to house their organizations (Guo, 2015).

Since 1980s, the NEA design program gradually ceased its support for physical urban design projects and chose to provide funding for administrative and research service for overall design professions. Based on the broad network of urban planning and design built on previous funding activities, the NEA started off the Mayors' Institution for Urban Design (MICD) and Citizens' Institution on Rural Design (CIRD) in 1986 and 1991 respectively as a platform and resource hub that provide solutions and learning opportunities for urban and rural communities to meet challenges of community planning and design.

Art education was also a venue that NEA used to influence urban communities other than its design initiatives. The early Expansion Arts program had been used to support community-based arts activities, it still "maintained artistic excellence as its

cornerstone and began to establish cultural diversity as an aspect of that excellence” (Wyszomirski, 2013, p. 160). Since 1991, the NEA shift the geographic focus of the program to underserved communities at inner-city and rural areas with an emphasis on art education (NEA, 2000). In 1999, the NEA organized six regional summits to promote cultural tourism and connect the arts community with tourism industry (NEA, 2000). Entering the millennium, the NEA relaunched its partnership with HUD through an important pilot program, Creative Communities, funded by Challenge America, to provide grants for arts instruction to youth who lived in affordable housing (NEA, 2001). Meanwhile, the New Public Works initiative kept funding highest quality of design urban communities.

Since 2005, the positive economic impact of nonprofit arts became an important pitch and research focus of the NEA and arts advocacy groups again with richer arguments and evidences in the light of the burst of creative economy studies and cases around the world (NEA, 2005). Initiating the latest creative placemaking policy, the NEA combines the goals of its previous programs under the concept of creative placemaking and its programs to encourage all kinds of arts-centered and place-based projects that can catalyze economic development, stimulating enduring social changes, and advancing built environment in all types and sizes of urban and rural communities.

2.2.5 Celebrating and Questioning the Arts Advocacy Toolbox

The NEA did not only give rise to a handful of arts organizations but also a growing coalition of arts advocates for the NEA and the public supports for the arts. They advocate for beneficial legislations and public support for the arts and have a stake in the

policy forum of arts-led urban revitalization. Their choice of arguments to support public funding for the arts based on their knowledge on salience of policy issues and lobby experience with legislators have significantly influenced arts policy research, arts program evaluation, and consequently, the innovation of the NEA's grant-making. Essentially, arts advocates who are often constituencies of NEA are the local policy actors who are shaping the policy agenda of the NEA.

Academic and think tank research on cultural policy, arts administration, community development and creative economy provide strong intellectual support of arts advocacy activities. The NEA and its advocacy organizations have been conducting and distributing research and knowledge with favorable findings to obtain political support for arts funding at both federal, state, and local levels (Redaelli, 2016). Arts advocates also find academic research useful in providing theoretical arguments and empirical evidences for telling appealing stories of the arts as contributors of local economy to their legislators and city governors (Markusen and Gadawa, 2010).

The instrumental logic dominates the language and strategies of arts advocacy since the establishment of the NEA as a devotion to the Great Society (NEA, 1976). Although many impact studies suffer from problems of definitions, internal validity, and aggregation across research of different levels (Guetzkow 2002), they are still popular tools used by arts advocates to persuade their legislators and governors to increasing funding for the arts. The outcome and evidence driven policy evaluation process further encourages advocacy research to use economic indicators and create social impact indicators to demonstrate the utility of the arts. For instance, the largest arts advocacy

organization Americans for the Arts initiated the first study of its Arts and Economic Prosperity research series and Arts' National and Local Arts Index that provide data that depicts the economic and social characters of the arts. The Arts and Prosperity series uses data of nonprofit operational revenues, spending of individuals on arts, dining, and logging as well as the tax paid with the spending, namely, "multiplier effect", to measure the economic contribution of the arts (NEA, 2017). Western States Arts Federation also created and Urban Institute constructs a series of measurements respectively for community cultural vitality by using publicly available data like the National Center for Charitable Statistics U.S., Census Bureau's County Business Patterns, the Bureau of Labor Statistics and other recurrently public surveys and records of events (Urban Institute, 2006). The University of Pennsylvania has been conducting research on social and economic impact of the arts since 1994.

The impact of arts on individuals may be possible to capture through survey research and experiments, but its impact on a place constituted by complicated physical, social and cultural objects and relations can be extremely challenging. In 2012, the NEA formed an initiative to create a set of indicators to evaluate the outcomes of "creative placemaking" and also conducted a large-scale field research to collect opinions of local creative placemakers on those indicators. Local arts advocates soon discovered the outcome problem of creative placemaking. The NEA study (Morley and Winkler, 2014) suggests that most of *Our Town* grant receivers agreed that its indicators can successfully measure the livability dimensions of communities but they hardly be used as measurements for CPM outcomes in that the causal link between the indicators and the

CPM grant was difficult to build. Quantitative data are powerful tools for both arts advocacy and academic research. However, using those indicators to determine grant distribution and evaluation overlooked the complicated social and economic factors that influence a community and intrinsic values of the arts that cannot be manifested by vacancy rate, employment rate, education attainment, etc. in a short period of grant. As the worst-case scenario, arts and arts community could be marginalized and creative placemaking is nothing different from a development project that only benefits the developers and the wealthy (Moss, 2012).

Ann Gadawa Nicoedmus, a long-time arts administrator, consultant, and arts advocate who co-authored the Creative Placemaking whitepaper with Ann Markusen, said (Gadawa, 2012),

“...I see both dangers and opportunities in the amount of import placed on outcomes... First, I worry about managing expectations. It’s probably unreasonable to expect that a modest, one-year Our Town grant will move the needle, at least quickly. In my work evaluating the impacts of five art spaces in Reno, Seattle, Minneapolis, and St. Paul, the neighborhood transformations and benefits to in-house artists occurred over time horizons of ten to twenty years”.

The CPM evaluation research project altered the evaluation approach of the NEA to CPM project. Then, the NEA encourages its grantees to embrace a variety of approaches to develop their theories of change for expected community outcomes in the context of their communities. The purpose of an evaluation is not to create losers and winners but to facilitate the improvement of projects. The Validating Arts and Livability

Indicators (VALI) of the NEA is only a reference for the planning and implementation of the CPM projects. ArtPlace American adopts an approach of process evaluation that requires their grantees to report their progress, outcomes, and impact through blog entries. As the most important advocacy organizations, the National Assembly of State Arts Agencies and Americans for the Arts have gathered the existing research and resources to education arts policy constituencies about place-based arts strategies. Although the aggregated impact of the CPM to American cultural policy is still fully revealed, arts advocates have already enriched the conversation on the impact of the arts as well as the possible change of advocacy logic and rhetoric.

2.3 Social Network in the Studies of Creative Economy

Policy makers and scholars of various disciplines around the world have realized the important role of the arts and culture playing in shaping the economic and social characteristics of cities and communities for over a century (Markusen, 2013). A dramatically growing body of academic literature at the nexus of regional economy and urban geography, cultural policy and arts management, urban and regional planning, public policy and administration investigate a plethora of practices and policies that utilize arts and culture as an agent for various development goals at different geographical regions and scales in the past decade. Scholars with different epistemologies and research paradigm study a variety of phenomena of in the nexus of place, culture, economy, and public policy from distinctive analytical perspectives surrounding the concepts of ‘creative economy’, ‘creative city’, and ‘creative class’ initially invented as policy discourse by political institutions with their awareness of the revolutionary

changes of production and consumption led by knowledge. Creative Placemaking” adds a new variation to the collection of concepts with its materialization in substantive policies.

By reviewing a large number journal articles and books on this collections of concepts, the researcher identified threes research paradigms on arts-led urban development: 1) Theoretical discussion on the overarching patterns and fundamental grounds of creative and cultural economy from based on critical urban theories; 2) Empirical analysis of cultural policy and planning practices for the growth creative and cultural economy; 3) Critical examination of social and cultural politics in the context of creative and cultural economy. The following subsections discuss the concept of ‘network’ in each of the three branches of literature.

- i. The advent of knowledge economy in the post-industrial world have turned the term ‘cultural industry’ raised by Theodor Ardorno and Max Horkheimer in 1944 with a critical lens into a fact. The exploitation of information and knowledge became salient economic scene in both developed Anglo-American and European countries as well as developing countries in global south. Scholars represented by John Hawkins, Allen Scott, Lily Kong, Chris O’ Connor establish the most fundamental nomenclature of concepts and theories about the relation between culture, city, and economy based on the scholarly tradition of critical urban theories. They analyze the social and spatial patterns of creative and cultural industries including film, music, entertainment, media, arts districts, cultural tourism, design, and technology in big metropolitan cities like New York, Los Angeles, London, Singapore, Hong Kong, etc. and their resulted

social and economic inequities (e.g. Scott, 1999, 2000, 2004; Cunningham, 2002; Pratt, 2007, 2008a; Pratt and Jeffcut, 2009a; Hall, 2000; Gibson and Kong, 2005, Kong, et al., 2006; Keane, 2007; Kong and O'Connor, 2009; Gibson, 2012; Chang, 2009). These studies contribute to our understanding of the variety of arts-led strategies and relevant cultural policy by questioning and analyzing the fundamental values, assumptions, and rationales that result a certain policy praxis.

ii. Recognizing the economic phenomenon of creative and cultural industries as a fact, empirical economists, urban planners, and public policy scholars have been trying to fill in the gap between observed data and concrete government policy. They are interested in studying cultural policy and government-driven actions including the process, mechanism, and models of policy agenda setting, formulation, implementation, and evaluation through normative, quantitative, or qualitative analysis. The purpose of this type of research usually is to provide analytical tools, strategies, and knowledge for planning, public policy and public administrative decision-making (e.g. Florida, 2006; Stewart, 2008; Grodach, 2015; Raedelli, 2016; Wyszomirski, 2008; Wyszomirski, 2008 Goldberg-Miller, 2018; Markusen, 2010; Flew and Cunningham, 2010; Ponzini and Ross, 2010).

iii. Scholars in arts management and art education study patterns and cases of organizational behaviors and administrative practices in arts and culture-led development project from a management perspective. Their research is usually interested in enriching arts management/education theories and creating

useful knowledge and advice for practitioners from their analysis of organizational behaviors and relevant examples (e.g., Carey and Sutton, 2004; Fliegel, 2005; Quinn, 2006; Clover, 2007; Purcell, 2009; Cleveland, 2011; Borrup, 2006; Ashley, 2014; Grodach, et al., 2014).

Although the existing research study these concepts and their policy praxis with differing theoretical motivations and ideological preferences, their analysis all share a common premise that creative economy and the resulted resurgence of metropolis are operated within a plethora of social networks where conscious or unconscious information/ resource/power exchange within or across different geographical and institutional scales (e.g. Scott, 2004, 2010, 2014; Potts, et al., 2008; Kong et al., 2006; Comunian, 2011). To avoid a lengthy literature review caught up by unnecessary details of existing research, the review of cultural policy and creative economy studies by concentrating on how “social network” is discussed by represented studies and what gap needs to be addressed in future research.

At the side of production, Allen Scott (1998) proposed that the clustering effect of creative and cultural economic activities is a result of the preference of geographical proximity of creative producers. The preference of geographical proximity comes from the need of idea sharing, collaboration, and healthy competition among these creative producers. These interactions, the patterns/structure of the interactions, and the evolution of these interactions become an important type of social capital, a twin notion of social network (Scott, 2006, p. 4), that drives the local and global economy. As Colin (1998) argues that intellectual of arts and science who are embedded in a densely network of

other artists and scientists are more likely to be productive and successful than those who are isolated. Besides, McRobbie (2002) found that informal interpersonal networks built on trust and reciprocity is vital for creative workers without a formal career structure (Banks et al., 2000, p. 460) to manage risk and collaboration across different disciplines. Realizing the importance of understanding the function of network, many scholars have studied the network structure and operation on cases of a particular creative industry or creative scene and labors in certain locations in the manner of normative analysis (e.g. Krätke, 2002, Grabher, 2002; Ettliger, 2003 Lange, 2005, Comunian, 2008; Kong, 2006) or empirical social network data analysis (e.g. Currid-Halkett and Ravid, 2012; Rossman et al., 2006; Faulkner, 1987; Faulkner and Anderson, 1987; Cattani and Ferriani, 2008).

For example, in specifying the social network mechanics of players in New York market, Sharon Currid (2007) revealed how the informal and subtle ‘weak ties’ (a classical SNA concept created by Granovetter in 1972) between cultural workers create the vibrant cultural scene in New York that valorizes the arts in the cultural economy. Quantitatively, Faulkner and Anderson (1987) and Cattani and Ferriani (2008) focus on the micro-level network structures between cultural worker individuals to explicate the effect core/periphery social network position on the creative performance of individuals. Pushing the boundary of network thinking even further in its capacity of making sense of creative industry and creative city, Roberta Comunian (2010) identified a complicated and adaptive system of the creative city in the North East region of England by interviewing 135 creative practitioners. They criticized the creative city policy dilemma

created by an uncritical adoption of the oversimplified creative class theory. Although the article is no more than a descriptive application of the fundamental assumptions of creative class without specifying and analyzing its network data on an empirical basis, it still contributes an imperative perspective based on systematic and network thinking for future research on creative economy and relevant development policy.

Creative economy has always been discussed in the context of globalization in the sense of intensification of agglomeration in the large metropolitan areas around the world, continuing competitions between different cities, international partnership networks of big creative firms, and the bifurcated structure of a few big agglomerates and a great number of creative independents that support and transform the production and distribution of creative economy (Jeffcut and Pratt, 2002; Kong, 2005; Scott, 2006). Globalization changes the network structure of producers of creative and cultural goods immensely at both global and local level. For instance, the vertically disintegration of big agglomerates gave rise to the formation of horizontal networks between producers based on their “specialization” and “complementarity” to share the risks and improve the efficiency with independents outside its internal chains of operation (Scott, 2006, p. 5). As Pratt (2000, p. 14) argued that networks need not to be place-based, networks that traverse between places are important for Vancouver film industry to attain investment and distribution rights (Coe, 2000). Kong (2006) found that nested international, local and micro-local social networks are critical for the Hong Kong film industry and the Hong Kong government helps the its film industry to host film festivals, forums exhibitions internationally as social context where international collaboration may

happen. To both advanced and developing movie industries, the international collaboration usually brings them competitive advantage of diverse locals where clusters are without making concessions with the force of agglomeration (Scott, 2004).

The network effect is not limited within the global system of creative economy but also performs a salient role in the diffusion and adaptation of policy knowledge globally (Kong and Gibson, 2006). Cultural activities and a broader notion of creative economy have become an indispensable component of national and local economic development policy in many countries in Western Europe and North America. Many scholars have studied how the policy scripts and experiences are diffused, translated, (non)adopted between the different social, economic, and political contexts in different countries around the globe (Christopherson, 2004; Kong and Gibson, 2006; Prince, 2010; González, 2011). The diffusion and transfer of policy ideas is an inherent part of globalization and neoliberal policy agenda (Christopherson, 2004; Prince, 2010) that are further empowered by the fad of “evidence-based policy” (Clarence, 2002). This trend allows an uneven circulation of information and uneven power relations between those who are involved in the transfer process (Christopherson, 2004). The inequality and unevenness are also reflected at the local level politics of creative economy. Rozini and Rossi (2008) found that in local creative economy policy network of Baltimore, creative class policy is a political game of urban political elites who are benefitted most from it.

Zukin (1990) borrowed the concept of *spatial embeddedness* invented by Lefebvre to analyze the cultural consumption and production as a relational object in urban space. She connected social and spatial behaviors within cultural production and

consumption as a complete meaning-making process. She constructed a cultural capital circuit made up of smaller and specialized circuits that join investment in physical infrastructure. The social interactions taking place in the physical space produced a socio-spatial complex that reproduce the cultural capital circuit, which elucidates underlying dynamics of localization service economy, domination of businesses, and gentrification (p. 48). The socio-spatial structure of cultural capital circuit rejected the *atomization* of social actors originated from the oversocialized or undersocialized conception that people's behaviors could be mechanically and automatically explained by class or pure self-interest (Granovetter, 1985). Cultural capital is circulated within an established social or geographical structure but are controlled by flexible travelling global capitalists and elites who institutionalize a new set of relationships for capital accumulation based on certain locations (Scott, 1997). The complex and dense local networks of cultural production that are embedded in a far-flung global economic network (Scott, 1997) contain social actors in a regional or local space where collaborations, conflicts, and negotiations of all kinds of social actors happen at both micro and macro level. Therefore, as a part of space and culture production, art-making, place-making, and meaning-making that are quintessentially collective actions of connected individuals in a globalized world. The socio-spatial complex requires research on formation and evolution of inter-personal/inter-organizational interactions and knowledge and resource flow within or across different regions or geographical scales (Ter Wal and Boschma, 2009).

However, what should be clarified in detail is 1) who are involved in the social network of space production, 2) what kind of social network structure is formed in the

process, 3) how is the formation and structure of the social network related to non-relational social and spatial factors within the region, and 4) whether the socio-spatial complex formed under CPM policy move towards a more equitable economic development. Research on local CPM-catalyzed community development policy network structure is needed to investigate how a political sphere of urban space take form within a local development project with the federal intervention.

Massey (1979) noted that the reproduction of space is not a one-way process capitalist production but “are established, reinforced, combated and changed through political and economic strategies and battles on the...political representatives” (p.114). A central problem argued by the critical research on creative economy and creative city is who is taking control of the city. Many studies implied that the domination of urban elites is a general pattern that directly caused the variety of inequalities led by urban regeneration. However, this assertion is in lack of a securitization of the negotiation process of policy-making embedded in a governance network constructed by the interactions between individual actors. The general claim of elites’ dominance oversimplified the policy process influenced by a wide range of policy actors and disempowers local political participation towards a democratic policy process. Even though the assertion of domination is somewhat true in a broad sense, the lack of scrutiny over structural characters and mechanism that emancipate the inequality does not shed lights on the roles of creative labor in the policy process and the needs to restore a democratic process for cultural policy-making.

The CPM policy is implemented based on the assumption that building a broad-based social network around arts and cultural activities within a region will generate more efficient, equitable, and sustainable social and economic solutions for rundown places. A key political agenda of the NEA over the years since the ‘cultural war’ is to try to bond arts to other policy issues. Mayors’ Institute on City Design used to be the only active policy forum of the NEA while most of its programs were dormant throughout 1990s. The consistent efforts of connecting arts to broader policy issues and local interest groups are manifested in the current policy network of creative placemaking at both federal and local level. The policy network at the federal level are federal government agencies, large foundations and corporate partners, national professional associations and nonprofit organizations. The policy network at the local level are constituted by community stakeholders and participants of creative placemaking projects. Although scholars and practitioners started viewing creative placemaking from a relational perspective by identifying participants and relationships in local creative placemaking projects, very few studies have scrutinized the underlying policy or community network structure of creative placemaking policy and its local projects.

The only recent study that the possible utility of social network is the dissertation of the experience community placemaker, Tom Borrup, though he only used it as a perspective but not a method or technical approach. Borrup (2015) bridged the recent asset-based community development approach with creative placemaking practices, arguing for building relationships and networks within communities through broad-based participation for asset recognition. He identified the knowledge gap in understanding

social network of bottom-up development practices and compared the mechanism of horizontal social network across different sectors in multiple creative placemaking projects through social capital theory. His qualitative analysis focuses on the formation of horizontal social network in these projects and social capital generated through the network. The merit of his research lies in the social network perspective for entrepreneurial governance of creative cities in the US. A more tangible measurement of social capital and social network need to be applied to examine the network structures of these projects and possible relations between these structures, policy actors, and outcomes of these projects.

The application of SNA in sociology, political science, public policy, public and business administration has generated quite a few interesting findings and technics we can borrow to enrich the methodological and theoretical discussions of cultural policy and creative economy. In fact, many theoretical arguments of creative economy reviewed was stated based on findings of empirical SNA analysis in sociology and business management. Without rare SNA analysis done in the policy side of creative economy and the emphasis of network building of the CPM, I propose to study the policy network of local arts-led development with CPM grants by borrowing existing theories and concepts of policy network and techniques of SNA with empirical social network data. The following two sections respectively review the basics of Social Network Analysis (SNA) as a subfield/method of sociology and the development of social network theories of policy and administration research. The overarching research inquiry will be boiled down

to specific research questions and hypotheses with concepts and theories of policy network in Chapter Three.

2.4 An Introduction to Social Network Analysis (SNA)

This section prepares readers who are not familiar with intellectual history and basic technical concepts of SNA to have a good understanding of the following chapters of the dissertation. SNA is a structural approach to study the interaction among social actors from human being, animals, organizations, or even states depending on the interests of different academic disciplines. This structural perspective of understanding societies was first proposed by Auguste Comte who hoped to study society through understanding the interconnections among social actors. Ferdinand Tönnies, Emile Durkheim (1893/1964), Sir Herbert Spencer (1897), and Charles Horton Cooley (1909/1962) are early proponents of the structural view by further understanding the patterns and characters of human relations between individuals in different contexts. George Simmel proposed the fundamental and the most explicit belief that supports the social network perspective: The patterning of interactions is the very focal research object of sociology (Freeman, 2004).

In early 20th century, some scholar started collecting empirical data to study social relational patterns in both human and nonhuman animal societies. Jacob Moreno's research on the flow of social influence and ideas among the girls in New York school invented the technique of "sociometry" for eliciting and visualizing graphs that represent the links between girls in school and their subjective feelings to one another. The abstract idea of social structure was made tangible by the invention of sociometry. In the 40s and

50s, the use of matrix algebra, graph theory, and computational models advanced the empirical SNA research immensely. The popular notion of ‘six degree of separation’ empirically tested by Stanley Milgram in 1978 was originated from the proposition of Kochen and deSola Pool on the basis of mathematical models two decades ago that at least 50% of randomly selected two people in the US could be connected through on more than two intermediaries (Borgatti et al., 2009). During the same period, scholars who use SNA to study the social fabric of cities based on the concrete relations between individuals also made the conclusion that urbanization and cities play a central role in destroying communities (Borgatti et al., 2009).

During the 1970s, the leading research of social network analysis shifted from anthropology to sociology and SNA became a fast-growing field with development of computer science. The discovery of network structural equivalence (Lorrain and White, 1977), weak ties (Granovetter, 1977), and network homophily (Marden, 1987; McPherson et al.) established the foundations for developing more generalizable theories of organizing principles of social relations and their consequences. Rooted in sociometric models of social network analysis, Gestalt psychology, and the Harvard structuralism, Mark Granovetter pushed the boundary of social network analysis in sociology by proposing a theory of information diffusion and communication through understanding the strategic goals and network positions of individuals (Berry, et al., 2004). He bridged the micro-level interactions and macro-level patterns of social phenomenon through an attempt of measuring the ‘strength’ of ties, laying the foundation for a social network

theory of social capital and introducing a sociometric notion of bridging and bonding social capital (Granovetter, 1973).

Following the works of Granovetter and the tradition of Harvard structuralism, Edward Laumann and Franz Pappi (1976) established a social network theory of community power distribution to decipher the social fabric of community, elites, and the 'interface' between elites and public towards a better understanding of community decision making and collective action (Granovetter, 1978, p.1538) as a social-political process. Nan Lin (Lin, 1999; Lin, 2001) and Ronald Burt enriched the social network theory of social capital by recognizing the advantage of network closure and density in maintaining resource and 'structural hole' in innovation (Burt,1992; Burt, 1997; Burt, 2002; Burt, 2004) as two types of social capitals respectively. Since 80s, SNA became an established field of social research proliferated with a wide of disciplines in social science. Its concepts, theories, and methods have been applied and advanced in both social research disciplines including criminology (Sageman, 2004), business and public management (e.g. Tsai and Ghoshal, 1998; Kapucu et al., 2010), public health (Fowler and Christakis, 2008; Luke and Harris, 2007), communications (e.g. Bond, 2012; Gee at al., 2017), international relations (e.g. Cranmer et al., 2014), terrorism (e.g. Perliger et al.), public policy process (e.g. Feiock and Scholz, 2009; Lubell, et al., 2012).

Network method can be used as both a descriptive technique and a statistical procedure based on probability. Both approaches can generate meaningful inferences about structural properties for a network object and an individual social actor within the network. A social network is constructed by social actors (nodes or vertices) and their ties

(edges or arcs). Given each individual actor does not exist independently in this network, SNA does not only study the structural properties of one network (whole network) but also the structural attributes (network attributes) of each actor embedded in this network. SNA invents different measurements for both node-level and network-level measurements. Node-level measurement describes structural attributes of individual nodes. For instance, centrality of different kinds (degree centrality, betweenness centrality, closeness centrality, eigenvector centrality, etc.) measures different types of power of individual nodes based on their number of connections with other nodes as well as the structural advantage of these connections calculated from functions of graph theory.

Network-level measurement describes structural properties of the complete network. For instance, centralization is used to measure how centralized this network is organized. Density measures the ratio between possible connections and the actual connections in a network. Other than structural properties, SNA also includes non-network attributes of individual actors as independent or dependent variables to understand how structure affected or being affected by non-relational social factors in a social process or mechanism. Ties between nodes in a network also have attributes that describes the directions, types, and strength of relations between different actors (Wasserman and Faust, 1994).

SNA studies draw inference from networks at two levels: egocentric network, the whole network, and cognitive social structures. Egocentric network focuses on properties of individuals' local networks. This type of research usually generates useful insights on

how individuals are influenced by their personal networks and how they are integrated into a contextualized social fabric these personal networks (McCallister and Fischer, 1978). The whole network studies the complete network (census network) of an interested population. Having data of a complete network allows us to draw inference for the social properties of both local and global networks (Butts, 2008). A set of entities and relations defined the boundary of a network.

The boundary of a network is usually defined by three means: 1) A network can be exogenously defined by one's substantive knowledge on interested phenomenon or a group of members. 2) A network can be endogenously defined based on the assumption that a certain set of entities and relations do not depend on entities beyond this set. Substantial knowledge and specific theory are needed to examine the appropriation of excluding certain set of actors and relations. 3) Methods such as sampling interactions based on communication medium are used to obtain data can also be used to define network boundary if the methods chosen if appropriate for research question in hand (Butts, 2008).

2.5 Emerging Social Network Theories of Policy Process and Public Administration

SNA transcended sociological research and sparked a new set of research in political science, public policy, and public management under competing theoretical framework (Berry, et al., 2004). Network research in the field of political science and public policy are interested in study the impact of policy network on policy innovation, policy change and agenda setting, collective actions, and policy outcomes. Public administration primarily uses SNA to study networks and network behaviors in the

phenomenon of public management and network outcomes and performance of public management (Berry, et al., 2004).

Public administration primarily uses SNA to study organizational networks and their network behaviors in the phenomenon of public management and network outcomes and performance of public management (Berry, et al., 2004). Studies on public management focus on the idea of network governance and network-level effectiveness. Provan and Milward (1991, 1995) proposed a network effectiveness model to analyze service-implementation network through a case study on mental health service delivery system of four cities in the US. They found the importance of a primary coordinating agency and diffusion network structures in improving the quality of service delivery (1995).

Although their network effectiveness model is still under examination, the model offers a new perspective for analyzing policy performance as outcomes of service network with an integration of individual organizations. Other than network characters of the service, they are also aware of influence of external stability and resource munificence as *external context* to network effectiveness of the service measured by client outcomes evaluated by case managers. Agranoff and McGuire (1998) studied more complicated multi-organizational structures of local economic development policy based on a multilevel analytical framework. They analyzed government's networking behaviors in local economic development policy and captured the basic structures and characteristics of horizontal and intergovernmental network centering on county government. Their findings indicated the importance of networking activities of

government and identified the strategical goals of network clusters and determinants of network activity. These studies shed light on management decision-making with respect to the choice of governance forms, possible tensions rising from selected forms, and both internal and external network demands (Provan and Kenis, 2008).

Network research in the field of public policy are interested in study the impact of policy network on policy innovation, policy change and agenda setting, collective actions, and policy outcomes. The idea of 'issue networks' brought up by Hecló (1978) generated many theories with explicit network embedded in policy process: iron triangle (Adams, 1981), policy streams of Kingdon (1984), advocacy coalition framework (ACF) brought up by Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (1993).

The concept of policy network has been evolving from a pluralistic idea of network constituted by political elites and formal members including interest groups, bureaucracy, legislative institutions, and policy specialists to a combination of informal and formal institutions including any organizations or individuals who possibly affect policy-making and policy outcomes (Smith and Larimer, 2017). The existing rigid policy theoretical frameworks that primarily addresses the formal institutional behaviors relevant to policy process are animated by SNA through the undertaking of linking micro-level behaviors and macro-level political network motifs in lineage with the idea of Ostrom's institutional rational analysis (IAD) (1972, 1990). Lubell et al. (2011) proposed a conceptual framework (Figure 2.1) to explain the theoretical motivation of observing policy network structure as a meso-level social step that connects 'macro-level institutional arrangement' to 'micro-level individual behaviors' that explains the

relationship between overall system properties and policy outcomes (Lubell et al., 2012, p.354).

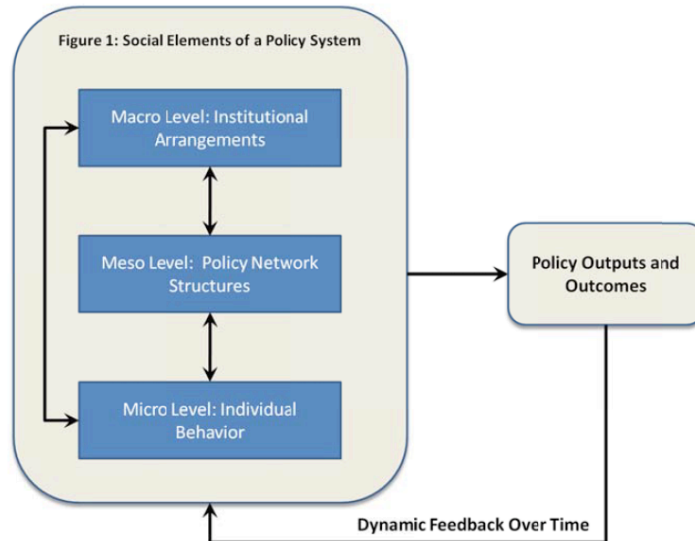


Figure 3 Social Element of Policy Process

For instance, SNA research operationalizes the process of policy belief system and coalition of ACF to study the effect of ideology (agreement) on coalition formation (e.g., Weible, 2005; Weible and Sabatier, 2005; Lubell et al., 2010). Meanwhile, resource dependency theory (RDT) primarily used in public management phenomena is also taken consideration as a factor that influences network formation in addition to belief homophily (Henry, 2011;). Institutional Collective Action (ICA) is also an attempt to understand the social network mechanism created by local policy actors that are self-organized to tackle with the institutional collective actions problems caused by fragmented governmental jurisdiction and mutual influences between decisions of

different policy authorities. The preferences of individual policy actors for network mechanism to alleviate the ICA problems is influenced on their perceptions on collaboration risks, transaction costs, ideology, and incentives.

The emerging propositions of policy networks are synthesized by the social network theory of ‘ecology of games’ (EG) (Cairney, 2013) adapted from Norton Long’s concept of ‘ecology of games’ by Mark Lubell (2013). Embracing the idea of interdependence between diverse components of a system within the concept of “ecology”, the framework emphasizes that the actions of one part of a system have either positive or negative impact on the rest of the system (Lubell, 2015). It borrows some of the most important theoretical concepts, assumptions, and propositions in the research fields of public policy, social science, and system theories including ACF, ICA dilemma, IAD, etc., though individual research project does not study the concepts and theories all together. EG is proposed to study complex adaptive governance with “multiple policy games operating simultaneously within a geographically defined policy arena” configured by the six interrelated concepts: policy games, policy issues, policy actors, policy institutions, policy systems that can be transferred in any substantive policy domain (Lubell, 2013, p. 542). The EG framework is only an attempt to assemble critical policy concepts and theories into a coherent logic of policy network to study a complex adaptive system rather than one policy at a time. Specific and narrow research questions and hypotheses about different components and scopes of the policy system need to be investigated in different policy domains to develop this newly invented framework (Lubell, 2013). Although empirical research under EG framework could be very

challenging due to the difficulty of network data collection, the complex adaptive system perspective and the synthesis of policy concepts are pretty useful tools for us to understand the rather fragmented cultural policy in the US and the CPM policy as a new policy venue that tries to govern multiple development issues with and for the benefits of the arts through its grants.

Chapter 3 Theoretical Framework and Research Questions

3.1 Theoretical Framework: Policy Network and Creative Placemaking

Arts-led urban revitalization of Franklinton is a complex policy system defined by the geographical boundary of Franklinton. The geographic space of Franklinton is artificially divided into East Franklinton, West Franklinton, and Downtown Columbus. The East Franklinton Creative Revitalization is closely related to the development plans for the other two jurisdictions. Thus, the research studies East and West Franklinton in together as a part of Columbus Downtown Development. The policy actors involved in the policy network of CPM-catalyzed Franklinton creative revitalization come from all the three jurisdictions.

The policy system of CPM-catalyzed Franklinton creative revitalization encompasses *multiple policy issues* including planning, flooding, public safety, public health, housing, food, employment, arts and cultural vitality, and other social problems, *multiple policy institutions* with rules and authority to govern these multiple policy issues at a given time, as well as *multiple policy actors* who are human and organizational entities with interest and stake in the outcomes of policy decisions or their resulting operational rules governing specific issues (Lubell, 2013, p. 542).

Policy game occurs when policy actors participate in the policy system in accordance to the rules of a policy institution. Their collective actions and collective

decision produce the on-the-ground operational rules (informal or formal norms) regarding resource allocation and provision of public good in the jurisdiction of the policy institution. Policy actors choose to join or leave a policy games based on their perceptions of individual preferences and costs that disconnects from overall social costs and preferences, which can be represented by a prisoner's dilemma. However, policy issues are often interconnected with other, indicating that the collective decisions of individuals in one issue may directly influence payoffs in other issues. Therefore, a systematic view of policy issues sheds lights on how interactions and choices of policy actors shape resource distribution, the unintended consequences in policy making, and the sources of fragmentation (Lubell, 2013).

In the geographically defined policy system of Franklinton community, the official development plans of the city for East and West Franklinton revitalization are two important local-level policy institutions that govern the multiple policy issues relating to the economic growth and social problems in Franklinton. In the context of Franklinton creative revitalization, policy actors include a broad range of individuals and organizations in private and public sectors located in Franklinton or provide services to Franklinton including planning/development government agency, nonprofit organizations, arts and cultural organization, developers, and other business entities. These policy actors are also engaged in policy intuitions at different levels to shape these policy institutions in order to obtain resources and achieve their goals and policy goals. Franklinton Development Associations (FDA) applied for block grants from HUD for affordable housing and the CPM grant of ArtPlace America to relocate the Columbus

Idea Foundry to Franklinton. Theoretically, the grant of ArtPlace America carries the federal-level rule of NEA to shape the dynamic of the lower-level policy ecology of Franklinton in together with other policy institutions across federal and local levels.

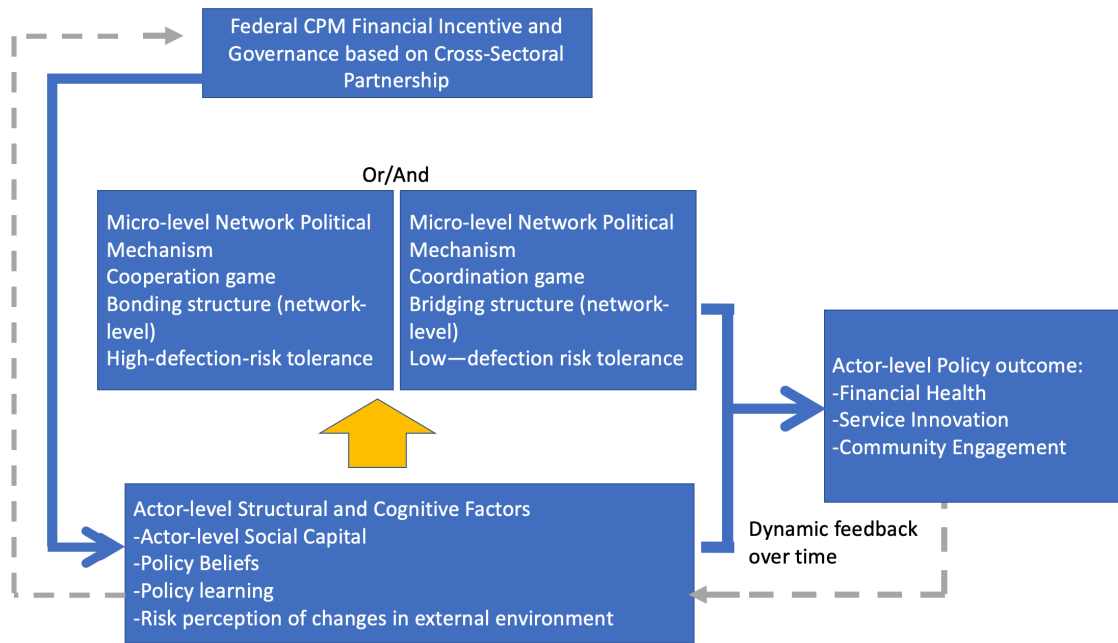


Figure 4 Social Elements of Local CPM Policy

Figure 4 is adapted from Social Elements of a Policy System (Lubell et al., 2012) to illustrate social factors and their theoretical relations under the investigation of the proposed dissertation research. The research adopts the policy theories and concepts synthesized by Lubell et al. (2012, 2013) under the EG framework and the complex policy system perspective to study how a policy network consisting of individual policy actors governs local arts-led urban development project with CPM grant. With a good

understanding of the mixed-method research approach and policy network studies, we can boil down the overarching research questions into the following sub-questions. Instead of using the term ‘hypothesis’ here, these sub-questions are analyzed by both statistical SNA techniques and qualitative analytical strategies for a strong understanding of research context and setting, a broader perspective of the local policy system, and a richer interpretation of empirical data and statistical results.

- Understanding the basic elements and traits of policy network in Franklinton art-led revitalization
 - What is the composition and descriptive structural characteristic of policy network of Franklinton arts-led revitalization?
 - How does descriptive network characteristic and subgraphs of the network indicate about the political dynamic of the revitalization?
 - What is the composition and structural characteristics of the embedded CPM project by analyzing the ego-network of Franklinton Development Association?
 - How does the CPM project influence the rest of the neighborhood socially?
- Understanding local policy issues and their stakeholders governed by different policy institutions.
 - What are the major policy issues in the Franklinton arts-led development project?

- How do policy actors connect with each other and construct policy networks surrounding these policy issues?
- How does the arts community play a role in these policy issues?
- How does CPM grant and the city's two development plans in Franklinton work as policy institutions govern the policy network in Franklinton?
- Understanding the structural strategy of policy network in Franklinton arts-led revitalization
 - How does belief system of policy actors regarding arts and artists affect their choice of policy coalition?
 - How do policy actors' perceived level of substantive risks of selective benefits influence their structural strategy?
 - How do policy actors' perceived policy priorities relevant to arts-led development affect their structural strategy?
 - How does policy learning of federal policy institution interact with formation of the strategic structure (types of games) of local arts-led development policy?
- Understanding federal CPM policy network and institutions in relation to local arts-led development in Franklinton
 - How is the CPM policy network constructed by hyperlink network?

- What is the composition and descriptive structural characteristic of policy network of Franklinton arts-led revitalization?
- What is the strategic structure (types of games) of federal CPM policy network and local arts-led development policy?
- What/How are the local informal and formal policy institutions produced by collective actions of policy actors through their cross-level interaction of policy institutions?
- Understanding the policy impact of the local arts-led development game and federal CPM policy on Franklinton and Columbus in the larger research context of cultural policy.
 - How do nodal-level structural characteristics affect perceived policy outcome to individual policy actors?
 - How does the new policy institutions constructed under local and federal incentives that encourage the participation of arts community and tries to govern multiple policy issues through the arts change community-level cultural behaviors?
 - How are arts organizations and artists influenced, being part of the policy game?
 - How are the research findings on arts-led development based on SNA and the perspective of complex policy system understood in the general research context of cultural policy, creative economy, and creative city?

3.2 Social Network Analysis and Theoretical Hypotheses

3.2.1 Policy Network and Policy Game

Social capital is one of the most frequently used concepts to explain economic behaviors at both micro and macro level (e.g. Putnam, 1993; Hoyman and Faricy, 2009). It has been integrated with Institutional Collective Action and social network theoretically and methodologically to explain the mechanism of policy coordination and cooperation (Lee et al., 2012). The coordination game refers to low risk collaborative relationships that efficient information-sharing and transmission is needed. The cooperation game is characterized by collaboration based on high-level of trust when higher risk is at stake. The network theory of bonding capital and bridging capital provides operational concepts for constraints and resources of social capital in cooperation game and coordination game respectively (Berardo and Scholz, 2010). Berardo and Scholz (2010) measures the ambiguous bonding capital and bridging capital by using different structural attributes like popular vectors, reciprocity and transitivity. They find that network-level motifs reflect the nature of policy games and level of risks involved in the policy game.

“Bonding capital” describes exclusive internal relations leading to network closure, and “bridging capital” is represented by open external relations leading to brokerage (Burt, 2000; Gittel and Vidal, 1998; Putnam, 2000; Oh, Kilduff and Brass, 1999). Bonding capital is produced by closed network with many redundant and strong relationships preferred in situation where credibility, trust, resources, and support need to be secured (Berardo and Scholz, 2010). Bonding capital is measured by network structure

with intensive strong ties such as reciprocity (Figure 5) and clustered transitive (Figure 6) relationships (Berardo and Scholz, 2010). It is easy to understand that cooperation is usually based on mutual exchanges of resources and information between policy actors. In terms of transitivity, forming a tie between policy actor *A* and *C* is resulted from 1) reciprocity between *A* and *B*, 2) *B* sharing resources or information with *C*, and 3) *A* trust the endorsement of *B* for *C*. Policy brokers play a role in a transitive triadic relationship rather than a three-cycle relationship, implying that the reciprocal relationship between policy actor *A* and policy actor *B* can encourage a relationship between policy actor *C* and policy actor *B*. The relationship between *C* and *B* is not built directly through *A* but by trust demonstrated between the relationship between *A*-*B* and *A*-*C* respectively (Figure 5).

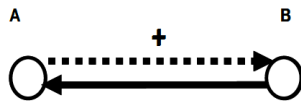


Figure 5 Reciprocity: reciprocal ties

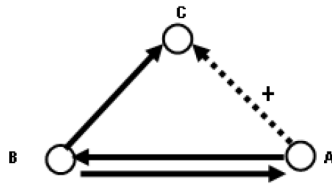


Figure 6 Transitivity: clustered transitive relations

Bridging capital refers to access to structural holes where brokers develop opportunities of making new connection through weak ties and centralized brokers (Figure 7 and Figure 8). Bridging capital is measured by the number of open-two path (Figure 7) structure and popular alters (Figure 8) (Berardo and Scholz, 2010). The open-2 path structure suggests that it is an efficient choice if policy actor *A* links itself to policy actor *B* who can connects *A* with policy actor *D* and *C*. The situation lower the risk of *A* directly connecting with *D* and *C* and avoid the inefficiency for *A* to get overlapping information from *D* and *C* who are both connected with *B*. policy actor tends to link itself to popular actors to shorten its path to other actors that are already connected these popular actors but not to the policy actor.

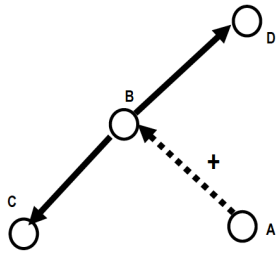


Figure 7 Bridging: open-2 path

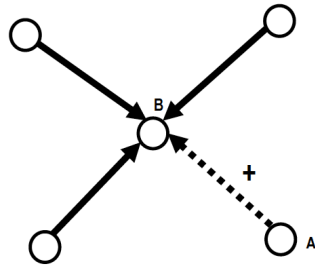


Figure 8 Popularity: in-stars

To understand the nature of policy game in Franklinton arts-led urban revitalization and federal CPM policy network. The proposed study will test the presence of bonding and bridging structures in both local and federal policy networks through Exponential Random Graph Models (ERGM). The ERGM is a class of statistical models used to estimate the effects of different types of network configurations on the presence of a network tie with model parameters simultaneously that indicates the importance of the configurations (Skyler and Desmarais, 2010; Lusher and Robins, 2012). A

fundamental advantage of ERGM is that it is a local network process based on binary ties without assuming relational independence, which means that the presence of one tie is related to the presence of others. ERGM can model both structural effects endogenous to the network and covariates effect (actor attributes as explanatory variables) exogenous to the network (Skyler and Desmarais, 2010).

The multiplicity of network process can be understood in two folds: 1) multiple origins of social network structure, which means network formation can be explained by various network configurations. Nevertheless, ERGM can test these configurations simultaneously to determine the most relevant process that contribute to the formation of the network structure (Monge and Contractor, 2003) as proposed hypotheses above; 2) Nested configuration can also be modeled by ERGM to control the average baseline propensity and determine the contribution of lower-order configurations and higher-order configurations to network formation (Lusher and Robin, 2012). For instance, whether there are organizations of the same type are more likely to have a tie with each other, given this type of organizations in general like sending or receiving ties from all kinds of organizations in the community.

Hypothesis 1: Policy actors involved in federal CPM policy network/ Franklinton arts-led revitalization project will link to popular actors (in-stars).

Hypothesis 2: Policy actors involved in federal CPM policy network/ Franklinton arts-led revitalization project create reciprocal relationship.

Hypothesis 3: Policy actors involved in CPM policy network/ Franklinton arts-led revitalization form transitive relationship.

3.2.2 Policy Belief, Belief Homophily, and Policy Network

Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF) provides a competing theory for network formation and its structures. Policy advocacy coalitions have been studied in Weible (2005) and Henry, et.al (2011) under ACF through understanding the relationship between the perception of policy actors on the political influence of other policy actors and their opinions and attitudes towards a policy or a set of policy tools. Their findings generally support the propositions of ACF that belief homophily and bonding capital drive the formation of an advocacy policy network. They also found that the statistical results do not support the hypothesis that policy actors with similar policy core belief are more likely to interact with each other but policy actors with distant policy beliefs are more likely to avoid interacting with each other.

The ACF theory contains a three-level belief system: 1) deep core beliefs which are the fundamental values of people about the world and themselves that are extremely difficult to change. 2) policy core beliefs and core policy preferences for system-wide fundamental policy choices, which is the main source of cleavage (Sabatier and Weible, 2007, p.195). (3) secondary beliefs as narrow as agency budget allocation, the seriousness and causes of problems and managerial specifics about an issue, a program, or an agency (Sabatier and Weible, 2007). In the CPM network, we can expect that organizations involved tend to share similar positive deep core policy belief on arts and arts and culture-led community development. However, they may disagree on specific policy instruments for supporting arts and implementing arts and culture-led development. The proposed study will specifically identify whether there is variance in second-level belief

and whether there is belief homophily at the second level or an aversion of the belief homophily. In this dissertation research, I focus on two levels of policy belief: the policy core belief regarding arts as policy tool and local policy belief preferences on “whose welfare counts”.

The whitepaper of creative placemaking proposes a policy logic model (Table 1) that states the core policy values the NEA holds and promotes at both federal and local level through the CPM grants of its own and national partners. The logic model shows that the fundamental policy belief proposed by the NEA as a policy assumption that undergirds the implementation of the CPM policy is that arts can be used as a policy instrument/tool to solve economic and social issues in local communities. Particularly, artists and arts organizations can play a critical role in contributing to social equity through effective community engagement in the process of community process. However, it is unknown whether this fundamental policy belief has an effect on the formation of the Franklinton CPM-catalyzed policy network.

In the CPM policy statements, the roles of the artists and arts organizations in local revitalization are not clearly differentiated. In fact, as creative individuals, the role of artists in communities cannot be assumed the same with arts organizations. The ACF also argues the similar policy beliefs also drives partnership and coalition formation, leading to the formation of the Franklinton CPM-catalyzed policy network. Thus, I propose the two following hypotheses:

Hypothesis 4: The CPM policy core belief on arts instrumentalism/local artists' impact/local arts organizations' impact have a positive impact on the initiation of policy actors in process of Franklinton creative revitalization.

Hypothesis 5: The homophily effect of the CPM policy core belief on arts instrumentalism/local artists' impact/local arts organizations' impact exists in Franklinton creative revitalization policy network.

The three core policy beliefs are operationalized in survey questions for policy actors to rate their level of agreement on the following three statements at the Likert scale of seven points. Please indicate how strongly you agree or disagree with the following statement which applies to you on a scale of 1 ("Very untrue of what I believe") to 7 ("Very true of what I believe"):

1) Arts can be used as a policy instrument to help achieve a broad spectrum of community goals in Franklinton.

2) Participation of artists can increase development equity through community engagement in the decision-making process of Franklinton revitalization.

3) Participation of artists can increase development equity through community engagement in the decision-making process of Franklinton revitalization.

Formal Creative Placemaking Policy Statement

Problem: American cities, suburbs, and small towns confront structural changes and residential uprooting.

Solution: Revitalization by creative initiatives that animate place and sparks economic development

Challenges for CPM: forging partnership, countering community skepticism, assembling adequate financing, clearing regulatory hurdles, ensuring maintenance and sustainability, avoid displacement and gentrification, development metrics of performance

Best Practices: Prompted by an initiator (policy entrepreneurs) with innovative vision and drive; Tailors strategy to distinctive features of place (always dead zone, non-invested, white dominant community); Mobilizes public will; Attracts private sector buy-in; Enjoys support of local arts and cultural leaders Builds partnerships across sectors, missions, and levels of government.

Table 1 Logic Model of the CPM Policy

At the local level, the policy actors in Franklinton policy network also hold a series of secondary policy belief preferences for Franklinton creative revitalization. The secondary policy belief preferences also essentially speak to a set of policy priorities of policy actors. We need to understand more on what policy priorities significantly influence the local network formation and whether the policy priorities hold policy actors together as coalitions. The specific policy network hypotheses will be formulated during the research process when the specific local-level policy preferences are identified in interview and survey data. Thus, the hypotheses for the effect and homophily effect of the secondary policy belief on network formation are roughly proposed below:

Hypothesis 6: Network formation is function of second-level belief (Policy with higher level of belief in a certain second-level belief is a higher probability to have a tie in the network).

Hypothesis 7: Policy actors sharing similar second-level belief with respect to a certain dimension stated above is more likely to have a tie with each other.

3.2.3 External Environment Risk Perception and Policy Network

Berardo and Scholz (2010) used bonding and bridging structures as proxies to indicate the level of risks of policy game perceived by policy actors. The risk of defection is an assumption to propose the social capital hypotheses. Avoiding high/low risk of defection motivates policy actors form different types of social capital strictures. Because the ACF suggests that social, economic and political changes in external environment affect formation of policy coalitions by changing resources and constraints. Policy actors are also concerned about risks brought by those changes in addition to the political risk of partner defection. The proposed research will directly ask policy actors about their perception on substantive risks (social, financial, and political) as functions of their structural strategy. Those who perceive higher level of financial risk may be more likely to send links to others due to their needs of a diversity of resources. Those who perceive high level of social risk may not be actively engaged in the network due to their concern of dealing with complicated social relations. Those who perceive higher level of political risk may be more likely to send links to others to form political coalitions:

Hypothesis 8: Policy actors with higher level of financial risk are more likely to send ties to others.

Hypothesis 9: Policy actors with higher level of social risk are not active in sending or receiving ties.

Hypothesis 10: Policy actors with higher level of political risk are more likely to send links to others.

The three types of risks are measured by the survey responses to the following question:

How would you rate the level of risk you|your PRIMARY organizations are taking, being part of the Franklinton arts-led revitalization process on a scale from 1 (“extremely low”), 4(“medium”), to 7(“extremely high”) on a scale from 1 to 7.

- 1) Financial loss led by problems that arise during the implementation of Franklinton revitalization.
- 2) Demands from existing and changing structure of residents, businesses, community groups and civil society organizations.
- 3) Crisis related to political stability and regulatory changes in Franklinton and Columbus.

Interaction effect between their risk perception and types of policy actors and their beliefs will also be explored during data analysis as more advanced model to explain the social process.

3.2.4 Policy Network and Policy Learning

Policy learning a process where policy actors learn from each other and integrate knowledge and their core beliefs in order to further their policy objectives (Sabatier, 1987). As a relatively small federal agency in a country without a salient cultural policy, policy knowledge of creative placemaking is not well-known to the general public. The NEA uses the CPM grant as a strategic tool to facilitate knowledge learning about

American arts policy in favor of its long-term policy goal. By fostering a broad-based partnership and connecting local/federal powerful institutes, the policy learning process can be operated more efficiently, though the stated specific placemaking goal may not be carried out successful. Therefore, the research proposes to use network autocorrelation to examine how network facilitates knowledge learning about the NEA and the CPM policy. The whole network structure is considered as function of policy actors' level of knowledge about the CPM and the NEA, with selected core beliefs and priorities as control variables in the model.

Hypothesis 11: Local arts-led development policy network facilitates CPM policy learning within the network.

3.2.5 Nodal-Level Network Metrics and Policy Actors' Perceived Performance

Network governance is intended to achieve goals that individual organization within the network cannot achieve independently. The attainment of these goals is defined as network effectiveness (Provan and Kenis, 2005). The CPM policy is intended foster collaborations in place-based community development with arts and culture at its core. Both the NEA and Artplace propose a series of indicators to measure the livability and community vibrancy. In addition, Artplace emphasizes within its grant guidelines, that the first principle of successful creative placemaking is to place “artist and arts at the center of planning, execution and activity” (Gadwa-Nichodemus, 2013). The prosperity of arts organizations and activities are a shared goal to other organizations in the CPM network, though it is not necessarily their priority. Therefore, it is critical to investigate the impact of network structure to the performance of arts organizations as a proxy to

assess the arts and cultural vitality of the community and positive community outcomes brought by arts and cultural organizations and activities. In addition, the emphasis on various types of partnership also demonstrates the agenda of the NEA to align arts community, which has long been underappreciated and isolated, with more powerful policy communities and sectors.

Milward and Provan (1994) investigates the relationship between network structure integration and client outcomes of community mental health service organization network in an in-depth survey case study. They also argue that both the quality of individual organization and network governance determine client outcome of an organization. Similarly, links of organizations built through different forms of partnerships around East Franklinton project are expected to increase the capacity of organizations involved through diversifying the financial resources of arts organizations, expanding their client base, and enhancing their reputation. An integrated system of community entities provides a healthy ecosystem for local arts organizations and public cultural participation and consumption. It also fosters a resourceful incubator for cultural and arts entrepreneurs in both business and nonprofit sectors (Markusen, 2013).

Markusen and Gadwa (2001) also proposed a framework of relationships between three-level of effectiveness and network structure of key stakeholders (Figure 9). To measure network effect constituted by all the three levels is not an easy undertaking and not statistically meaningful to test community-level effectiveness through one case. Besides, it also makes no sense to measure client outcomes for organizations of various types with different kinds of clients in this research context. Therefore, this research will

measure organizational level effectiveness by using perceived improvement of performance in the following major aspects of an organization as proxies: organizational goals and missions, overall organizational capacity, financial resilience, personnel satisfaction, organizational innovation, and service delivery.

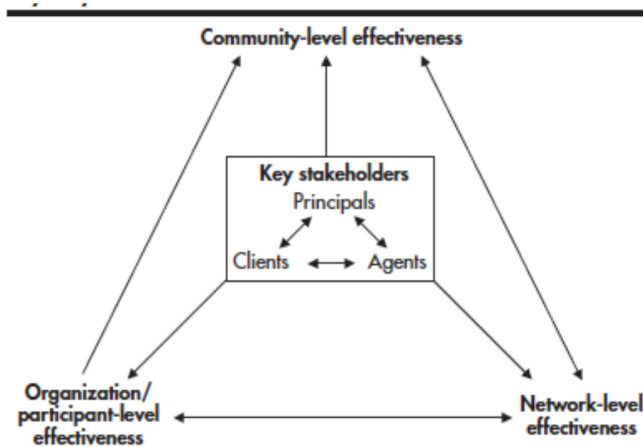


Figure 9 Relations between effectiveness at different levels of network analysis and influence by key stakeholders

Different types of network characteristics in the CPM network play important roles in shaping community ecosystem. It is impossible to measure the impact of network structural motifs on performance of organizations by one case study. As network metrics of individual organizations are produced based on the global network structure, it is valid to use a set of ego network metrics like betweenness, centrality, and density to measure bonding and bridging capitals obtained by individual organizations. Borrowing measurement of bonding capital and bridging capital from Berardo, et al., (2010) and

Scholz, et al., (2011), the proposed research will use *betweenness centrality* and *clustering coefficient* as individual policy actors as their nodal level bridging and bonding capital respectively.

On the global level of medial measures, *betweenness centrality* for ego is estimated by the total number of geodesic paths between any two nodes that include ego (Freeman, 1977). *Clustering coefficient* is the ratio of observed ties and all possible ties of an ego. Bonding capital and bridging capital tend to be mutually exclusive to each other because bonding relationship is associated with redundant ties and direct relationships between egos, instead, bridging capital is associated with indirect and cost-effective relationships between actors. The association between types of microstructures of an organization in this policy network are associated with different aspects of performance of organizations can be found by regression. As network data does not hold the independence assumption of the Ordinary Least Square (OLS) model anymore, the research will conduct a network regression to test the relationship between social capitals measured by ego-net metrics and each proxy for perceived improvement of organizational performance across different types of organizations.

Berardo and Scholz (2010, p. 632) explores the *risk hypothesis* that preferences for partners reflect the nature of risk based on the Snijders's (2001) stochastic actor-based model for network evolution. They argue that bridging structure provides efficient means of information transmission to assist coordination, which does not need a high level of trust between partners. Bonding structure is preferred for information and resources that requires more credibility and trust when the transmission of resources is considered

riskier. Partnership that influences financial health is considered critical, thus, we propose that bonding structure tends to impact the level of financial health. As weak ties help with efficient transmission of new ideas (Granovetter, 1973; Fleming, et.al, 2007; Rost, 2011), therefore, bridging structures may have greater impact on the quality of organizational innovation. Similar hypothesis can be formulated by matching ego-net metrics and attributes and the improvement of different perceived outcomes.

Hypothesis 12: Node-level Bonding capital has significant impact on perceived financial capacity of individual organizations.

Hypothesis 13: Node-level Bridging capital has significant impact on the perceived improvement in organizational innovation.

Another focus of arts policy is expected to land on arts organizations and artists, it also makes sense to test the influence of network structure to the performance of arts organization as a distinct set of hypotheses. Wyszomirski (2013) argues that the NEA reframes its policy values by institutionalizing a triple-bottom line of financial sustainability, arts excellence, and recognized public value for nonprofit arts at three levels of policy-making at the NEA: specific program-level micro-policy, macro-policy as articulated by NEA chairs, and meta-policy as the programs and values implemented by the NEA. The triple-bottom line is not only a standard of grantee arts organizations but is also recognized by American nonprofit cultural organizations (Wyszomirski, 2013, p.156). Therefore, the triple-bottom line can be translated into perceived performance of arts organizations in three dimensions: *fiscal capacity, arts programming, and audience*

development. Therefore, identified nonprofit cultural organizations will also be asked a series of survey questions regarding perceived performance in the three dimensions.

Milward and Proven (1994) find that network integration is not the only factor that determines organizational network effectiveness. System stability and high resource munificence as network environment factors also play a moderating role in the structure-outcome process. Therefore, qualitative elite interviews will be conducted to find possible moderating categories that impact the structure-outcome process. As arts policy in the US is local and fragmented and support to arts largely depend on the development interest of mayors and state governors (Wyszomirski, 2008). Therefore, local and state leadership and their attitudes towards the bottom-up arts initiatives may be a factor to probe through elite interview and content analysis of archived documents.

Chapter 4 Research Methodology

4.1. Data Collection and Survey Design

4.1.1 Overview of Data Collection

The preliminary research interviews find that the two Franklinton revitalization plans (east and west) should be studied as an integrated one because the “East Franklinton” and “West Franklinton” is created by the city for planning purposes in recent years and the fortunes of two parts of the neighborhoods are closely connected with other (Please refer to the historical background of the neighborhood introduced in Chapter one). Therefore, the policy network of the creative revitalization of neighborhood is constructed by individual policy actors involved in both the east and west part of the plan. Policy actors in the network include nonprofit organizational leaders, business owners including self-employed artists, and policy elites representing the different types of organizations and entities that are involved in Franklinton revitalization project. To identify network vertices, their relationship, and the attributes of both vertices and their relationships for quantitative SNA analysis, to increase the validity of SNA data, and collect information for qualitative data analysis, the researcher propose to conduct the survey and semi-structured elite interviews in a one interview process. The researcher will guide research participants to fill out survey questions in the first half of the interview and conduct a semi-structured interview at the second half. [Hyperlink](#)

network data will be crawled from organizational websites for policy issue network analysis on creative placemaking at both federal and local level. The following sections elaborates sampling design, survey instrument design, interview schedule, and data collection tools in detail.

4.1.2 Social Network Sampling Strategy

Social network analysis needs data on both network actors and their relationships as two sampling units. The nested sampling frame of the two units derives the various strategies at the level of individual enrollment. *Local network design*, *complete network design*, and *partial network design* are the three strategies of selecting respondents (Morris, 2004, p. 4). The local network design merely focuses on the random sample of respondents, so it does not give sufficient information about partnership and global network structure for the proposed study. Complete network design results in the most accurate inference based on the enrollment of the entire population (Morris, 2004). However, it is too costly and unrealistic for the proposed study to discover a saturated sample of the community partnership in the East Franklinton area. Therefore, the researcher will utilize the partial network design as a middle ground between the other two sampling strategies in order to use complete network analytical techniques to draw meaningful statistical inferences based on a large fraction of within-sample ties (Morris, 2004),

The rule of thumb for obtaining a stable and representative sample of network ties for analysis is usually under five waves of data collection (Wejnert, 2010). Thus, the study proposes the non-probability snowball sampling of three waves to enroll

respondents and their partners. The sampling procedure will start with 25 organizations identified in the formal city plans for Franklinton revitalization plan. A similar survey will be distributed to partners nominated by the initial seeds and partners of the second-generation respondents. As we have little information regarding the population size, the researcher will use adaptive sampling to modify the enrollment of respondents in real time based on information gathered from the previous generation of respondents and qualitative interviews, though the strategy gives little control over the final sample size (Morris, 2004). The priori for the number of generations is three, but new generation will be initiated if there is still potential to generate new vertices and relationships based on the sampling results of the previous waves (Hanneman and Riddle, 2005). Although snowball sampling may not include some isolated organizations, the qualitative interviews may help correct the sampling bias.

4.1.3 Survey Instrument

The survey instrument will be designed with an online survey management tool Qualtrics. The survey questionnaire is divided into four sections: preliminary and eligibility section, assumptions and perceptions of arts-based revitalization, policy actors's location, service, knowledge and performance, and working with other organizations in the local policy network. The order of these questions will be adjusted to the real-life situation of the interview process. The complete survey instrument is included in the appendix of the proposal. To increase response rate of the survey, the first section starts with the question that asks survey respondents to choose the reason that they do not want to participate and recommend someone else in their organization or

personal social network to respond the survey. As an individual may serve different organizations in the community, the first section will ask the individual to list all the organizations they serve but only answer name generators and interpreters as a representation of one primary organization he or she is affiliated with. The second section will include a list of questions regarding respondents' opinions and beliefs/priorities/ on relationship between art and community (re)development and government funding for the arts. Questions regarding the level of agreement to a statement will use a seven-point Likert scale to measure.

The network data part of the survey instrument specifically is composed of two components: name generators and name interpreters. The name generators are a series of questions used to elicit eligible network actors to be sampled in each subsequent generation (Morris, 2004, p. 5). The name generators are questions regarding attributes of survey respondents and their relationships with their nominees. The name generator of the third section asks a survey respondent to list as many as organizations his or her organization or as an individual has worked with in Franklinton or on Franklinton revitalization relevant issues. These formal or informal working partners do not need to be physically located in Franklinton. The name interpreters ask questions about the basic attributes of organizations and organizational outcome. The basic attributes include service type the policy actor or his/her organizations are involved and tax status, etc. The organizational performance focuses on internal perceived organizational performance and resilience of organizations of different kinds.

As the sample frame of the initial respondents are critical to the ultimate success of the research, the researcher has conducted preliminary interviews with two major business entities in East Franklinton as two local contacts to help distribute the survey through their contact list. For each wave of data collection, three rounds of survey will be sent to initial respondents and nominated organizations every other week to encourage their participation. The survey is attached at the end the reference list.

4.1.4. Semi-Structured Elite Interview

Although survey instrument was designed based on academic research on policy network and organizational management, the researcher conducted informal interviews with two leaders of two community organizations and two research experts on public administration and nonprofit studies to verify that the predefined types of relationships and survey items for perceived network effectiveness of individual organizations are widely recognized and similarly understood by different types of organizations. In order to achieve the diverse variation of different organizations involved in the interested issue, the research will use a stratified purposeful sampling approach to choose one information rich expert in each key type of organizations in the East Franklinton revitalization project to conduct semi-structured, in-depth elite interviews (Patton, 2002). The interviews focus on substantive experience of building and maintaining community partnership of organizations involved in East Franklinton revitalization.

Although the literature review and the theoretical framework in early sections will be used to guide the research, the interview questions are designed to be as open as possible to keep field data from being constrained by existing literature and theories

(Lather, 1986). The researcher will ask questions related to following three themes: 1) How is the community partnership coordinated towards the goals of revitalizing East Franklinton project? 2) What role does the local arts community play in the implementation process of East Franklinton project? 3) How does interest group and advocacy coalitions relevant to East Franklinton revitalization project make their voice heard by policy makers? Specific questions and wording will be adjusted depending on what organization is being interviewed. The appendix of the proposal includes the interview schedule.

4.1.5 Hyperlink Network Analysis and Hyperlink Data Collection

Hyperlink data can be obtained through observation and computer assistance (Park, 2003). The proposed research will use an online web network location and visualization software Issue Crawler developed by an Amsterdam-based foundation (Govcom.org, 2017) to collect the hyperlink network data of identified organizations. The crawler analyzes hyperlinks in three ways: co-link, snowball, and inter-actor. Co-links analysis starts crawling from the seed URLs and preserves the pages that receive at least two links from the seeds. Snowball analysis only retains pages receiving at least one link from the seeds. In-actor analysis retains inter-linking between the seeds.

In order to obtain a relatively complete list of organizations of both strongly and weakly connected to creative placemaking, the researcher will launch a snowball analysis to obtain a relative complete list of organizations relevant to creative placemaking and East Franklinton revitalization project respectively. The researcher will choose core organizations at the national level and local level in creative placemaking policy arena at

the researcher's discretion as seeds for snowball analysis. Then, the URLs of the seeds and organizations identified by snowball analysis will be submitted to Issue Crawler to for an in-actor analysis to retain their network structure. The time frame of obtaining hyperlink data via Issue Crawler varies between minutes and days depending on number of organizations and traffic of websites. Most organizations in the hyperlink network of the CPM have well-maintained websites. The software may not capture small organizations with small budget or resources to operate websites, but we assume that these organizations have limited impact on the issue agenda of interest.

4.1.6 A Case-Study Approach and the Utility of a Single Case

Using case study approach to study policy network performance of organizations is one of the three social network analysis traditions (Berry, et al., 2004). Similar to innovative network effectiveness studies on mental health service delivery organizations of the US (Provan and Milward, 1995). However, the exploratory and descriptive nature of the proposed research will study the federal hyperlink network and East Franklinton project as the only case at the federal and local level respectively. Choosing the East Franklinton community is also practical for the researcher to gain easy access to field observation and data collection, given the limited time and funding for the dissertation. Single-case design (N=1) is a major threat for causal inference and generalization of research findings for social research (King, et al., 1994). It is necessary to clarify usages and goals of single case study in this specific research context.

At the federal level, the proposed research considers the NEA' creative placemaking policy as a case to study its policy issue network evoked by hyperlinks of

more than 30 significant government agencies, nonprofit organizations and corporations at the national level. At the local level, the East Franklinton revitalization project is the case to understand the underlying inter-organizational network structure. The units (the vertices and edges) of the proposed case study are different types of organizations involved in the East Franklinton creative revitalization plan in Columbus and their resource ties that form the local creative placemaking issue network. As more than 40 local and national organizations are involved in the East Franklinton revitalization project, the amount of organizations in the community can generate adequate network data including relationships, attributes and attitudes of organizations. Useful variation of the data can be expected in the dimensions of interests.

A single case study is a good choice to do *in-depth* analysis (Yin, 1994). The proposed research adopts a case-study approach to the CPM policy network at both federal level and local level. The hyperlink network of federal organizations looks into the structure of policy agenda network. The local network of East Franklinton investigates how beliefs influence local network structure formation and how local network structure impact behaviors and performance of individual organizations in the particular creative placemaking project. The researcher will also compare the similarity between the federal policy agenda network and local policy network with respect to their network structure and attributes. The employment of qualitative interview and analysis will generate context specific information to facilitate and validate the analysis of quantitative network analysis. The mixed-method analysis across different levels of

social network of the CPM policy yields a comprehensive understanding and prospect of the interested policy area and community from a relational point of view.

The in-depth single case analysis is very informative as it yields substantive knowledge useful for practitioners and policy actors (Gerring, 2004). Elgin and Weible (2013) studied the political coalition network of Colorado climate and energy issue as a stakeholder analysis of activities and strategies of coalitions from the network perspective. The local level network component of the proposed study is an exploratory and evaluative effort in using social network analysis to understand partnership and organizational beliefs and attitudes in arts and culture-led community development. The study elucidates specific issues and patterns of community partnership in the particular research site: East Franklinton, which offers a holistic network view for community leaders and entrepreneurs who usually only have partial view of the community network structure at their local position. The research also tends to assess whether the local network fostered by the specific CPM policy helps improve the performance and capacity of organizations in terms of information and resource exchange, which will further enhance the sustainability of the community.

Case choice of case studies desire 1) a representative or unique sample and 2) useful variation on the dimensions of theoretical interest (Seawright and Gerring, 2008, p. 296). At the federal level, arts policy in the US is a unique policy domain administered by an independent federal agency that is highly sensitive to any political and cultural change over the past six decades. Arts policy is an idiosyncratic presence in the literature of social network analysis with great potential in discovering salient knowledge and trends

for both the particular policy area and the general policy field. In addition, very few theories and research approaches popular in the general literature of policy and political research have been adaptively tested or used in arts policy. The CPM policy engages unprecedentedly broad range of partners in the arts policy domain horizontally and vertically, so the proposed study takes the CPM as a distinctive case to explore the characteristics and complexity of the policy across local and federal level.

At the local level, the Franklinton project in Columbus is also a *representative* and *unique* arts and culture-led community development project in many ways. Columbus is a major arts and cultural center in the Midwestern United States with vital and growing creative scenes surrounded by predominant conservative political ethos. The East Franklinton area is one of its oldest community carrying rich industrial histories of the city. The East Franklinton Creative Community Revitalization Plan is intended to transform the dilapidated community led by frequent flooding in its history and the construction of Interstate Highway System during 60s into an art and innovation district by utilizing the resources of local arts community and the vacant buildings. The revitalization project is a concerted effort of local government, nonprofit and business entities, and local arts and creative community. Artplace America awarded a \$350,000 grant to Franklinton Development Association for relocating a major local integrated arts business to one of the vacant buildings of the East Franklinton community in collaboration with local government and arts communities. The American Planning Association awarded the City of Columbus with the 2014 National Planning Excellence Award for Innovation in Economic Planning and Development for the East Franklinton

revitalization project (Bandar and Sweeney, 2014). Researching on a best practice like the East Franklinton revitalization project will generate and disseminate important practical and policy implication for cities adopting creative placemaking development strategy and organizations involved in such projects.

Another reason for choosing the Franklinton revitalization project as the case is that the local policy advocacy community of creative placemaking is growing rapidly in Columbus. The reports of media and academic research shows a growing number of participants in the dialogues and practices of creative placemaking movement in Columbus. The National Creative Placemaking consortium established the only Creative Placemaking Certificate program in collaboration with Knowlton School of Architecture at the Ohio State University as an information hub for entrepreneurs, urban planners, community leaders and researchers around the world to produce and exchange knowledge on creative placemaking. The topic issue of 2016 Barnett Symposium host by the Department of Arts Administration, Education and Policy also focuses on how public policy facilitates arts and culture-led community development and urban economic growth. Pragmatic concerns like time, money, expertise and access are legitimate factors in the selection of case (Seawright and Gerring, 2008).

Besides, the single case study is a building block for comparative and predictive research to achieve generalization and causal inference in the future. Yi (2012) used ERGM to test hyperlink network structure of the US energy policy system at the federal level. Similarly, the hyperlink component of the proposed research is intended to discover the issue network structures of the CPM policy. It contributes a case to the revelation of

the general pattern of policy issue network. Because of the limited resources and capacity of researchers and research institute, a single-case studies are not rare in policy research. For instance, Heikkila, et al. (2014) studied policy change of hydraulic fracturing disclosure rule in 2011 Colorado through an in-depth content analysis and interview. These single case studies shed light on policy change process over time and theoretical factors that elucidate an instance of policy that may be difficult to find in large-n studies that reveal a general pattern for all (George and Bennett, 2005; Gerring, 2007). These single-case research is often followed by subsequent studies to compare with or generalize the findings of the initial study. The proposed research is not designed without further research agenda. The research strategy will be used to study other arts policy issues or CPM communities for comparative or causal inference purposed. Besides, the qualitative part of the proposed research is complimentary to quantitative

4.1.7 Mixed-Method Approach of Social Network Analysis

Mixed method is first introduced by Jick (1979) to seek convergence of quantitative and qualitative research. Mixed method takes advantage of strength and perspectives of quantitative and qualitative methods by recognizing the importance of the natural world as well as human experience and perspectives (Johnson, et. al, 2004). The proposed research will integrate quantitative and qualitative strategies to study inter-organizational partnership and relations in the complex urban innovation of the East Franklinton community. The proposed research will combine quantitative SNA with samples derived from surveys and hyperlinks with qualitative elite interview and archival

resources as a mutually informative process at both the level of data collection and analysis (Edwards, 2010).

The exploratory nature of qualitative approach provides complementary strengths to quantitative social network data and analysis in many ways. Qualitative interview helps the researcher determine the boundary of the social network, validate questions of survey instrument and reduce conceptual discrepancies between organizations and the researcher with respect to content, quality, and meaning of ties. More importantly, qualitative data raise the awareness of contextualizing the quantified social network data through pragmatic and viable interpretations from an '*insider's*' perspective (Edwards, 2010).

4.2 Discussion on the External Validity of the Proposed Research

4.2.1 External Validity and SNA

External validity is also called generalizability in quantitative research and transferability in qualitative or mixed-method research. Issues of external validity are seldom resolved completely, particularly in research with evaluative nature. But it is plausible and important to know what can be transferred from one study to other similar programs and/or new programs given what we know about the local program under study (Mashion, 2005). The proposed research, in nature, means to generate descriptive and causal inference with attempts to find underlying causal effects (not causality) between nodal attributes (relational and non-relational) and policy performance as well as between micro-level structures and macro-level network structure of local creative placemaking

policy subsystem (a.k.a. what kind network structure it is) by marrying qualitative and quantitative research tools.

The current study focuses on one case in Columbus to explore the different types and measures of networks of creative placemaking policy to understand the relational mechanism of local arts-led urban development and its impact on performance of individual policy actors within the networks. This is a case study with a holistic design for the analysis of a single unit within which an embedded case constituted by multiple units is designed, as defined by Yin (2005). Discussing the external validity of the research not only facilitates clarifying the ontological, epistemological, and methodological approaches of a social inquiry, but has also become an increasingly important challenge for practitioners in any type of development efforts with complex issues and relations involved to address the general knowledge learned from specific development cases in a unique situation (Woolcock, 2010; Yin, 2010). Single-case studies have been criticized for the lack of generalizability, however, the meaning of generalization for a case study, specifically a case study in social network analysis, has to be clarified beforehand.

All kinds of case studies, regardless the number of cases, are less relevant to statistical generalization due to the specificity of cases bounded by temporal and spatial factors. In the context of social network analysis, samples are often drawn from unidentifiable population within a purposive boundary or a certain social network system through non-probabilistic methods. Too many particularities in a complex social system may threaten the generalization of findings to data beyond our observations (Robins,

2015). SNA researchers have little interest in generalizing their research outcome to a similar population in a probabilistic way (Hanneman, 2005). The network system is complex and unique by itself but we can tease out an abstract pattern within the mass of facts within the system (King et al., 1994).

SNA case studies investigate both a network system as a whole and the structural rules within the network. Although it is hard to justify the generalizability of the research outcome based on a study of the whole network, it is appropriate to argue that the behaviors of nodes and configurations of ties can be generalized at the nodal level within the network system (Robins, 2015). In the case of my dissertation, I will elicit a policy network by asking entities and employees working in a variety of organizations involved in Franklinton development who they work with on Franklinton creative revitalization issues or who they work closely as a partner within Franklinton neighborhood to identify the policy network. This sample elicited by snowball sampling approach is a portion of the whole network system. I am interested in knowing how node level attributes, policy belief, knowledge, perceived organizational priorities, and preferred organizational attributes of individual policy actors influence the perceived outcomes of organizational performance (calculated by taking averages of the perceived scores rated by individuals).

It is appropriate to say that the research outcome generated from the above set of variables can be generalized within the Franklinton development system. But we would wonder whether the outcome applies to similar development projects in other places, or whether the policy network mechanism in urban development can be generalized to other policy arenas. Following the logic that particularities of cases limit their generalizability,

the nodal level research outcome also bears the threat to generalization within the system. Because the different political cultures of organizations in the policy network also affect the network dynamics.

Increasing the number of networks is definitely the best way to expand the generalizability of our findings. However, it is very expensive, difficult, and time consuming to collect such data. Therefore, what SNA case studies contribute to the general knowledge are persuasive theoretical arguments with the potential of generalization as well as innovative hypothesis, new ideas, and possibilities that can be taken into future studies with different datasets (Robins, 2015). In another word, the external validity of a case study of the policy network is not only about the quantity of cases, but the number of dimensions, observations, and measurements exploited from attainable data based on a deep understanding of coherent or competing concepts and theories in the research field.

4.2.2 Learning from SNA Single-Case Studies in Policy and Management Studies

The difficulty in data collection and the lack of statistical generalization of network case studies do not mean that we need to give up network studies or the effort to increase their generalizability. In the intellectual history of social network analysis, many important theories on social network were initiated from provocative single-case studies and developed into research *programs* across research teams in different fields of social sciences. This section reviews the recent single-case studies in policy network research field followed by an analysis on how authors of these studies tried to increase the generalizability of their research by referring to principles of scientific inference

explicated in *Designing Social Inquiry* (King et al., 1994). The fundamental validity problem a single case study needs to deal with is to avoid making an indeterminate research design that attempts to generate more inferences or implications than allowed for by the number of observations and the misconception that an explanation depends only on one causal variable (King et al., 1994).

As King et al. (1994, p. 217) defined that an observation is one measure of one dependent variable on one unit, single-case study is not equivalent to single-observation study. The best alternative technique to strengthen the generalizability of a study without drastically changing research focus (sometimes it is the second-best solution when additional data is unattainable) is to increase the number of observations from few cases by investigating its subparts and developing new observations from different levels of analysis by redefining their nature (King et al., 1994). King et al. (1994, pp. 219-228) proposed three approaches as a coherent process to generate rich data and analysis with academic rigor to expand the number of observations: 1) increase the number of units across space (the same level or different levels depending on the specification of theories) or over time to test the same hypothesis with the same sets of explanatory and response variables; Independence between observation is not assumed in social network analysis by its nature, and sometimes the dependence provides key information on the evolution of a network. 2) increase or change measurements for certain variables that are difficult to measure directly or by only one indicator. We can break down one explanatory variable as a process into one or multiple proxy/alternative variables and an index of variables with data that can be collected more easily to measure the original variable. 3)

Specifying the causal mechanism between variables in the proposed theory helps discover new observations at a lower level, which may introduce new explanatory variables that are not appropriate for the original units. The new units and measurement must be engendered from the causal mechanism which contributes to a “particular theory, theoretical construct, or theoretical (not only actual) sequence of events” (Yin, 2010, p. 21)

The review of research projects below is not to justify the external validity of my research by giving examples of single-case studies but to demonstrate the possible contribution of single-case studies to substantive policy areas with rich information and practically meaningful analysis and the flexible utility of social network analysis. The review will not only explain the challenges of external validity they are faced but to show the variety of techniques used by experienced researchers to deal with generalization issues within one case and live up to the potential of limited data resource and existing theories. The nine studies reviewed below all explicitly discussed the limitation inherent in research design based on single cases and admitted the lack of statistical rigor in their studies. I will comment on each article on how they expand their observations or address generalization issues after a short description of each study.

Provan et al. (2002) studied a single, urban service delivery system of health and human service organization in Pima County, Arizona. They found the positive effect of managed care system on the collaboration and cooperation between health care nonprofit organizations. They increased the number of observations over time by using network data collected at two time points to enhance the external validity of their research. Huang

and Provan (2006) studied structures of five subnetworks based on different types of resources (contracts, influence, referrals, reputations, and information) within one service provision partnership network in the field of mental health service. They found that the network structures differ from each other depending on the nature of resources and governance of network administrative organization controlling resources. This study created five new units for the single service network by constructing five subnetworks based on different relations, which increased observations as well as measures at the same time.

Prell et al. (2009) studied natural resource management network by conducting a case study from the British Peak District National Park to inform stakeholder analysis and identified structurally central stakeholders in the network. Lubell et al. (2010) analyzed the coordinating roles of policy actors and institutions in water management games in the San Francisco Bay and developed a network theory out of ecology of games (Long, 1958) and actor centered institutionalism (1997). This study has little SNA statistical application. However, it took a lens of practitioners to translate key concepts and existing theories of SNA into practically meaningful guide to identify stakeholders and conduct qualitative stakeholder analysis with supplementary in-depth quantitative data. They find that their findings about the identity and roles of central and isolated actors based on SNA analysis largely coincide with perceptions of stakeholders in a conference. Although their findings have little generalizability with respect to its substantive knowledge gained for the particular policy area, they contribute a new way of

doing stakeholder analysis for policy decisions and partnerships in natural resource management.

Lee et al. (2012) studied the economic development policy network in Orlando metropolitan area to identify preferred network structure of government and nongovernment organizations, and the organizational homophily effect in inter-organizational collaboration with ERGM. Feiock et al. (2012) compared different roles and social network patterns of elected and appointed officials in local governments in the metropolitan area of Orlando, Florida. They found that both politicians and bureaucrats are more likely to form tightly clustered network structures for economic development collaboration rather than information exchange. The similarity between patterns of the two networks implied that administrators tend to avoid economic risks resulted from dependence on popular actors and brokers incapable of identifying potential competitors as well as the willingness to protect their politically vulnerable career tenure. Both studies expanded observations by shifting their focus from the single economic development policy network to different types of subnetworks to observe the influence of organizational and individuals' behaviors and preference on the formation of different types of subnetworks and their differing characteristics.

Elgin and Weible (2013) studied a policy network in Colorado climate and energy policy to examine and compare the framework of Policy Analytical Capacity and Advocacy Coalition Framework in explaining coalition formation in the policy subsystem. Henry and Vollen (2014) developed a synthetic understanding on how network properties explain policy outcomes and how institutional context influences the

process of network evolution by analyzing organizational contacts in the US Environmental Risk Policy around 1984. Yi and Scholz (2016) compared one network of Tampa Bay water management policy subsystem constructed by three types of data: media reports (media-based network), hyperlinks of policy actors' websites (hyperlink-based network), and funding application partners (partnership-based network). They found that the results of ERGM in the three types of networks are highly comparable, suggesting that hyperlink is a viable data collection method for policy network researchers, though the substantive content measured by hyperlink is subject to the elucidation of researchers in specific research contexts. This study offers an alternative solution to data collection for policy network analysis by demonstrating similar structures and characteristics of network data elicited from different sources. One case is less valid than expected for sure, however, it initiated an innovative testable thesis for scholars in other policy fields to challenge or verify its argument.

4.3 External Validity of Proposed Dissertation

Yin (2012) defined analytical generalization as a two-step process: how conceptual claims of a study bear upon particularly theories or constructs or theoretical sequence of events and how findings from the research can be applied to similar situation or analogous events. King et al. (1994) discussed external validity of qualitative research from two aspects: determining what to observe and how to increase the number of observations. To strengthen the generalizability and avoid bias of the research, the case under study is not randomly selected and the study is designed to its best to increase number of observations within the case. In this section, I will discuss the external validity

of my dissertation from three aspects: why do I choose Columbus and Franklinton neighborhood to study the policy network of creative placemaking? How do I improve the external validity of my research by increasing the number of observations within the case? How will I refine the research design in future studies on this topic?

4.3.1 Case Selection

The typical practices of case selection in qualitative social inquiry that emphasize a rounded and comprehensive account of certain event or unit include: 1) The instance is critical by its own right. For instance, Comfort and Kapucu (2006) studied the emergency management network by using the 9/11 incident as an extreme event. 2) A certain area with a certain part of its culture and history being studied in full detail (King, et al., 1994). The seminal work of Padgett and Ansell (1993) presented a sociological study on the political parties and elites network underlying the rise of Medici family from 1400 to 1434 in Italy. 3) The case is a typical or representative exemplar of a particular type of event (King, et al., 1994; Seawright and Gerring, 2008). Most case studies in social network do not argue for the typicality of cases selected. My understanding of the ambiguity is that SNA research is interested in relationships between actors. However, it is very difficult to know if the structure or characteristics of a selected network is a representative case or not before constructing networks from a large number of cases in similar events. Differing from traditional statistical analysis of a phenomena, it is very difficult to argue for typicality of a network of a selected case other than certain characteristics of its settings or background with inherent impact on the formation of the network. However, the complexity of these setting cannot be easily converted into

quantitative explanatory or control variables as a part of statistical models due to possible reduction of key factors, which makes the mixed-method indispensable in most social network analysis research.

As the Franklinton neighborhood and its CPM project are embedded in the city of Columbus and its downtown development, understanding the setting of both the neighborhood and the city is important to study the nested policy network across the two geographical scales. Representativeness is often used to justify the generalization of social inquiries; however, we must be aware that the combination of representative and unique dimensions constitutes a case and makes research on it more meaningful in policy practices. The proposed research uses a mixed-method strategy to offset the inadequacy of network survey or interviews as the only data source and the limitation of quantitative network analysis in explaining the substances and subtlety within the politics of urban development policy and the limitation of qualitative research in generalizing its findings to a broader population (Creswell and Clark, 2010).

My research chooses to study the Franklinton neighborhood in Columbus, because the neighborhood and the city have both representative dimensions in the arts-led urban development as well as culturally and historically unique dimensions that can provide additional information to enrich the analysis on its social network. According to the grantee database of the NEA and ArtPlace America, most funded projects are in medium-sized urban areas with population ranging from 250,000 to 999,999. Columbus is considered as a typical medium-sized city in the recipient dataset of the NEA. The demographic make-up of Columbus is very similar to the overall demographic

composition of the United States by ethnicity. The GDP of Columbus is ranked in 30 among 50 biggest metropolitan area. The medium household income is \$44,782 which is about the median of all the American metropolitan area (U.S. Census Bureau, 2017).

Despite of the representativeness of Columbus as an average American city, Columbus is one of the fastest growing cities in the US and became the 14th largest city in 2016 with a population of 860,090 according to the most recent census data (U.S. Census Bureau, 2017). Columbus is also one of the seven smart city challenge grant recipients from the Department of Transportation on innovative solutions to city transportation issues. Besides, the relatively diversified economy and early flood damage make the economy of Columbus more resilient than its Rust Belt neighbors, though its history was never as glorious as these neighbors. Although the reputation of Columbus in arts is usually overshadowed by Chicago, the budding arts scene in Columbus brought in two global top 100 art collectors: Pizzuti Collection and the Wexner Center for the Arts. With respect to the political system of the city, only 16.4% of American metropolitan cities with more than 200,000 population has an at-large council election system (Svara, 2003). Columbus is one of the very few big cities with a population over 800,000 people using the at-large election system, which resulted in underrepresentation of certain districts and groups of people in the city.

Despite the background of Columbus, the focal place of the study Franklinton community is also a typical example of indigent urban community with predominantly white low-income Appalachian-descended residents. In the case of Franklinton, flooding of Scioto river in the past two centuries impoverished this community which had been

considered a promising industrial land with easy access to water traffic. Both the river and the later built interstate highway SR 315 isolated the community from the rest of Columbus downtown area. The flood wall was not finished until 2004, which is a prelude to the revitalization of the community. The historical and social condition of Franklinton is intrinsically unique. Nevertheless, it can be taken as one of the representative cases of poor whites in concentrated poverty within a community which is not common among low-income whites.

Though the Franklinton neighborhood is a typical case arts-led urban revitalization in terms of its three-stage process: artists came to increase the value of the land, which is followed by large investment from developers and businesses, leading to displacement or gentrification eventually of the city and the Franklinton community members. The CPM grants seem to be more aware of the issues than previous waves of arts-led regeneration. The facts imply that the thriving arts scene, ample social and cultural assets, rapid growth of Columbus, and the representative social and cultural conditions of the urban Appalachian neighborhood in Franklinton make it a rich case to investigate the CPM project within the ordinary American city.

4.3.2 Making More from One Case

My dissertation studies both national and local policy networks. In the original proposal of my dissertation, I planned to test the self-organizing structure of local CPM network by using network constructed through snowball sampling. With revisions, I would like to collect hyperlink data of 66 *Our Town* projects across small, mid-sized, and large American officially released by the NEA as well as a 30 percent sample of 158

urban projects funded by ArtPlace to test the pattern of local CPM networks that can be generalized to arts-led urban development programs in other cities. I will search local news reports, evaluation reports, and other archived documents of these programs to identify policy actors and the websites of the local CPM initiatives to construct their networks. As the arts-led urban development network is a self-organizing organization without a centralized management mechanism of the network actors, we are interested in knowing the relevant micro-structures for self-organizing networks in this policy subsystem. ERGM model that includes relevant demographic information of communities where these projects are located as control variables will be used on the N=114 hyperlink networks to find out the relevant structures.

The quantitative findings from hyperlink networks will improve the external validity of the current study by providing a comparable basis for the survey data collected in Franklinton. With hyperlink data, we can rank all network characteristics of the 114 communities under study and locate the position of Franklinton among these communities. We assume that other communities have similar type of coalition members with Franklinton, then, the findings in network of Franklinton data collected by survey can be generalized to other communities in a degree. Besides, qualitative analysis on data gathered from interviews in the Franklinton case can better explain the substantive information contained in its survey network, which can inform CPM policy actors in other places of the possible meaning for their hyperlink or survey networks. The structural patterns tested on hyperlink networks will also be compared with network structures of three networks constructed based on three types of networks (tangible

resources including financial and commercial transactions, intangible resources including information, ideas, or advice solicitation, or informal or formal political alliance or coalition for certain policy issues). If the dominant micro-structures of networks built on the exchange of three different relations is the same, then findings in one type of relations may be generalized to other types of relations. If the hyperlink network structures share similar micro-level structures with any type of the three relations, it may help determine what exactly the hyperlink network tries to measure and whether it can be used as a reliable substitute for survey network data to analyze the virtual relations between network members.

Shifting attention to the level of individual policy actors whose cognitive factors influence and are being influenced by network structures, the study increases the number of observable units within the single case by focusing on individual policy actors within the local CPM policy network, which can be generalized to communities implementing CPM projects analogous to the Franklinton development project. This part of the proposed research studies the impact of behaviors and attitudes along with node-level network attributes of individual organizations on perceived organizational outcomes with respect to their financial health, service or program innovation capacity, and overall community influence and reputation.

4.3.3 Contribution to Policy Network Theories

External validity cares about the contribution of a study as a part of research program or development of a series of theories. My dissertation contributes to two lines of research, local urban arts policy and policy network, in the following ways: first, my

research is probably the first attempt to combine quantitative SNA research method and theories with qualitative interview in studying the interdisciplinary field of arts administration, cultural policy, cultural economy, regional and urban planning, and geography.

Experienced creative placemaking consultant and researcher, Tom Borrup (2015) argues that social capital is a vital driver of community building in the form of a social network of placemaking participants. He studied horizontal creative placemaking networks qualitatively in three cultural districts and found that policy makers and planners must actively build capacity for forming and organizing a horizontal network to exploit the social and economic potential of the creative sector for a more equitable and resilient community development. The effective vertical networks of policy makers can contribute to the formation and coordination of cross-sectoral horizontal network. From the perspective of practice, the current research provides a strategy to identify and quantify relationships and network structures to understand the social-political complex of the implementation and evaluation of arts-led urban development policy. I believe that the research approach and findings can be modified and generalized as a mixed-method tool of community planning or evaluation to describe the internal mechanism in the black box of capture 'social capital' of communities in a tangible form for any type of arts-led urban development projects in any type of communities.

In respect to the line of policy network research, competing network theories have been under development to formulate a causal mechanism for policy process based on existing public policy and management theories including policy diffusion (e.g. Berry

and Berry, 1990, 1992; Minstrom, 2000), Advocacy Coalition Framework (e.g. Sabatier and Weible, 2004), resource dependency (e.g. Pfeffer and Salancik, 1978) and functional interdependence (e.g. Chisholm, 1989), institutional rational analysis (e.g. Ostrom, 1972, 1990), transaction-cost framework (e.g. North, 1990; Williamson, 1975, 1981), social capital theory (e.g. Woolcock and Narayan, 2000; Berardo and Scholz, 2010), and ecology of game (e.g.), etc.

The ecology of game is becoming a more synthetic theory that allows researchers to use theories and concepts in the established policy process theories with those in social network analysis to explain phenomena in different policy issues and domains. The network theory of ecology of game has been tested with relevant conceptual constructs provided by social capital theory (trust-based network formation), belief systems of ACF, and performance indicators of public administration. By replicating some hypotheses raised by some seminal policy network studies based on policy process theories, the proposed research is intended to test, verify, and improve the research hypotheses, findings, and assumptions in the context of arts-led urban development. Although the research open to other literature, the proposed research is not simple borrowing from these studies. It proposes relevant variables with more specificities emerging from the specific context of arts-led urban development to test hypotheses regarding self-organized policy network extended from existing literature. For instance, Berardo and Scholz (2010) used bonding and bridging structures as proxies to level of risks perceived by network members. The proposed research will directly ask members about their perception on substantive risks (social, financial, and political) and policy priorities or

preferences associated with being part of the game. The specificities of these key concepts which develops specific constructs for these key concepts to explore whether they can be generalized across each other.

General policy process research rarely includes arts policy cases due to the difficulty in data collection and volatile social and cultural factors in the policy domain. The arts policy case of my study contributes to the network theory of policy process by making a case in the field of arts policy which is a less salient field ignored by policy scholars. The proposed research open to literature and method in the study of other policy domains break the silo between arts policy and empirical studies on general policy process as an effort of cross-fertilization. The research may or may not generate comparable findings with policy network studies in other policy domains. If the result is not comparable, it is also critical for us to understand the uniqueness of the social structure of the policy field and what makes it unique. It contributes to the larger discourse of policy network study and external validity of existing policy network theories by exploring how the social and political process of contemporary urban arts policy is similar or different from that of other policy fields like environmental and public health with respect to relational structures between policy actors and factors that impact the structures.

The external validity of the proposed research discernably threatened by bias from the single case study, discrepancies between the modelled world and the real world, and historic effects that alter the conditions of the study. In terms of construct and measurement validity, the researchers have revised the research design by increasing

number of hyperlink networks, types of networks in survey, and constructs of concepts key to network structures, they still suffer from measure errors. For instance, hyperlinks network may have difficulties in capturing actors with restricted homepage, limited capacity to maintain a website, or temporary pages eliminated or changed across time. Weaker links may also be emphasized due to the low cost of creating links (Yi and Scholz, 2016). Besides, what exactly hyperlink networks try to measure and whether it overestimate or underestimate relational activities of network members in real world remain ambiguous in existing literature.

Chapter 5 Underlying Political Intention and Coalition Building Strategies of the NEA

5.1 Introduction

The NEA implements the CPM policy by forging and coordinating a national CPM policy network with participation and interactions of a broad array of public and private sectors across different professional fields. By analyzing the national CPM policy network and archived policy documents and media reports on the CPM policy, this chapter unpacks the roles, resources, and affected interests of policy actors, and their relationships with each other in the national CPM network.

Drawing upon the triple-bottom-line theory of Wyszomirski (2013) and the ACF (Sabatier and Weible, 2007), the analysis discovers that the NEA governs the national CPM policy network as an expanded arts advocacy coalition. The NEA uses a set of network governance strategies to influence policy actors' policy beliefs in the public value of art and coordinate the resources of policy actors towards not only the stated policy goals of the CPM, but also the underlying arts policy goal of the NEA for the whole nonprofit arts sector in the US.

This underlying policy goal refers to the evolving balance point in the triple-bottom-line composed of “financial sustainability, artistic vitality and recognized public value for the nonprofit arts” (Wyszomirski, 2013, p. 157). By governing the CPM national policy network and fostering a pro-arts coalition, the NEA endeavors to create a

virtuous cycle where the three goals of the triple-bottom-line feed and reinforce each other, generating a more self-sustaining ecosystem for the nonprofit arts sector.

The chapter also finds that the network governance strategies the NEA uses to achieve the transformation through network governance include: breaking the silo of arts policy, mobilizing policy belief and resources for coalition building, strengthening political legitimacy of the agency and public funding appropriation, advancing the accountability system of the agency and arts nonprofits, and improving financial inclusion of disadvantaged arts policy constituencies.

The following three sections of the chapter guide readers through the analytical process towards the findings stated above. The first section provides a brief overview of the network as a whole. The section revisits four different centrality measures that indicate the levels of advantages of policy actors affected by their structural positions in the network, namely structural advantages. The section presents the four network measures of the different groups of policy actors in boxplots. Analyzing the network measures through the boxplots, I identify the most crucial policy actors in the network, the advantages granted by their structural positions in the network, and the roles different groups of policy actors play in the network. The second section of the chapter introduces the substantive content of the relationship between the NEA and the policy actors in the network by their service group, explicating the underlying policy goal of the NEA and its network governance strategies. The final section of the chapter concludes the chapter by integrating analysis and findings of the previous sections.

5.2 A Brief Review of Centrality Measures and the National CPM Network

In social network analysis, indegree centrality, outdegree centrality, betweenness centrality, and eigenvector centrality are four commonly used centrality scores to measure the power of policy actors regarding the level of their popularity (or authority), activity, connectivity, and reachability in a network respectively. Indegree centrality is the number of ties received by a policy actor, indicating the extent of popularity and authority of that actor. Outdegree centrality is the number of ties sent by a policy actor, indicating the extent of tie-initiation activity of a policy actor but not necessarily its actual influence. The calculation of eigenvector centrality is intended to compute the smallest farness of a policy actor to other actors by taking the global structure of the network into account. This centrality measures the importance of policy actors by the reach of a policy actor's influence in the network. Betweenness centrality is calculated by the number of paths a policy actor lies between any two unconnected policy actors. This centrality indicates the connectivity and leverage of the policy actor as a broker in the network. In this section, I use boxplots to illustrate the general pattern of the four types of centrality and identify the most crucial policy actors based on their centrality scores.

Figure 10 displays the boxplots for all types of centrality scores of policy actors in the network. The band in the middle of the boxes are the medians of each centrality type. The circles with labels represent policy actors with extreme centrality scores (outliers) in the network. The boxplots show that the NEA and ArtPlace America are the most important policy actors in the network for being outliers in all the four types of centrality. As the leading organizations that provide definition, funding, and knowledge for the

CPM policy, they are the most authoritative policy actors with the most political resource in the CPM network. With the highest betweenness centrality scores, the two organizations are also the most significant brokers in the network, bridging unconnected policy actors within and across different sectors. The NEA and ArtPlace America also have the highest eigenvector centrality scores, indicating that they occupy positions in the network that allow them to be the most influential policy actors.

In addition to the NEA and ArtPlace America, the Kresge Foundation, the United States Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), the Local Initiatives Support Corporation (LISC), Springboard for the Arts (SFTA) are authoritative and popular policy actors in comparison to other policy actors since they have extremely high indegree centrality. The Kresge Foundation, the HUD, US Water Alliance (USWA), and Americans for the Arts (AFTA) are key brokers in the network with extremely high betweenness centrality scores. These organizations have the highest level of connectivity and leveraging power in the network, because the connection between other policy actors depends on their bridging activities. The structural significance of these policy actors demonstrates the significant roles they play in the CPM policy, which is explained in detail in the next section.

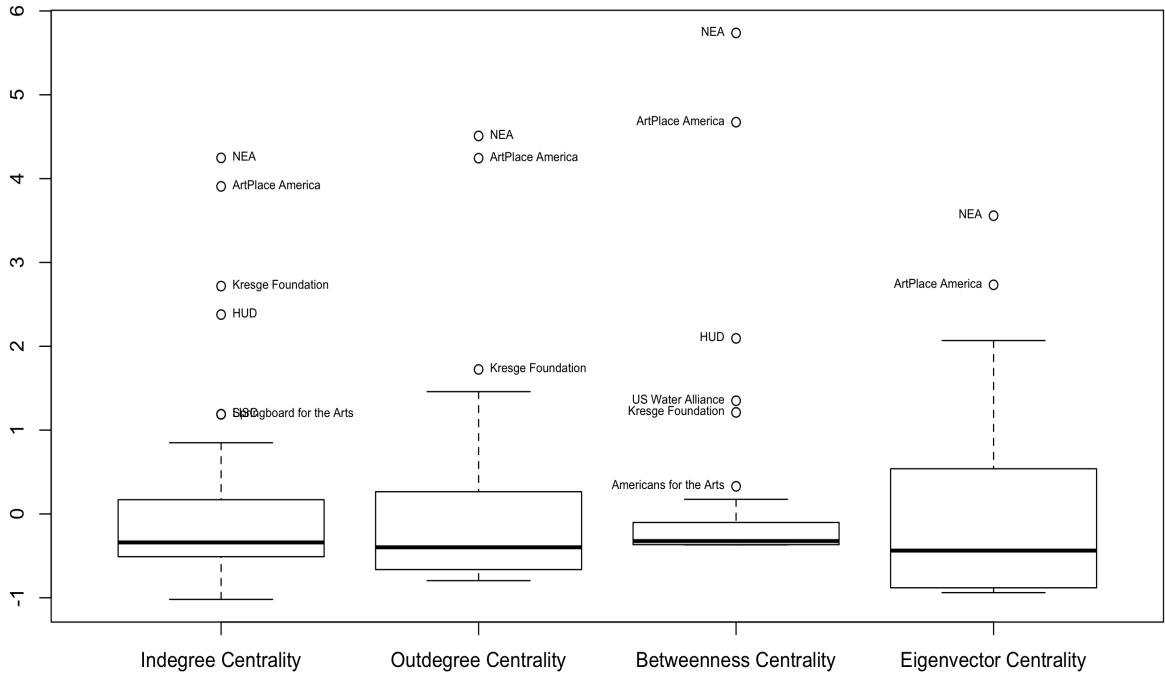


Figure 10 The Boxplots for Four Types of Centrality

By reviewing archived policy documents and media reports on the CPM, I identified 69 key policy actors consisting of the national CPM policy network. The NEA and ArtPlace America build this network strategically to obtain different types of resources and amplify its influence through these policy actors. By reviewing the missions of the policy actors involved and their specific involvement in the CPM, I divided the policy actors into five categories based on the different types of services they specialize. Table 2 shows the number of policy actors and their service fields: federal government agencies, advocacy and professional service organizations in the arts and development sectors, consulting and research organizations in the arts and development

sector, foundations and banks that provide financial support for the CPM policy. All types of policy actors have at least one representative being an outlier in the boxplots of centrality scores above, implying that the NEA successfully engages a diversity of policy actors from various sectors and fields to lead and influence the CPM policy at the national level.

Service Types	Count
Government	9
Advocacy and professional service	25
Consulting and research	11
Foundation	17
Bank	7
Total	69

Table 2 The Composition of the National CPM Policy Network

The five groups of policy actors have distinct patterns of structural attributes in the network. Figure 11, Figure 12, Figure 13, and Figure 14 display the boxplots of the four types of centrality scores by service groups of policy actors. Regarding the significant policy actors in the network, group-based boxplots show similar results with the centrality-based boxplots. The next section gives a specific introduction to policy actors and explains the network governance strategies of the NEA by each service group. The comparison of the four types of centrality across groups renders the following overall patterns and findings regarding the structural attributes of each group:

- Government agencies have the highest median of in-degree centrality. Other types of organizations have very similar medians for indegree

centrality. This indicates that the government agencies are the authoritative group of the CPM policy with the NEA and the HUD being the most important representatives. To federal government agencies, arts policy is typically a marginal policy area, and the NEA is the official leader of the NEA. Therefore, the NEA is the only government agency that actively sends ties to others in the network.

- The government agencies have a slightly higher level of bridging power, indicating that government agencies are the broker group in the network. The NEA and the HUD are the most important brokers that bridge within and across the arts sector and the development sector. However, the government agencies have the least eigenvector centrality on average, implying that federal government agencies have very small reachability in this CPM policy network as a group except that the NEA has the largest reachability among all policy actors.
- The advocacy and professional service organizations and the consulting and research organizations are nonprofit organizations consisting of the interest groups and constituencies of the NEA, the HUD, the EPA among other federal agencies. They both have a larger median of outdegree centrality in contrast to other groups, indicating that these two types of organizations have a higher level of activity on average comparatively. Because their professional expertise allows them to foster field discussion, knowledge distribution, and influence public opinions on policy issues.

The average betweenness centrality scores of all the four groups are close to one another and the government agencies have slightly higher average betweenness score. The plots indicate that the advocacy and professional organizations initiate relations with others actively by sending ties frequently though such activities do not necessarily give them large leveraging power in the network structure. Regarding eigenvector centrality, the advocacy and professional service organizations and the consulting and research organizations do have extended influence in the network due to their high level of reachability.

- The online social activity of foundations and banks are extremely low in general while the group has four outliers with exceptionally large outdegree centrality and one outlier with very large indegree centrality. Banks and foundations are the most critical financial resources for the CPM policy to be carried out tangibly through local projects. They do not seem to have a strong motivation to initiate ties actively regarding the CPM considering their support for the CPM is only one of their large number of investments and the CPM policy actors are considered as a type of clients to them. Thus, it is also not surprising to find that the financial organizations (foundations and banks) have the lowest level of bridging power in the network. Exceptionally, the CITI bank has a relatively high betweenness centrality, indicating that the bank has more structural brokerage advantage than other banks. The broker position of the CITI

banks is created by the ties it receives rather than those it sends, which does not indicate any substantive social activity of the bank in the network. The Kresge Foundation and the American Architecture Foundation (AAF) also have larger betweenness centrality scores and outdegree centrality scores, indicating that the Kresge Foundation and the AAF actively leverage and bridge other policy actors in the network.

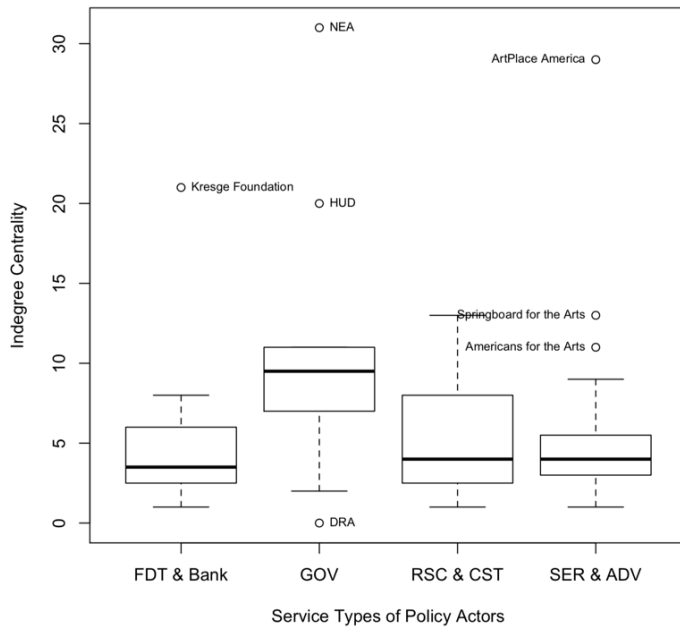


Figure 11 Boxplots of Indegree Centrality by Group

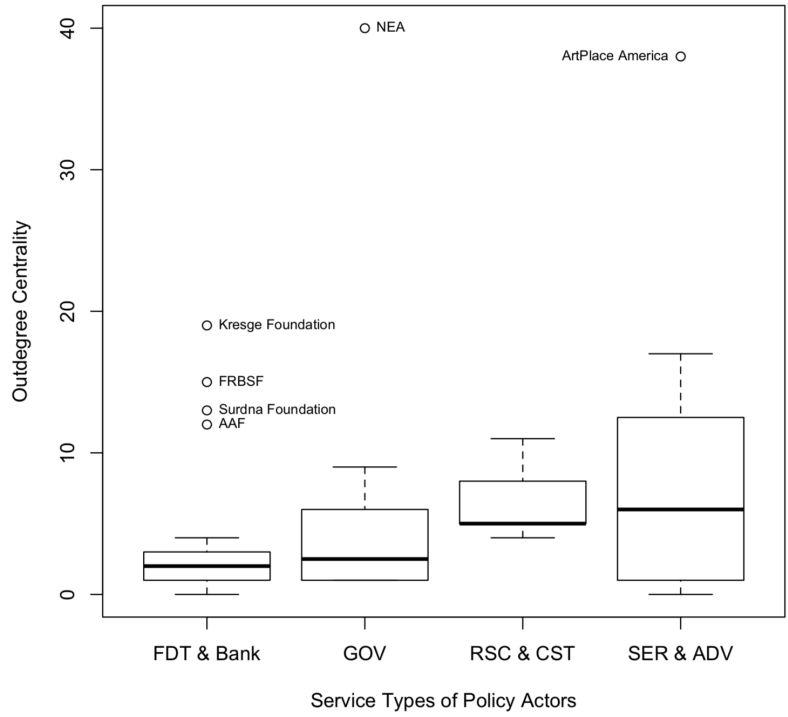


Figure 12 Boxplots of Outdegree Centrality by Group

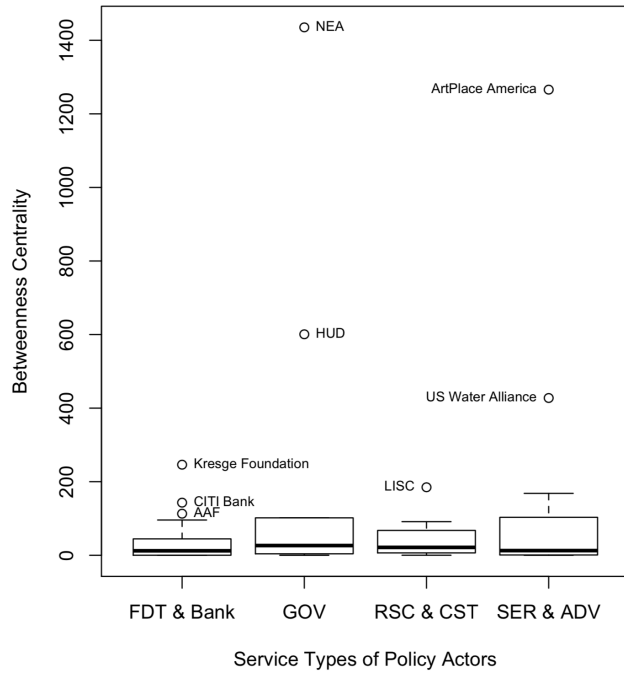


Figure 13 Boxplots of Betweenness Centrality by Group

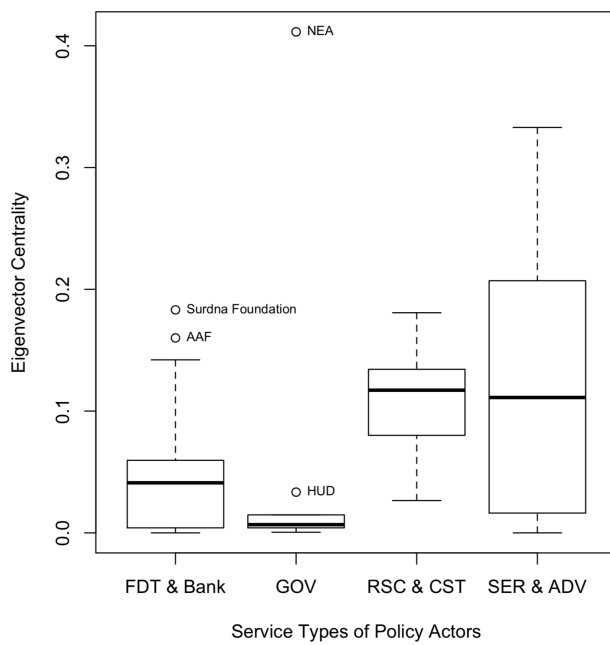


Figure 14 Boxplots of Eigenvector Centrality by Group

In summary of the findings above, the four groups of policy actors play distinct roles, maintaining a functional CPM policy network at the national level. In general, the group of federal government agencies is the authority and broker of the national CPM policy network with the NEA and the HUD being the leading agencies. The research and consulting organizations and the professional service and advocacy organizations play the role of influencers, reaching deep in the network without outliers with extremely high scores. The foundations and banks are financial providers without many online social activities going on except for the Kresge Foundation which leads the CPM movement with the NEA and ArtPlace America. The analysis above analyzes the general patterns of the network and the roles different groups of policy actors play in the network while identifying the most critical policy actors in the network. To deepen the understanding the relationship between the network structure and the federal level CPM policy, the next section uncovers the network management strategies of the NEA by delving into structures and policy actors in each of the four groups with the explanation to the substantive content of policy actors' roles in the network and their relationship with the NEA.

5.3 Fostering and Strategizing A Broad-based Policy Coalition for the Arts

5.3.1 Coordinating Federal Interagency Relationship

Actors and network. The NEA and ArtPlace America developed the CPM policy and announced their partnership with an alliance of federal agencies including HUD, the Department of Health and Human Service (HHS), the Department of Agriculture (USDA), the Department of Education (ED), U.S. Department of Transportation (DOT),

the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation (ACHP), the Delta Regional Authority (DRA), the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), and the White House. A majority of the government agencies were creations of the Great Society program in the 60s and had collaborated with the NEA on tangible arts and cultural programs in the history before the funding and political crisis of the NEA in late 80s (Guo, 2015). Nevertheless, the NEA, for the first time, announced a strategic alliance of partners at the federal level through the CPM policy.

Figure 15 and Figure 16 below are the subgraphs of the national CPM policy network. The size of each circle in Figure 15 and Figure 16 represents the number of indegree and outdegree centrality scores of individual policy actors respectively. The larger the indegree centrality score a policy actor has, the larger circle it is represented in Figure 15. Similarly, the larger the outdegree centrality score a policy actor has, the

larger circle it is represented in Figure 16.

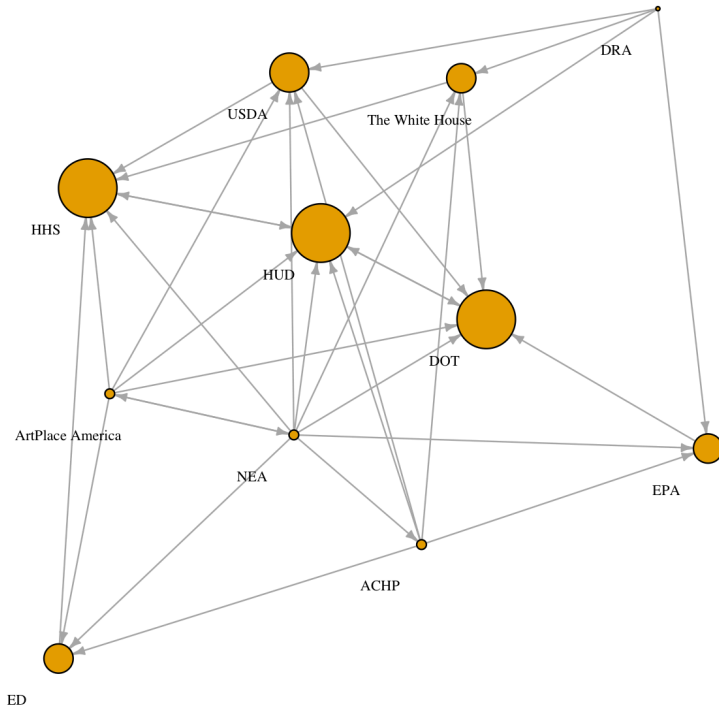


Figure 15 NEA's Federal Interagency Coordination Network: Indegree Centrality

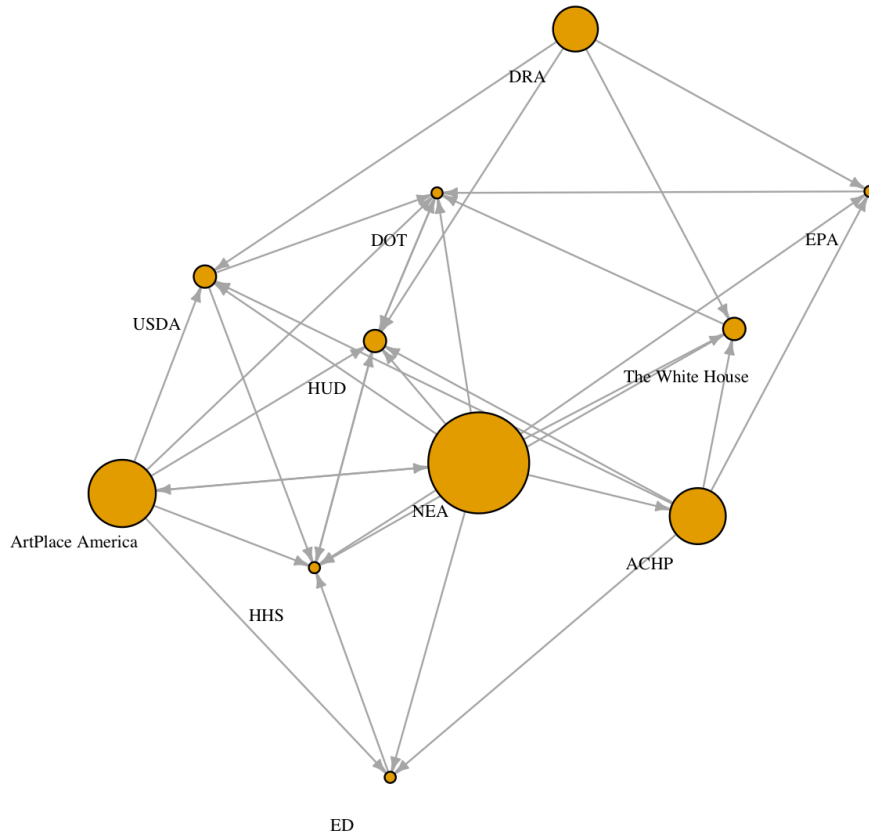


Figure 16 NEA’s Federal Interagency Coordination Network: Outdegree Centrality

Within the network of federal government agencies, HUD, DOT, and HHS are the most popular and resourceful policy actors frequently referred by other federal agencies in the network. The three agencies are much larger agencies with larger financial, management, and political capacities in comparison with the NEA and other independent federal agencies. Besides, they are considered the most relevant, authoritative, and

resourceful policy actors in policy issues of community development. Other agencies send links to them, seeking for improving their own status with respect to relevant expertise and resources.

The NEA, ArtPlace America, and the ACHP are the most active but least popular federal agencies in the CPM network of federal agencies. (Since ArtPlace America is a spinoff organization of the NEA specializing the CPM, it is counted as both a federal arms-length agency and an arts service nonprofit organization). The NEA and ArtPlace America are leaders of the CPM network, building up and maintaining the CPM policy network. So, they both actively mention their partnership with other federal actors on their websites. The ACHP plays an important role in legislation, regulation, education, and preservation of American cultural heritage. These policy issues are also closely related to community development. The three agencies are relatively small federal organizations with low budgets and less explicit policy issues in comparison with other federal agencies. Thus, they are driven to be connected with more resourceful and influential federal agencies in major policy areas to achieve their policy goals and increase their impact.

By exploring the websites of the federal agencies and observing the network visualization, I found that except for the NEA, ArtPlace America, and the ACHP, other federal agencies are not lively engaged in promoting the CPM policy or having frequent interactions with the three federal agencies. This implies that the arts sector is not considered as a highly relevant component of policy issues by HUD, DOT, HHS, and other federal agencies in their specialized policy fields. The CPM is merely a newly

rediscovered concept that reintroduces the arts sector to policy issues related to community development, though a goal of the NEA is to expand the influence of the arts in other policy fields as a valuable resource or policy tool.

To better understand the relationship between the NEA and other federal agencies, it is critical to examine what resources and impact the NEA and ArtPlace America need from the federal alliance for the CPM. Therefore, I further investigate the specific resources, expertise, and power the NEA attempts to obtain and the influence it intends to exert on other policy fields based on the network and structural information provided above.

Substantive partnership. Table 5.2 lists the officially announced partnerships between the NEA/ArtPlace America and other federal agencies (NEA, 2017) and their specific objectives of establishing and maintaining the partnership with each agency. The NEA coordinates the federal interagency network with an intention to “enhance coordination across federal agencies to improve interactions with local government, non-profits, businesses, and other stakeholders, with a commitment to drive meaningful outcomes alongside local community partners” (NEA, 2017). The NEA contributes to the partnerships of various forms- technical assistance, staff support, co-funding, research, knowledge distribution, and network maintenance- through individual projects, long-term programs, and institution building. The NEA demonstrated the capabilities of the agency and the arts sector via different forms of partnerships. In return, the NEA obtained both tangible resources and political power from other federal agencies, which allows the

agency to exert its impact and promote the influence of the arts sector in a broad array of fields at different levels.

By reviewing the CPM-themed partnership in Table 3 and the NEA's Design Program history analyzed by Guo (2015), I found that the CPM partnership in federal government is not an alliance built after the announcement of the CPM policy but an encapsulation and enhancement of both existing and new federal partnerships that support the arts in the interest of their concerned aspects of community issues. For example, the NEA collaborated with HUD, DOT, and EPA frequently through a series of architecture and environment design programs and city themed programs in the 1970s. The NEA's "City Edge" program provided research grant for over 30 waterfront projects in support of actual projects implementation funded by block grants of HUD (Guo, 2015). The Citizens' Institute on Rural Design (CIRD) was founded in 1991 with the support of USDA. Therefore, the partnership for the CPM is a symbolic action of the NEA that realigns its policy agenda and policy goals with other federal agencies.

Key Federal Partners	Partnership	Tangible Activities	Objectives
NEA, HUD, White House Council	Strong Cities, Strong Communities (SC2)	Contributed to SC2's local redevelopment work in Rocky Mountain, NC, and Macon-Bibb County, Georgia. (One-time)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Capacity demonstration • Federal-level impact • Cross-sectoral impact
NEA, HUD	The President's Hurricane Sandy Rebuilding Task Force	Selected Winning Teams for Rebuild by Design Initiative. (One-time)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Capacity demonstration • Federal-level impact • Cross-sectoral impact
NEA, HUD	HUD Sustainable Communities Regional Planning Grant	Include the arts and culture as a nontraditional partner for funding investment. (Long-term)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Federal-level impact • Cross-sectoral impact • Expand arts funding resource for the arts community
NEA, HUD, USDA, White House Council	Promise Zone Initiative	Provide technical assistance, staff support, knowledge distribution, funding support, and applicants selection. (Long-term)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Capacity demonstration • Federal-level impact • Local-level impact • Cross-sectoral impact
NEA, HHS	Federal Interagency Task Force on the Arts and Human Development	Advance research on the arts and community well-being across the lifespan. (Long-term)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Federal-level impact • Expand funding resources for arts-relevant research
NEA, DOT	Every Place Counts Initiative	Funded a one-time design project for Gateway to Heritage project at Nashville, Tennessee. (One time)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Federal-level impact • Local-level impact
NEA, USDA	Citizens' Institute on Rural Design	Active engagement of USDA State and Regional staff in local rural design workshops. (Long-term)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Federal-level impact • Cross-sectoral impact • Local impact
NEA, ED	Arts Education Partnership	The partnership is host by Education Commission of the States. It provides policy research to state education leaders for informed decision-making. (Long-term)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Federal-level impact • State-level impact • Cross-sectoral impact

Table 3 The Substantive Content of NEA's Federal Interagency Coordination Network

The tangible resource refers to funding and technical assistance provided by other federal agencies and nonprofit organizations closely connected with these agencies. For

instance, collaborating with HUD and DRA, the NEA expands the funding pool for the arts and cultural sector in the development sector. The arts and cultural organizations and artists are able to apply for funding in non-arts funding programs. The NEA also provides staff and technical support for community development programs that involve arts, cultural and design elements. The political power refers to the increased capacity of agenda-setting by placing the arts and culture in the context of community development with a broad spectrum of policy issues. The connections with the other federal agencies allow the NEA to be exposed as an alternative solution to problems facing a wide range of non-arts fields at the federal, state, and local level. Although the NEA was mentioned by other federal agencies only for contributing to individual projects tangentially with arts-related technical support, such as HUD's SC2 and DOT's Every Place Counts Initiative, the small-scale collaborations allow the NEA to have a voice in major and urgent policy fields.

With the tangible resource and political power obtained from the federal alliance, the NEA attempts to mobilize non-arts sectors' policy belief in arts eventually. The official relationship between the NEA with the authorities in other policy areas at the federal level validates the public value of the arts in the various policy issues. With the official seal of approval from other federal agencies, the NEA and its constituencies in the arts are recognized as a promising group of service providers rather than an irrelevant social group by policy actors in the various fields of community development.

Coordinating the federal interagency network is a process where the NEA influences the arts policy beliefs of policy actors in other policy areas. The NEA tries to influence the

policy agenda of community development by giving voice to the arts sector, changing policy actors' perception of the arts and their significance in providing culture-base solutions to community development. How the arts sector can contribute to housing, urban planning, public safety, health, food, etc. in community development, at least, becomes a relevant topic for experts in non-arts policy areas.

5.3.2 Retaining and Expanding Support of Arts Constituencies through Advocacy and Service Organizations

Policy Actors and Relational Patterns. The research discovered twenty-three advocacy and professional service organizations in the federal CPM hyperlink network. Seven of them are advocacy and professional service organization in the field of planning and development: Urban Land Institute (ULI), American Planning Association (APA), Shelter Force (SF), Center for Community Progress (CCP), The Scenic Route of Transportation for America, US Water Alliance (USWA), and the National Consortium for Creative Placemaking (NCCP). Sixteen of these organizations are advocacy and professional service organizations for different arts disciplines such as ArtPlace America, Springboard for the Arts (SFTA), OPERA America, Americans for the Arts (AFTA), National Assembly of State Arts Agencies (NASAA), League of American Orchestra (LAO), Chorus America, Dance US, National Performance Network (NPN), etc. Among these advocacy and professional service organizations in the arts, Mayors' Institute of City Design (MICD) and Citizens' Institute on Rural Design (CIRD) are two nonprofit offshoots of the NEA established in 1986 and 1992 respectively. Long before the inception of the CPM policy, the two organizations have started building a policy issue

network among public officials, community development, and the design leadership resources of the NEA. Only one of them is a political professional service organization: The US Conference of Mayors (USCM).

Figure 17 and Figure 18 visualize the network of all the advocacy and professional service organizations. The visualization also includes the NEA and ArtPlace America in order to showcase the network strategy of the NEA. Similar to Figure 15 and 16, the size of the circles in Figure 17 and 18 represent the outdegree and indegree centrality scores of policy actors in the network respectively. The color of the circles represents the specific field of these organizations. Except for the USCM, the other policy actors are either in the development sector or in the arts sector. The policy actors in the arts are blue and the policy actors in the development sector are pink. The NEA does not belong to the advocacy and service group, so it is represented by orange. The figures show that the arts advocacy and professional service organizations have higher indegree and outdegree centrality scores than the development advocacy and professional service organizations in general. Thus, the arts advocacy and professional service organizations are more active in tie initiation activities than development advocacy and service organizations. The arts advocacy and service organizations are also popular authorities frequently referred by others policy actors in the subgraph.

As to individual policy actors in the subgraph, NASSA, the Springboard Exchange, ArtPlace America, the LAO, the NPN, and the GIA are the most active senders in both the arts and development sectors. The ArtPlace America, the SFTA, the GIA, the AFTA, and the NASSA are the most active receivers among all the advocacy

and service organizations in the subgraph. The SRTA, the NCCP, and the American Planning Association (APA) are relatively active senders that advocate for creative placemaking in the development sector. The APA and the SF are relatively popular receivers in comparison with others in the development sector. The USCM is also popular as a professional networking organization in the political sphere.

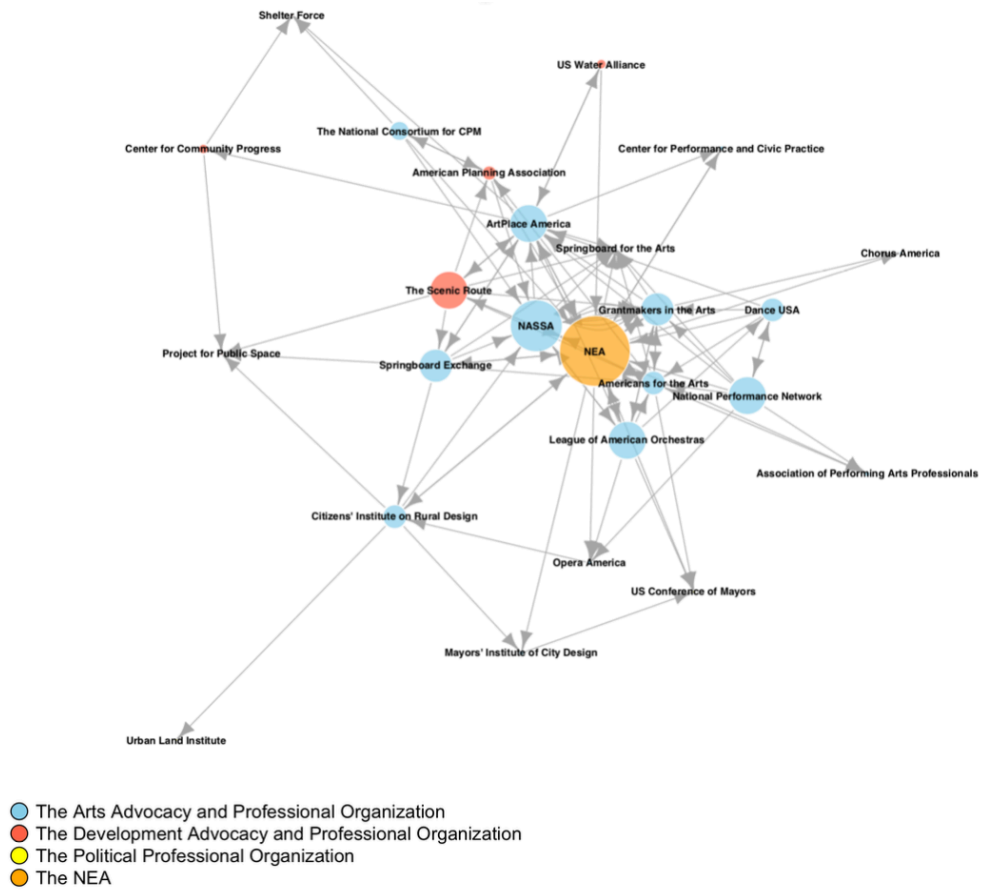


Figure 17 The Advocacy and Professional Service Organization Subgraph (Outdegree)

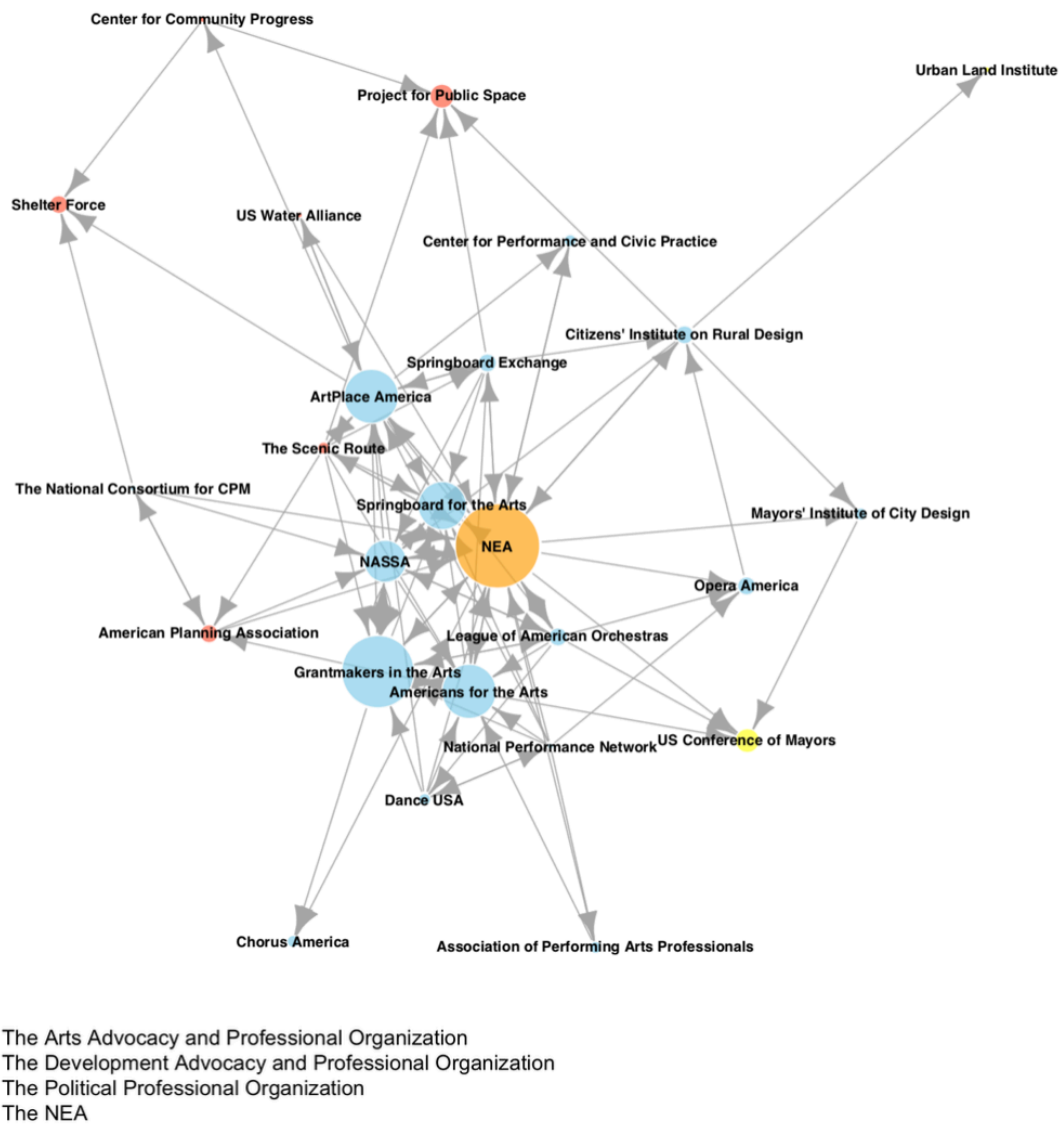


Figure 18 The Advocacy and Professional Service Organization Subgraph (Indegree)

These nonprofit arts advocacy and professional service organizations collectively “work on behalf of the artists and professional institutions that make up the arts and culture community” (Wyszomirski, 2008, p. 44) as an important segment of the NEA's policy constituencies. Although many of the arts service organizations are not directly involved in the CPM policy as major participants of policy implementation or program funders, they are engaged in promoting strategic moves, policy decisions, best practices, and program information regarding the CPM and the national/regional CPM leaders. One can easily find news reports and policy knowledge regarding the CPM on the websites of these organizations. The arts service organizations support and disseminate the concept of the CPM within the professional fields of their specialized arts disciplines and connect artists and arts nonprofits to policy actors in community development. Such activities educate and encourage artists and arts organizations in their concerned arts disciplines to reassess the extrinsic value of the arts and non-traditional sources of arts funding in the contemporary world.

As the former NEA Chairman Rocco Landesman noted in a discussion in a session of Aspen Institute Arts Program in 2014, the CPM was intended to show that “fundraising for the arts doesn’t have to be an act of begging but rather one of receiving payment for vital services — that the arts are as important a part of community development as anything else” (Flax-Clark, 2014). In addition, as the essential interest group members of the NEA, the arts advocacy and service organizations function as a specialized mobilization system that engages artists and arts organizations to participate the CPM and enrich the content of the CPM with their artistic and professional expertise.

Bridging and Rebranding. The subgraph illustrates the connections between advocacy and professional service organizations in the community development sector and the arts sector. Most advocacy and professional service organizations in the network are not as active as arts advocacy and service organization with respect to the CPM policy. Exceptionally, as an organization that maintains the network of planning professionals and scholars, the APA actively interact with organizations in both arts and development sector such as the Scenic Route, the NCCP, NASSA, and AFTA. As mentioned in the literature review, the “placemaking” is a participatory planning approach originally brought up and discussed by the planning and urban design field in the 60s and 70s (Borrupt, 2015, 2016).

Lynda Schoneekloth and Robert Shibley (1995) studied the practices of placemaking and found it a promising interdisciplinary but marginal academic theory. The fundamental idea of the placemaking is to change the consumption-based relationship between people and places to an active engagement relationship that people make and share places based on existing community assets and real needs of community members (Borrupt, 2016). The participatory approach of planning coalesces with the ongoing trend of arts activism that takes the community-based arts as an agent of social engagement and social change. The integration of the arts and the idea of placemaking gives rise to the new “creative placemaking” approach to equitable community development and cultural diversity.

A couple of organizations in the network function as key brokers bridging policy actors in the arts sector and development sector. For example, the Scenic Route is a

program of the Transportation for America (development sector) created particularly for the CPM with the support of the Kresge Foundation, advocating and guiding the CPM practices in the transportation field. The NCCP (development sector) is also a new organization built by a network of community development leaders, planners, educators, and local arts leaders to provide professional services and advocacy support for the CPM in the planning community. The organization organizes summits and webinars for community development professionals to discuss the CPM approaches and provide training opportunities and certification programs to professionalize placemakers and the CPM practices in the community development setting.

Although the previous two figures show that arts advocacy and professional service organizations are much more socially active and popular than those in the development sector, Figure 19 shows that they are mainly socially active within the arts sector. The ArtPlace America, the MICD, the CIRD, and Springboard Exchange are very critical brokers that bridge the arts sector and development sector. Taking these organizations out from the network, the advocacy and service organizations in the arts sector and the development sector will fall apart as Figure 19 illustrates. The ArtPlace America, the MICD, and the CIRD are agencies established by the NEA particularly for expanding its impact in the community development sector. Figure 19 demonstrates that these organizations perform their brokerage function effectively while other service organizations in both sectors do not put special effort into breaking out of their own silos.

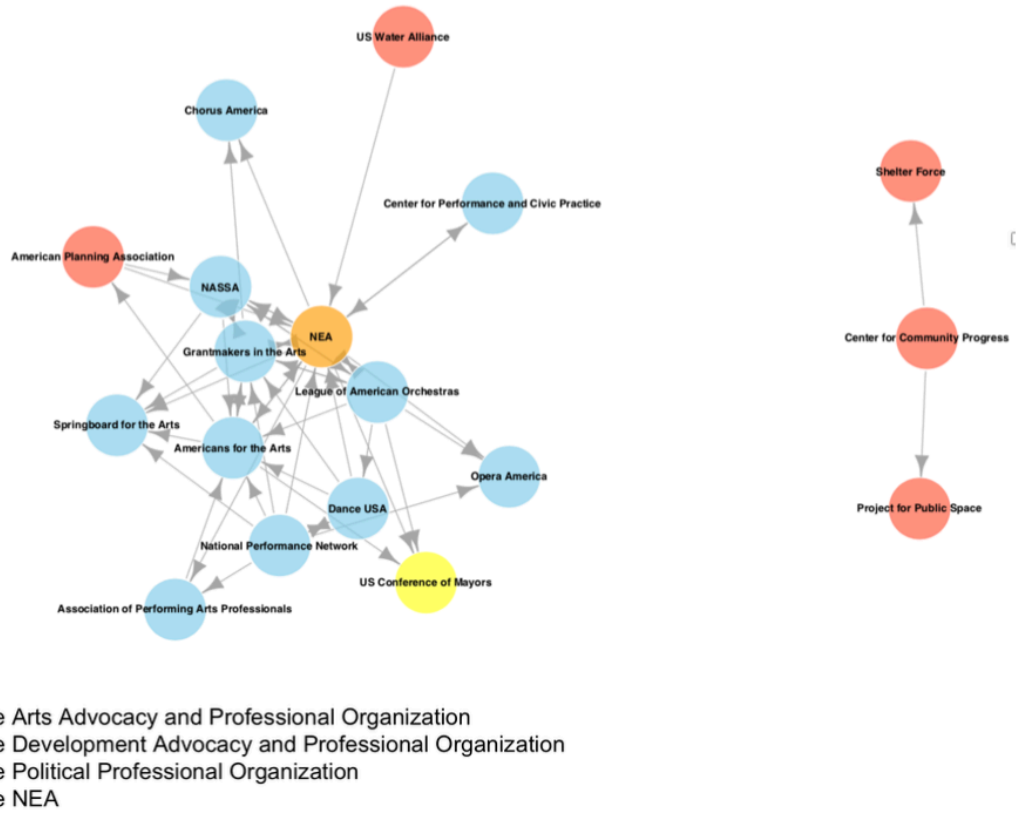


Figure 19 Advocacy and Service Organization Subgraph Without Brokers

The subgraphs of the advocacy and service organizations in the arts and development sectors show that the arts sector is more engaged with advocacy activities for the CPM and the development sector is passively and marginally involved in general. However, the CPM inspired the establishment of new organizations in the development sector dedicated to promoting CPM in the development world and networking professionals in the two sectors. The NEA's inclusive approach to framing the CPM policy engaged many pioneering professionals in a variety of fields to shape and refine the concept of the CPM and the public value of the arts. Before the inception of the CPM, the NEA had been first criticized for being elitism without taking care of struggling groups in rural areas. Soon after the tenure of Nancy Hanks, it was attacked for using public funding for the arts to support "recreational arts" and even "social work" in poor inner-urban communities and rural areas (DiMaggio and Pettit, 1999).

During the period of its funding decline and political crisis from the late 1980s to early 2000s, the NEA reformulated its political strategies by investing in building a relationship between the arts sector and community development sector in both urban and rural areas. The NEA established the MICD and the CIRD to foster local supporters for the arts at the leadership level by demonstrating the practicality of the arts and design in public policy issues to local political leaders. The two organizations kept a low profile as two entities stayed relatively independent from the NEA. They developed a national network with urban and rural community leaders and professionals in the development and planning field while the NEA was under widespread attack and controversies for its funding legitimacy and standards. The two entities rebranded the arts sector as a

professional field providing viable services and solutions to tangible and urgent public issues in a proven way.

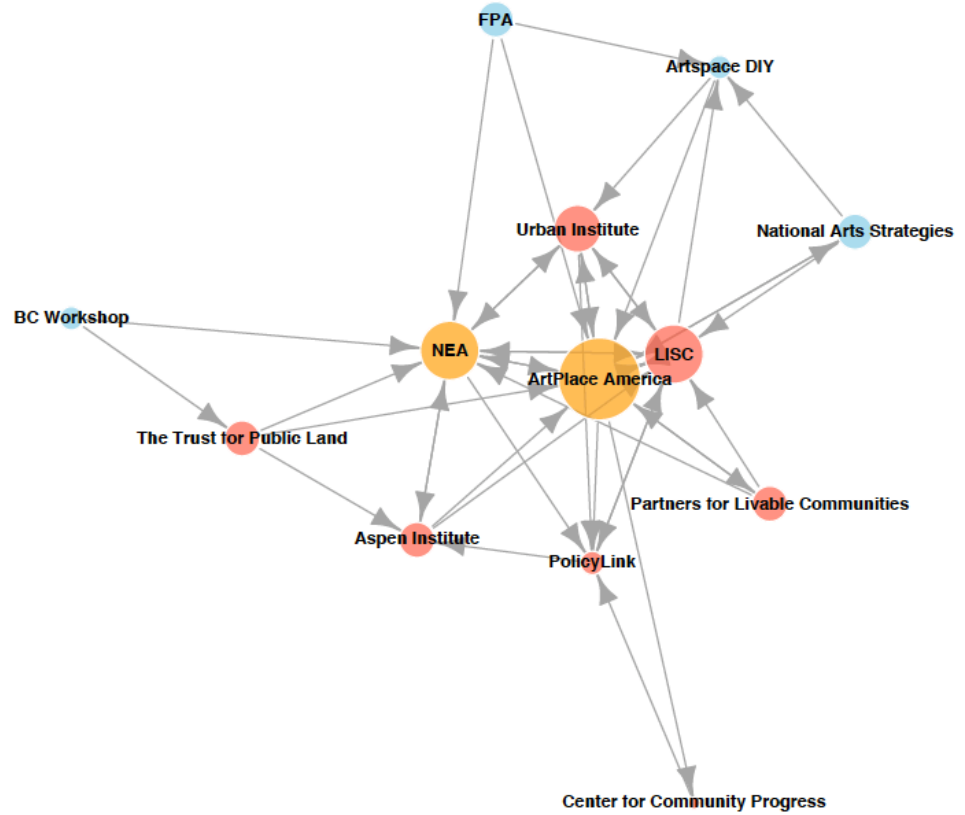
The resources and impact of the two entities accrued over the years prepared the inception and implementation of the CPM policy at the federal and local level. The CPM whitepaper was initially drafted for the MICD, educating mayors and development professionals to be leaders and pioneers of the CPM in urban governance. Particularly, the USCM has been referred to as a long-term national partner of the NEA that oversees the MICD. The USCM is the only political professional service organization for mayors of cities with a population of 30,000 or larger. The economic impact of the arts was well promoted among mayors in large cities through the partnership between the NEA and the USCM. Before the release of the CPM white paper, the AFTA launched a long-term research project namely Arts and Economic Prosperity, publishing data and research results to demonstrate the positive economic impact of the arts in the US every year since 2002. The first report was endorsed and adopted unanimously by the seventieth annual meeting of the USCM as an official policy resolution.

“[The conference and the report] urge mayors across the country “to invest in nonprofit arts organizations through their local arts agencies as a catalyst to generate economic impact, stimulate business development, spur urban renewal, attract tourists and area residents to community activities, and to improve the overall quality of life in America’s cities.” (USCM, 2002)

The public record does not release the specific content of the partnership between the MICD and USCM. Nevertheless, the long-term support from the biggest non-partisan political organization expands the influence of the NEA and the CPM in large cities and strengthens the relationship between the cities and the larger arts institutions in these cities.

5.3.3 Advancing Policy Implementation through Consulting and Research Organizations

Similar to the previous subgraphs, Figure 20 and Figure 21 display the senders-based and receivers-based subgraphs of the eleven research and consulting organizations involved in the national CPM policy network respectively. The color of the circles represents the field of the organizations and the size of the circles represents the numbers of outgoing and incoming ties of the organizations. The two graphs show that the research and consulting organizations in the development sector and the arts sector send a similar number of ties but those in the development sector have more incoming ties than those in the arts sector. The NEA and ArtPlace America have frequent interactions with research and consulting organizations in the national CPM policy network. In general, the Local Initiatives Support Corporation (LISC), PolicyLink, and Urban Institute are the most active research and consulting organizations in the national CPM policy network. The LISC and PolicyLink are listed by the NEA as the official national CPM partners.



- The Arts Research and Consulting Organization
- The Development Research and Consulting Organization
- The NEA and ArtPlace America

Figure 20 The Research/ Consulting Organization Subgraph (Outdegree)

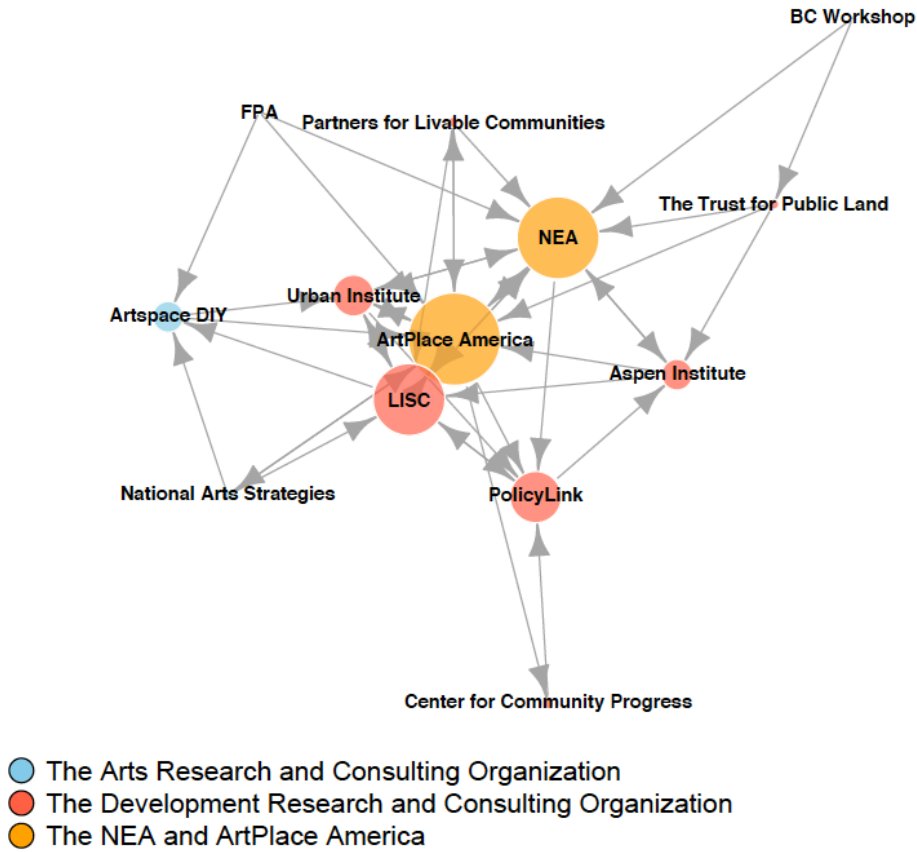


Figure 21 The Research/Consulting Organization Subgraph (Indegree)

The consulting and research organizations offer technical support for the NEA, ArtPlace America, and their CPM grant receivers. Although these organizations have extended professional network in the field of community development and the arts, their main functions and roles are providing solutions, techniques, financial, and management insight to aid communities and other development organizations in need of relevant support. For instance, PolicyLink, LISC, the Trust for Public Land (TPL), Center for Community Progress (CCP), Partners for Livable Communities (PLC) are major national

nonprofit service organizations with programs solving critical economic and social problems in community development such as vacant property, poverty, public safety, sustainability, aging, transportation, food access, and education etc.

- The Aspen Institute and the Urban Institute are two well-known research institutions in the field of economic and social policy research. The Aspen Institute provides a world-class forum for the intellectual exchange between “leaders, creatives, scholars, and members of the public to address some of the world’s most complex problems” (The Aspen Institute, 2018) and to have an impact in the real world. Since 2014, the Aspen Institute organized a series of conversations through its CPM themed roundtable events and festivals, featuring the key leaders and scholars of the CPM in the NEA, ArtPlace America, and Arts Economy Initiative in University of Minnesota. The Aspen Institute took advantage of its international intellectual network and reputation, linking the CPM experts in the US to those in European countries. The forums of the Aspen Institute are influential platforms to cultivate CPM leaders across the country with a global vision.
- The Urban Institute conducted research projects independently to provide insights and recommendations for national arts policy and arts philanthropies before the inception of the CPM. With respect to CPM, the institute accomplished a series of research projects including The Validating Arts and Livability Indicators (VALI) Study and the follow-up

research article “Assessing a Set of Indicators for Creative Placemaking: Reflections from the Field”. These research reports mainly examined the validity of using the selected census data to measure the success of local CPM projects and cultural vitality. The Urban Institute also conducted several case studies with the financial and programmatic support of ArtPlace to address how the CPM techniques improved community safety and influenced relevant policy-making.

In the arts field, Forecast Public Art (FPA), BC Workshop, National Arts Strategies (NAS), and Artspace DIY are consulting nonprofits in the arts sector.

- Funded by McKnight Foundation and the NEA, the FPA is a key research and consulting institute focusing on public art and community development. It provides consulting services for arts-engaged community planning and funding/training opportunities to artists working for community development projects.
- The BC Workshop echoes the CPM policy by creating knowledge and investigating tools for placemaking practices in both urban and rural area from a design perspective.
- The NAS provides specialized educational programs and tools regarding the CPM policy for professionals in the arts and cultural sectors with the support of the NEA and LISC.
- The Artspace DIY receives the most ties among all other research and consulting service organizations in the arts sector. The ArtSpace DIY is a

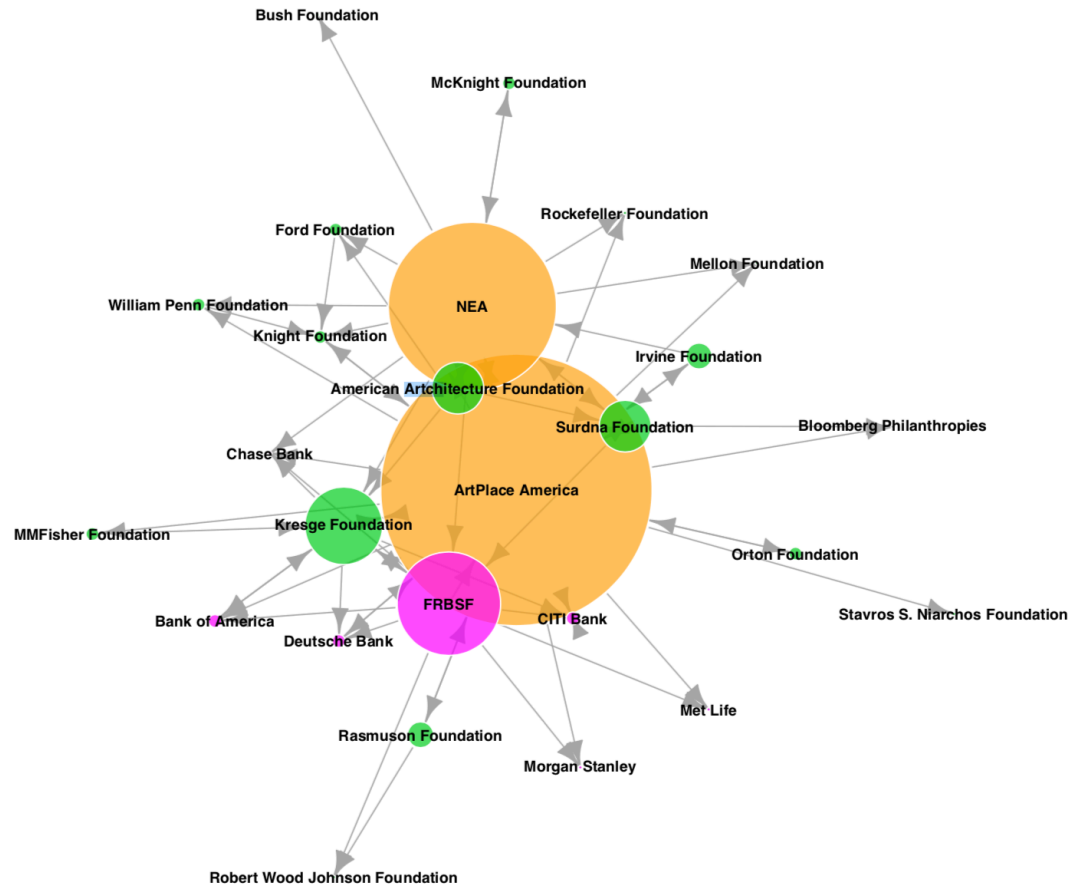
nonprofit consulting service organization of thirty years in Canada. As an experienced leader specializing in transforming communities through the arts and creativity, the organization is an important policy actor that transfers policy knowledge from Canada to the US.

In general, these arts consulting organizations are less active in the subgraph in comparison with development consulting organizations. They receive much fewer ties than most organizations in the development sector. The structural pattern of organizations in the consulting and research field is different from that in the advocacy and professional service field. The development sector is more active than the arts sector in providing actual technical services and the arts sector is more active than the development sector in disseminating information regarding the CPM. Although the CPM was intended to be arts-centered, the actions and resources of consulting and research organizations in the development sector are fundamental for the arts to be utilized and involved in community development appropriately. These organizations are more familiar with the process, complexity, and challenges of actual community development projects. They help the NEA and the arts sector learn about the needs of communities and guide the arts sector to resources they need to influence communities more efficiently.

5.3.4 Securing “Impact Investors” Through Banks and Foundations

Banks and foundations are financial agencies offering financial assistance to the CPM practices and research. Figure 22 and Figure 23 visualize the subgraph of banks and foundations in the national CPM policy network in the same manner with the previous network graphs. based on outgoing ties and incoming ties of policy actors respectively.

The figures show that ArtPlace America and the NEA refer to foundations and banks as their national CPM partners very frequently. As a foundation consortium offshoot of the NEA, ArtPlace America has more frequent interactions with foundations as NEA's gateway to resources of the private sector. The foundations are more engaged in online social activities of the CPM policy than the banks while the banks almost do not initiate but only receive a few ties in the subgraph. To banks, the CPM is just another business and they tend to maintain the public image of being politically neutral with policy issues not essential to the financial industry (Johannsen, 2017). Exceptionally, the Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco (FRBSF) sends and receives ties very frequently as a federal financial and regulatory agency.



- Bank
- Foundation
- The NEA and ArtPlace America

Figure 22 Foundations and Banks Subgraph of CPM National Policy Network (Outdegree)

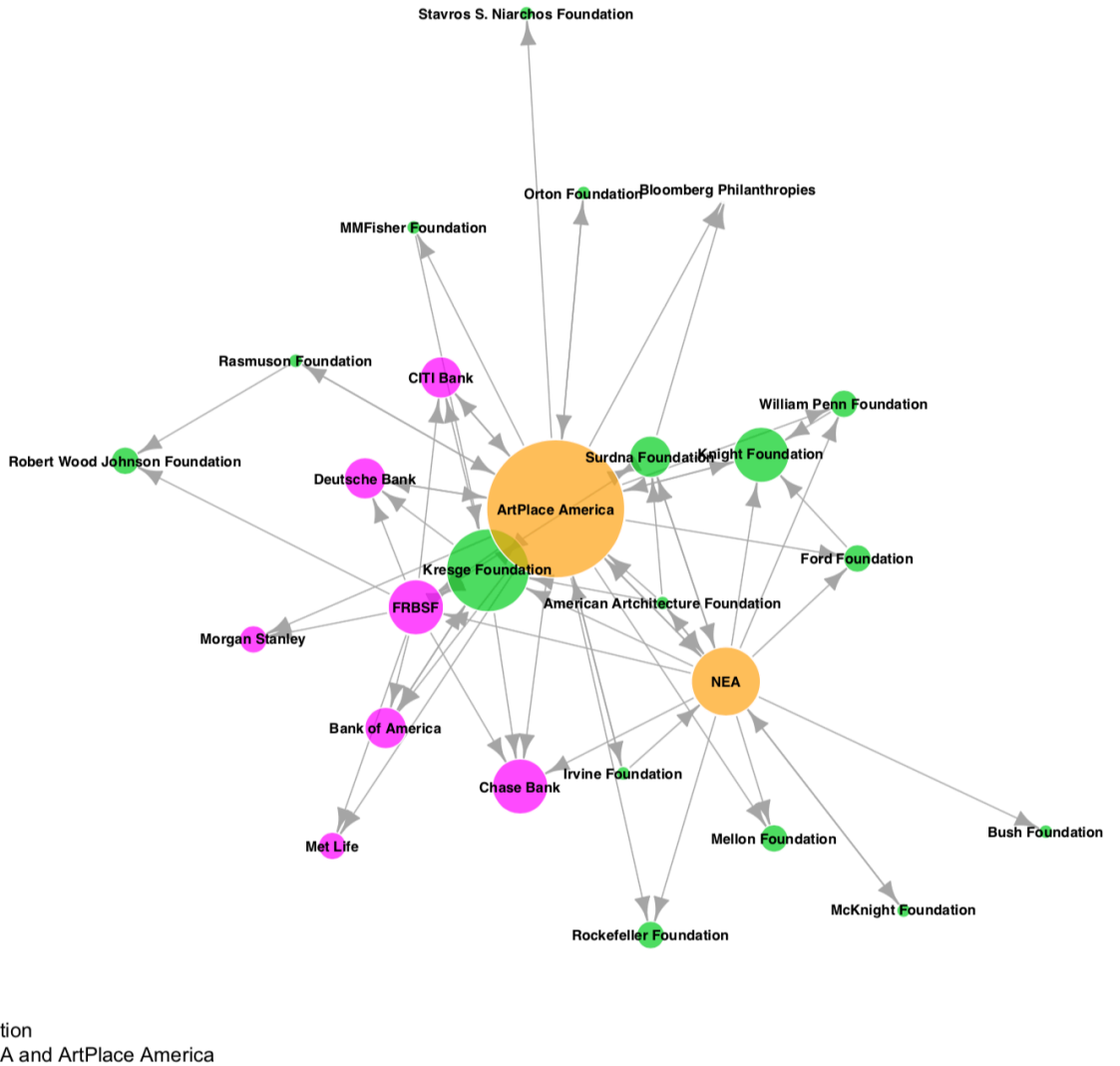


Figure 23 Foundations and Banks Subgraph of CPM National Policy Network (Indegree)

Both the foundations and banks are sought after by other policy actors as national and regional financial resource providers for the CPM. However, their structural properties suggest that they influence the CPM policy in very different ways. The banks

support the CPM primarily through ArtPlace America by directly capitalizing a \$12 million loan to ArtPlace America. The partnership with ArtPlace America allows local CPM projects to seek technical assistance from the bank partners. Meanwhile, the foundations send much clearer message to the public regarding their support and investment in the CPM than the banks. Although the banks do not advocate for the CPM policy directly or publicize their partnership with ArtPlace or other CPM relevant activities online, they are behind many community development projects across the country as investors and lenders of affordable housing projects and small creative business establishments.

The foundations do not only fund CPM projects through ArtPlace America; A few leading foundations also create their own CPM grants for national or regional CPM projects and conduct research projects to showcase the contribution of the arts in community development. For instance, the Kresge Foundation is a leading foundation that develops the concept of the CPM with the NEA and ArtPlace America. It supports the CPM policy with funding programs for local CPM projects and research projects on best practices of the CPM. The blogs of the Knight Foundation and the Surdna Foundation report updates and share knowledge in the field of the CPM. With a mission of assisting the development of smaller cities and towns, the Orton Foundation works with the CIRD as a lead partner, facilitating key aspects of the CIRD's programs and the CPM on rural areas.

Exceptionally, the FRBSF, actively build connections with other policy actors in the network. As an institution implementing national monetary policy, supervising and

regulating financial institutions, the FRBSF conducts research and provides solutions for community development. Its online professional journal *Community Development Innovation Review* published a special issue on the CPM in 2014. The aforementioned research report of the Urban Institute is published in this special issue. The special issue invited scholars and practitioners from sixteen organizations on the front-line of the CPM to discuss their research, experience, approaches, and visions of the CPM. The special issue is seen as a critical document that archives opinions of leaders from diverse types of policy actors in the national CPM policy network regarding the role of arts and culture in community development, financial innovation of the CPM, evaluation efforts and challenges of the CPM, and profiles and experience of successful CPM cases.

“Impact investing” is a concept coined in 2007 at a conference organized by the Rockefeller Foundation, referring to “investments made into companies, organizations, and funds with the intention to generate social and environmental impact alongside a financial return” (The Global Impact Investing Network, 2018). In other words, investors make financial investments on broader social impact as their assets. Building a national CPM coalition with the banks and foundations, the NEA tries to develop a new theory of change for arts funding and community impact of the arts. “Arts and Culture” had been not considered as a typical impact asset for investors while community development had been the most popular impact asset to investors in North America until very recent. Nevertheless, the rising creative economy and the increasing number of studies in creative economy demonstrate that the arts and culture is a promising sector for impact investment in the recent decade (Global Impact Investing Network, 2016). Leading the

trend in the US, the NEA, ArtPlace America and the Kresge Foundation generate a new strategy to obtain funding resources for the arts and cultural sector by integrating the arts and culture as important change agent into community development, making the case for the value and significance of funding the arts and culture to a broader audience.

Including the biggest banks and foundations as coalition members, the NEA intended to encourage the private sector and the philanthropic world to make impact investment in the arts and cultural sector through community development. The banks and foundations channel their financial resources and technical assistance to the arts and cultural sector through targeted community development financial institutions (CDFIs) and community development corporations (CDCs).

The private funders choose CDFIs and CDCs that integrate arts, culture, and creativity into their community development projects, supporting the growth of neighborhood-based arts organizations, artists, arts projects, and small creative businesses in low-income communities and the most vulnerable populations in the US. These grants and programs support artists and creative businesses in different forms including providing home and workplace loans to artists, financing affordable housing for artists and their businesses, and offering loan programs and technical assistance to their business and housing needs (The Kresge Foundation, 2014). The research and consulting service organizations in the national coalition and leading organizations such the NEA, ArtPlace America, and the Kresge Foundation studied the successful projects and their outcomes to make a case for the positive impact of the arts and culture. The creation and dissemination of knowledge and experience in the CPM policy meant to amplify the

positive effects of the arts and culture in community development, attracting more impact investment to the arts and cultural sector.

5.4 Conclusion: Developing A Virtuous Cycle of Triple-Bottom Line through the CPM

The composition and structure of the CPM network suggest that the underlying policy goal of the NEA is to readjust the balance point of the triple-bottom-line and transform the tripods of the triple-bottom-line to a virtuous cycle through a set of network governance strategies. The NEA builds the national CPM policy network and uses a series of political tactics to achieve its policy goals in public value, financial stability, and arts vitality respectively and connects the three goals to a virtuous cycle where the three fundamental arts policy goals reinforce each other. The first subsection summarizes the network governance strategies of the NEA based on the social network analysis and content analysis above. Then, the second subsection explains how the three triads of the triple-bottom-line feed on another through the CPM policy.

5.4.1 A Summary of the NEA's Network Governance Strategies

Administering arts policy as a stand-alone policy venue sets barrier for the public value of the arts to be visible in non-arts sectors. In order to enable the public values of the arts to be recognized by a broader audience, the NEA endeavors to break the silo of arts policy via the following tactics: 1) The NEA bridges the arts sector and the community development sector by establishing new offshoot agencies such as the MICD, ArtPlace America, and CIRD. The partnership between the NEA and other federal agencies in both short-term projects and strategic initiatives allows the NEA and the arts sector to have a voice in community development issues at the federal level. 2) As

important interest groups of the NEA, the arts advocacy and professional service organizations in different arts disciplines engage nonprofit arts organizations and artists to rediscover the public value of the arts, encouraging the arts nonprofits and artists to participate and influence the conversation and practices of the CPM. 3) The NEA and ArtPlace America keep close connections with research institutes to create knowledge on the positive impact of the arts on a variety of social issues and challenges of utilizing the arts in community development. 4) The NEA's partnership with development consulting organizations facilitate the CPM programs to be implemented in local communities appropriately and help the arts sector to develop a better understanding of the public value of the arts in the real-world situation of community development.

To enhance the financial sustainability, the NEA builds and coordinates the network to diversify financial resources in both the public and private sector: 1) The NEA claims the official partnership with the federal government agencies to expand arts funding sources in other policy areas. 2) The NEA rationalizes the connections between the arts and the non-arts sectors, developing non-traditional arts constituencies, increasing political support for congressional appropriation to the NEA. 3) The NEA coordinates the sources of arts philanthropies (foundations) and community development investors (banks, CDCs, and CDFIs) through ArtPlace America, diversifying and expanding funding accesses for nonprofit arts and artists.

Wyszomirski (2013) noted that the NEA's focus on artistic vitality evolved from ensuring arts excellence, expanding cultural diversity, to increasing local access in the past fifty years. Artistic vitality under the framework of the CPM refers to a more

inclusive set of notions than programs in the previous periods of the NEA. The NEA continues localizing artistic vitality (Wyszomirski, 2013) by empowering local communities to decide on their needs of arts by learning from the development sector. The CPM grants supported a variety of projects ranging from the prosperity of creative economy to public engagement arts programs in all arts disciplines to demonstrates the NEA's inclusive approach to achieving artistic vitality in different types of communities. The CPM policy allows arts programs to be developed and funded to meet the local criteria of "artistic vitality" instead of a predefined orientation or standard for the specific content or quality of arts per se set by authoritative entities. The inclusive approach allows the NEA to stay open for the local needs of "artistic vitality."

The NEA manages its national CPM network as a dynamic system of service delivery that raises questions and suggestions to challenge and refine the meaning of “artistic vitality” and the roles of arts in local communities. In the past ten years, the NEA and the national CPM policy leaders stay closely connected to the reality of community development through the complex network they build, refining "artistic vitality" as qualities that facilitate and empower equitable community development and create opportunities in vulnerable communities (Scutari, 2018).

5.4.2 The Cycle of Triple-Bottom Line

The network governance strategies are not only employed to achieve the three fundamental arts policy goals of the NEA. Through the network built for the CPM, the NEA strives to navigate the three goals to feed each other as a cycle (Figure 24): Manifesting recognized public value change policy beliefs of funders and policy actors in

other fields regarding the value of the arts. The positive impact of the arts on broader community issues attracts private funders interested in social investment and proves the political legitimacy of increasing public funding for the NEA and the nonprofit arts in general. Since the public and private investment are more concerned with equitable community outcomes, their funding programs channel resources to arts nonprofit and artists that empower disadvantaged population and communities.

Besides, the secured and stabilized financial resources from both public and private funders diversifies and expands the funding pool for arts nonprofits and artists. The funding interest for arts from different sectors and cross-sectoral collaborations between the arts and non-arts sectors allow the NEA and the arts sector to receive feedback from funders and communities of different kinds more effectively. The feedback loop allows the NEA and the nonprofit arts sector to adjust the public value and the corresponding artistic vitality of the arts correspondingly.

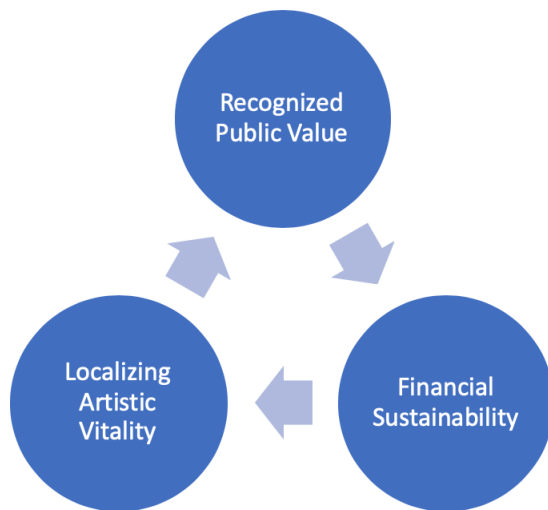


Figure 24 The Cycle of Triple-Bottom Line

In conclusion, the three underlying policy goals of the triple-bottom-line value system guide the NEA's strategies of constructing and administering the national CPM policy network. Enabling the public value of the arts to be recognized is a process of mobilizing policy actors' belief in the arts and the allocation of their resources. The mobilization process is key for the NEA to build a pro-arts coalition at the national level. With the support of the expanded arts coalition, the NEA then is able to strengthen political legitimacy of the agency and of public funding appropriation for the arts, to advance the accountability system of the agency and arts nonprofits, and to improve financial inclusion of disadvantaged arts policy constituencies. Therefore, the NEA does not only attempt to hit the balance point of the triple-bottom-line but to transform the value system into a mutually reinforcing mechanism between recognized public value, financial stability, and artistic vitality.

Chapter 6: Understanding the Political Context of the CPM-Catalyzed Franklinton

Creative Revitalization: A Policy Stakeholder Analysis

6.1 Introduction

Chapter 5 investigates how the NEA strategically forms a national CPM policy network and manages the policy network to reframe and achieve the underlying policy goals of American arts policy. This chapter focuses on the Franklinton neighborhood at Columbus, OH to examine the political dynamics of its CPM policy network. It needs to be clarified in advance that the local CPM policy network is different from the federal level CPM policy network in nature.

At the national level, the NEA intentionally forges and manages the CPM governance network as one advocacy coalition endorsing the CPM policy issue through a top-down process. At the local level, the CPM project is a part of a broader Franklinton creative revitalization initiative. Being different from the top-down CPM governance network coordinated by the NEA, the local CPM network is a self-organizing policy network formed by policy actors through their informal or formal business interactions relevant to the revitalization of Franklinton. Therefore, the Franklinton CPM policy network is a CPM-catalyzed community development network where various stakeholders participate and influence the CPM outcomes in the policy process of Franklinton creative revitalization. In short, I will call the federal CPM governance

network and the CPM-catalyzed community development in Franklinton as “the federal governance network” and “the Franklinton policy network” respectively.

This chapter analyzes the social political dynamics of the Franklinton policy network with a focus on policy coalitions and leadership strategies of the coalitions. The purpose of the chapter is to investigate the policy context of the CPM-catalyzed Franklinton revitalization with in-depth theoretical discussion and rich empirical data. Through the approach of policy stakeholder analysis, this chapter studies the inquiry by using Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF) and the most recent policy entrepreneurship theory of Mintrom and Norma (2009) as the theoretical anchor to further explain the analytical output of social network analysis on the policy network of the CPM-catalyzed Franklinton revitalization.

The ACF offers an analytical approach to conduct policy stakeholder analysis by taking the policy process as a product of a network. The network is formed by stakeholders and their coalitions in the process of “translat[ing] their policy beliefs into policies and see allies, share resource, and develop strategies for policy influence” (Weible, 2007, p. 118) within a policy subsystem defined by substantive and territorial boundary of a policy issue. Using the ACF as an approach to policy stakeholder analysis, this chapter focuses on providing a political context for further statistical analysis on network outcome and network formation in the CPM-catalyzed policy network of Franklinton creative revitalization.

The applications of policy stakeholder analysis usually investigate a similar set of questions including those who are engaged policy stakeholders, their interests and beliefs

in regard to the policy issue, the allocation of critical resources, the composition of policy coalitions, and the strategies policy coalitions use to influence the policy issue (Weible, 2007; Brugha and Varvasovsky, 2000). The chapter uses primarily social network data, archived documents, and interview data to investigate the following questions of stakeholder analysis for Franklinton creative revitalization:

- 1) Who are the stakeholders involved in the CPM-catalyzed policy network of Franklinton creative revitalization?
- 2) What sub-coalitions does the network of the CPM-catalyzed Franklinton creative revitalization include?
- 3) What is the power dynamic of the network with different sub-coalitions?
- 4) How do community leaders strategically lead competing sub-coalitions to influence Franklinton creative revitalization?

This chapter will use two sections to address the four questions. The first three questions will be discussed in the first section of the chapter. In this section, I first define the boundary of the policy subsystem of the study on the policy network by using findings from the process of data collection from both social and geographical perspectives. This is usually the first step of ACF application. Then, I identify the policy sub-coalitions involved in the Franklinton creative revitalization network catalyzed by the federal CPM policy. Finally, I analyze the power dynamics of the different policy sub-coalitions in the Franklinton creative revitalization with their structural attributes. The last question of stakeholder analysis will be discussed in the second section of the chapter. In this section, I first explain how the SNA can help operationalize the idea of

policy entrepreneurship based on the theoretical discussion of Mintrom and Norma (2009). Then, I use the brokerage index of Fernandez and Gould (1994) to identify policy entrepreneurs and analyze their policy entrepreneurship strategies to influence policy in the Franklinton policy network.

6.2 The Policy Stakeholder Analysis of the Franklinton Creative Revitalization

6.2.1 Policy Subsystem Boundary and Policy Actors in Franklinton CPM-Catalyzed Creative Revitalization Policy Network

In 2012, the Columbus city development plans officially divide Franklinton into three parts from the east to the west boundary of neighborhood: the Scioto Peninsula where Center of Science and Industry (COSI), the recently completed National Veterans Memorial & Museum (NVMM), and the 21-Acre development plan are located; East Franklinton, and West Franklinton as illustrated by Figure 25. The Scioto Peninsula belongs to Downtown Columbus. Before the Franklinton development went in bloom, the COSI had been the only major organization at the Franklinton's gateway to Downtown Columbus. East Franklinton had many vacant industrial building and housing units, vacant land, and the seventy-year old Riverside-Bradley public housing complex demolished in 2011. Since late 2000s, the Franklinton Development Association (FDA) brought in the 400 West Rich, Glass Axis, and the Columbus Idea Foundry (CIF) to rebrand the neighborhood, attracting more businesses and housing development projects to East Franklinton. West Franklinton is the primary residential areas where generational residents live. While the FDA rebranded Franklinton, it also built more than three hundred affordable single-family houses. The West Franklinton Development Plan

released in 2017 also introduced new commercial housing and business development projects into the neighborhood.

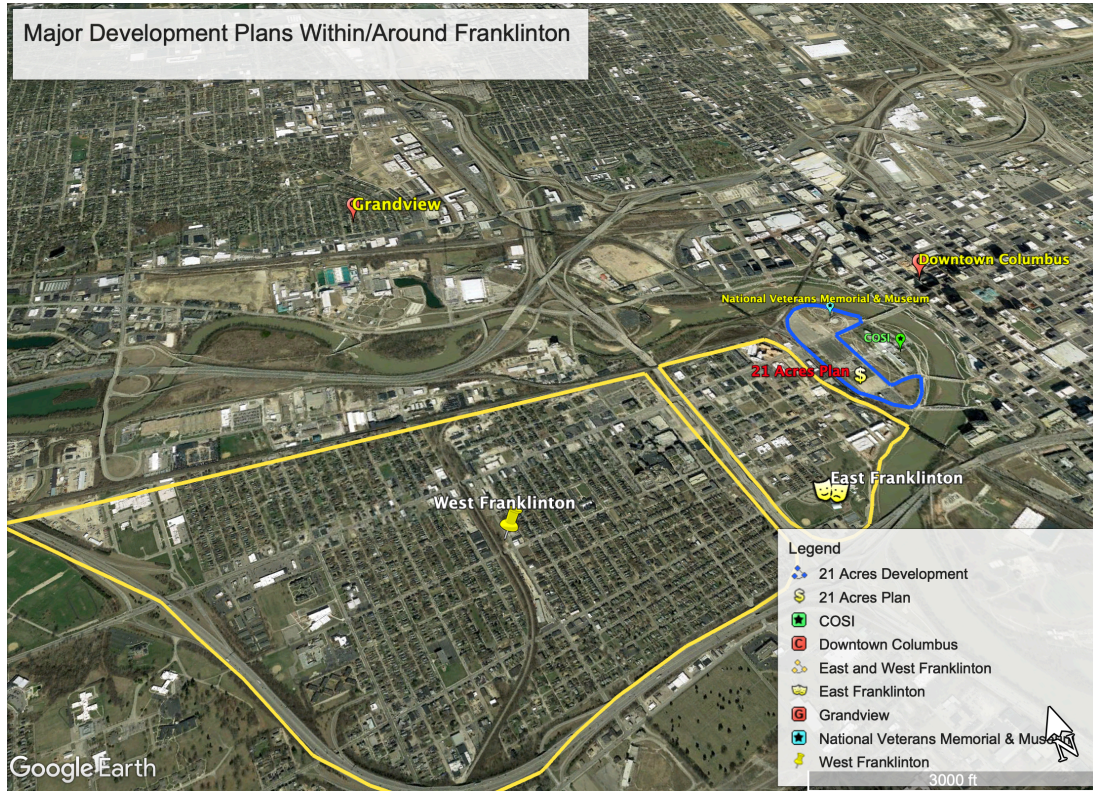


Figure 25 The Spatial Relations of Downtown Columbus, 21-Acre Development Plan, Franklinton, and Grandview

Technically, the “community” that adopts the creative revitalization strategy is East Franklinton independent from the West Franklinton. West Franklinton has its own development plan designed and implemented after the launch of East Franklinton creative revitalization plan. However, this does not mean that our understanding of the process of

East Franklinton and its impact should be limited by the manually defined boundaries. A community using CPM strategy cannot be isolated from the city it belongs to. As mentioned earlier in the dissertation, the threat of flood pushed residential areas to the west and left the east industrial area empty after gradually after 1960s. The 315 South Interstate freeway cuts across right in the middle of Franklinton, physically dividing the neighborhood into two parts. When Columbus City Council started when planning for downtown development, the boundary between Downtown and Franklinton was pushed from the Scioto River to the train tracks running through east edge of Franklinton, namely the Scioto Peninsula. After the Franklinton revitalization attracted public attention and lucrative investment, the 21-Acre Development Plan took place in the city-owned and county-owned land on the Scioto Peninsula as a part of Columbus Downtown revitalization, which is the circled area by blue lines right next to Franklinton in Figure 25.

The residential segregation between East Franklinton, West Franklinton, and Downtown Columbus is both the result and tool of politics. The creative revitalization plan is designed for East Franklinton, but policy actors involved include entities in both West Franklinton and Downtown Columbus. In the dissertation research, the Franklinton revitalization is considered as one development projects consisting of two stages at the east and west side of the neighborhood. In addition, the Franklinton revitalization has been integrated into the city's vision for Downtown Columbus. As Jim Sweeney, the former executive director of the FDA noted that the boundary between Franklinton and Downtown has been blurred and Franklinton will eventually become a part of Downtown

Columbus (Jim Sweeney, Personal Communication, Jan. 25, 2018). Policy actors in Downtown Columbus play a critical role in Franklinton. Therefore, the research includes policy actors in all the jurisdictions mentioned above: Downtown Columbus, the Scioto Peninsula located in Franklinton but belongs to Downtown Columbus jurisdictionally, and both sides of Franklinton. The collection of network data started from policy actors in East Franklinton and the snowball sampling approach helped reach policy actors in West Franklinton and Downtown Columbus.

Besides, some artist policy actors suggested in the research interviews that the spatial interaction between Short North, Grandview and Franklinton was also noteworthy. Short North is an area connecting Downtown Columbus and the main campus of the Ohio State University (OSU). Both Short North and Grandview have been experiencing intensive economic development in the past decade and many artists and creatives were priced out of the two neighborhoods. Although Franklinton is neither adjacent to Grandview and Short North, it is the nearest and least expensive neighborhood the artists have access to in Columbus.

In the policy subsystem of Franklinton creative development, seventy public and private policy actors (Table 4) in seven service fields (Table 5) and three jurisdictions (Table 6) are actively engaged in the policy process. In general, they are all in support of Franklinton creative revitalization by being part of the process. However, they form different sub-coalitions based on their different preferences on policy beliefs regarding the interest distribution of Franklinton creative revitalization. A side-by-side table of Franklinton policy actors, their tax status, service fields, and geographic locations are

listed in Appendix B at the end of the dissertation manuscript by their associated policy sub-coalition. The next subsection of this chapter explains how the policy actors in the network is defined as four competing and collaborative sub-coalitions.

Tax Status	Count
Nonprofit	30
For-profit	17
Government	9
Sole proprietorship	9
Hybrid enterprises	5
Total number	70

Table 4 Tax Status of Policy Actors in the Franklinton CPM-Catalyzed Policy Network

Service Types	Count
Social and human service	10
Arts and cultural goods and service	24
Development service	15
Agricultural and food service	4
Research and education service	6
Science and technology innovation service	8
Media agencies	2
Total number	70

Table 5 Service Fields of Policy Actors in Franklinton CPM-Catalyzed Policy Network

Location	Number of Policy Actors
East Franklinton	21
West Franklinton	20
Downtown Columbus	20
Among the Three Jurisdictions	9
Total	70

Table 6 Locations of Active Policy Actors in the Franklinton CPM-Catalyzed Network

6.2.2 Policy Sub-Coalitions in Franklinton CPM-Catalyzed Creative Revitalization

The ACF suggests that policy coalitions are differentiated by policy core beliefs held by members of the coalitions. A policy core belief refers to a set of empirical and normative beliefs spanning the policy subsystem and uniting allies (Elgin and Weible, 2013). Issues of urban growth are always at the center of urban political economies (Molotch, 1987). The interview data also suggests that policy actors involved in the Franklinton policy network supports the revitalization of the Franklinton in general since the neighborhood did not have any major development project in the past three decades and economic growth was believed to be a key factor to improve the living conditions of residents. Therefore, the policy actors involved can be viewed as one coalition advocating for the economic growth and development of Franklinton.

In the original literature of ACF studies, policy coalitions are usually divided into two antagonistic coalitions with absolutely opposing policy core beliefs regarding a

policy issue (e.g., Elgin and Weible, 2013; Weible, 2005; Weible, 2006; Henry et al., 2010). In the later revisit of ACF, Sabatier and Weible (2007) suggests that policy analysis should “operationalize as many components of policy core beliefs as possible” (p.195) in order to identify sub-divisions of policy coalitions because the distinctions of preferences and opinions regarding different aspects of a shared policy core belief do exist among policy actors. The distinctions of policy beliefs are seldom as simple as a dichotomy of support and opposition rather they are likely to reflect either differing priorities among goals or different preferences for using particular implementation tools.

Although all the policy actors share the policy core belief in developing Franklinton, they have different opinions on “whose interest counts” in the process of the revitalization. Tracing evidence from the Franklinton policy network structure, geographic information, interview data, and public documents, I discovered four sub-coalitions based on their prioritized policy belief preferences in regards with Franklinton development. Meanwhile, policy coalitions are supposed to be defined by their policy belief according to the ACF. The unique jurisdictional and geographic characteristics of Franklinton shaped by its history, social conditions, and local politics indicate a strong correlation between the locations of policy actors and their local policy belief preferences. Thus, at the current stage of Franklinton development, the policy actors in the four sub-coalitions can also be roughly identified by their active locations in the neighborhood. The active location does not only refer to a physical location but locations where each set of policy actors have active presence. Yet, it should be noted here that the

location is only a rough categorization of policy actors to understand the large pattern of the political dynamics of Franklinton revitalization.

The four sub-coalitions are: pro-growth sub-coalition mostly active in Downtown Columbus, pro-equity sub-coalition mostly active in West Franklinton, pro-creative coalition most active in East Franklinton, and pro-balance sub-coalition mostly active between the three jurisdictions. The pro-creative coalition include two different groups: creative entities in the sense of science, technology, and entrepreneurs and the arts community (Figure 26). The following paragraphs explain how and why the policy actors are divided into the four sub-coalitions and how the four sub-coalitions are defined in the Franklinton context.

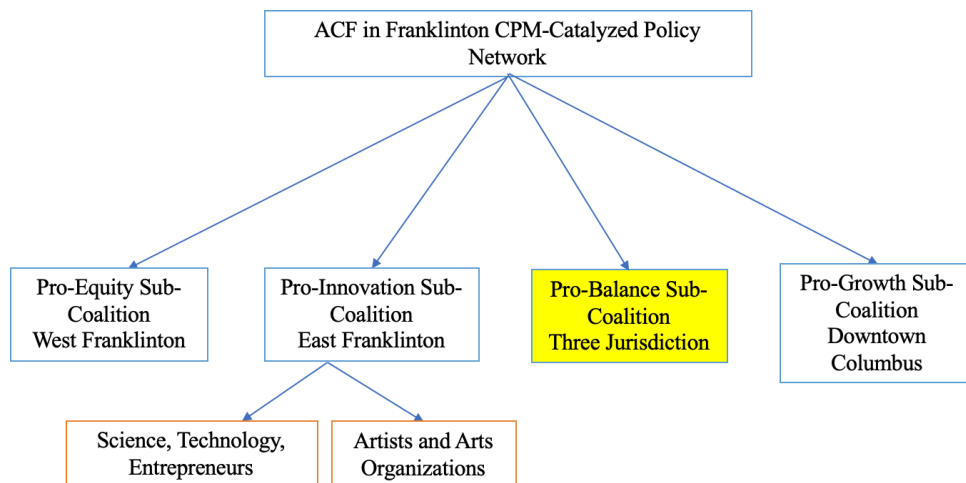


Figure 26 Franklinton CPM-Catalyzed Creative Community Revitalization Sub-Coalitions

The pro-growth sub-coalition Most policy actors that provide development services (government agencies, developers, consulting companies) are located in Downtown Columbus. Downtown Columbus represents the pro-growth sub-coalition with government agencies, planning/development consulting companies, and developers. They are political elites who significantly influence decision-making process of the city. The pro-growth coalition is concerned most about the overall economic growth of Franklinton as a part of Columbus development. These policy actors prioritize their economic gains and the overall economic growth of Columbus rather than the interest rather than the generational residents in Franklinton, though the pro-growth policy actors have active presence in Franklinton.

The pro-equity sub-coalition The social and human service organizations are primarily located and active in West Franklinton where most generational residents live. West Franklinton represents the pro-equity sub-coalition with social and human service organizations providing services to disadvantaged population in the community. The pro-equity sub-coalition emphasizes social equity issues of disadvantaged population in the process of revitalization.

The pro-creative sub-coalition East Franklinton was initially known by three creative anchors: 400 West Rich, Glass Axis, and Columbus Idea Foundry (CIF). The three creative anchors sparked the creative scene of Franklinton by attracting both creative and artists individuals and organizations to the neighborhood. Although not all creative and artistic entities are located in East Franklinton, a predominant number of them are located in East Franklinton.

The 400 West Rich is a co-working space that belongs to Urban Smart Growth, a for-profit developer in California. Most of its tenants are artists and arts-based businesses. The Glass Axis is a nonprofit arts organization relocating from Grandview to Franklinton due to the rising rent in that neighborhood. The CPM policy was intended to focus on supporting the arts community. Nevertheless, the Franklinton revitalization was originally led by artists and then driven by a joint force of science, technology, and the arts community later when the Columbus Idea Foundry was relocated to Franklinton with the CPM funding from ArtPlace America through the FDA. The CIF is also a for-profit co-working property and makers' space. Different from 400 West Rich, it mainly provides space and all kinds of fabrication equipment for entrepreneurs, particularly those in the field of science and technology.

Thus, East Franklinton represents the pro-creative sub-coalition composed of creative businesses, arts organizations, and artists occupying the vacant buildings as renters and property owners.

The assumption of the CPM policy is that the arts and creative community can contribute to both the economic growth and social equity in community development. However, the increasingly entrepreneurial endeavors of artists and creatives still tend to be used by developers methodologically to gain profit from neighborhood development (Zukin, 2001). In places where real estate prices are high and keep rising with arrival and departure of artists and creatives, artists and creatives are perceived as both the agents and victims of gentrification (Zukin, 1982; Deutsche and Ryan, 1984). According to the research interviews, the artistic and creative entities do have concerns about equity issues

in Franklinton, they still prioritize the needs of their businesses and the maintaining of the creative milieu in East Franklinton. The creatives initiated the creative scene to Franklinton as road blazers for the following large-scale development. Meanwhile, they are faced with the challenges brought by the rising real estate price and change of zoning policy brought by the development. They do not belong to the pro-growth coalition composed of the alliance of government and developers which prioritize the profit and tax base. They are also not in the urgent situation of the disadvantaged residents in West Franklinton. Thus, they can be treated as a sub-coalition in addition to the pro-growth and pro-equity sub-coalition, though they may not well-organized as other sub-coalitions¹.

Pro-Balance Sub-Coalition Another group walks a fine line between the three sub-coalitions with an intention to bridge and coordinate actions of policy actors from different sub-coalitions. They include policy actors who recognize the importance of a more balanced agenda of Franklinton revitalization: development, creative scene, and equity. The pro-balance sub-coalition is in support of economic growth of Franklinton by introducing external investments, sustaining the vital creative scene, and helping the disadvantaged residents to live in a better community and keep their homes. The pro-balance sub-coalition are active in both parts of Franklinton and Downtown Columbus, believing in coordinating a balanced approach to interest distribution of Franklinton revitalization.

¹ In chapter 8 and chapter 9, I analyze how the pro-creative sub-coalition fail to take effective collective action as a policy sub-coalition.

This group includes the three types of policy actors: 1) Community-based nonprofit organizations providing development relevant services led by Franklinton community elites: Franklinton Urban Empowerment Lab (FUEL, the new Franklinton Development Association that moved to West Franklinton and rebranded itself as development service organization for the disadvantaged generational residents in West Franklinton), Franklinton Area Commission (FAC), and Franklinton Board of Trade (FBT); 2) Creative individuals and artists who work in East Franklinton but live in West Franklinton such as the former executive director of FDA; 3) Enterprises that are both active in participating in the creative activities in the east and the philanthropic activities in the west such as Franklinton Art District (FAD) and Land Grant Brewery (LGB). In comparison with resourceful private developers, these policy actors do not have a strong voice and abundant tangible resources. They support the revitalization plan because they can benefit from the “small opportunities” (Stone, 1993, p. 11) generated from the development in order to feed their programs and individual needs in relation to their business growth, development equity or innovation.

6.2.3 Power Dynamics of Policy Sub-Coalitions in Franklinton Creative Revitalization

In urban politics, "power consists of a capacity to overcome resistance and gain compliance" (Stone, 1993, p.3). The cost of control over different domains, scopes, and intensity keep social groups from the exercise of comprehensive social control (Stone, 1993). The power structure is “created, reproduced and ultimately changed” in the process of networked interactions (McGuirk, 2000). With policy sub-coalitions

categorized and identified, we can use the Franklinton policy network structure to understand their power dynamics.

In the federal governance network, I used indegree centrality, outdegree centrality, eigenvector centrality, and betweenness centrality to measure the general political capacity, strength of policy actors' intention to lead, the scope of influence, and the leveraging power. These measures are also used for Franklinton policy network. Figure 27 and Figure 28 display the boxplots of the four measures by the active locations of policy actors in the previously identified sub-coalitions. The overall pattern shows that the pro-balance sub-coalition has the largest average scores in all the four measures, indicating the largest general influence among all the sub-coalitions. The pro-growth sub-coalition has the second largest scores in outdegree centrality and indegree centrality, indicating its strong intention to lead and large scope of influence. The pro-equity sub-coalition has the second largest scores in indegree centrality and betweenness centrality, implying the large political capacity and leverage power of the subdivision. The pro-creative sub-coalition is the least structurally advantageous group by all means since it has the lowest scores of all the four types of degree centrality that measure general political capacity, strength of policy actors' intention to lead, the scope of influence, and the leveraging power respectively.

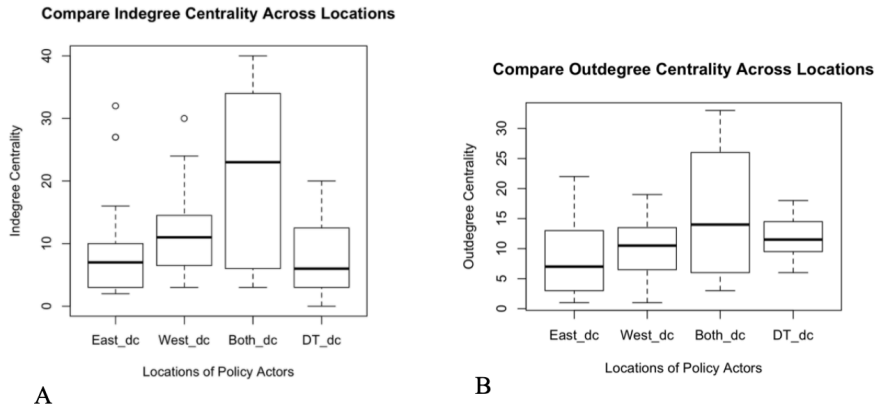


Figure 27 Franklinton CPM Network Indegree and Outdegree Centrality Across Locations

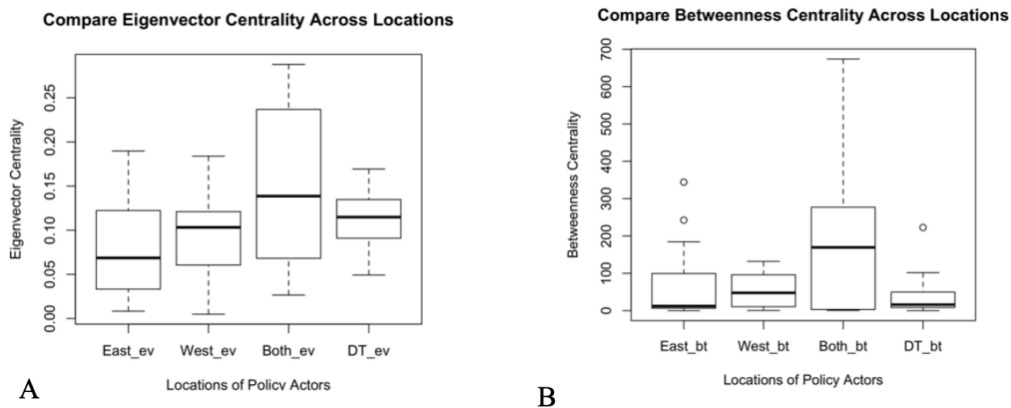


Figure 28 Franklinton CPM Network Eigenvector and Betweenness Centrality Across Locations

Pro-Growth Sub-Coalition The pro-growth sub-coalition has the second largest average eigenvector and outdegree centrality score. This indicates that this is a sub-

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coalition where well-connected policy actors have ongoing keen interests to lead revitalization. These well-connected policy actors are also connected with each other, exerting extensive influence not in the Franklinton CPM-catalyzed policy network but in the broader arena of local governance and planning for the City of Columbus. Most policy actors of the growth sub-coalition are government agencies, legislative officials (city council), planning consulting companies, developers, and news media located in Downtown Columbus. The convergence of city's intention to increase tax base and the profit-making nature of developers and consulting companies predetermines the domination of the urban growth agenda. The policy actors in the pro-growth sub-coalition are "faces" of the urban political elites privileged by their economic and political power. They do not need to form as dense network as the pro-balance sub-coalition to influence Franklinton. Their existence has predetermined the urban growth agenda. Thus, the pro-creative sub-coalition does not have the highest scores of the four measures.

Developers and planning companies do not only influence the Franklinton revitalization agenda by interacting with government agencies and Franklinton community leaders as their business routine (Molotch, 1993). Their superior network structure grants them the capacity to set up and sustain the games of urban growth. Although the powerful position of the pro-growth sub-coalition seem to dominate the development agenda of Franklinton revitalization, the boxplots show that other sub-coalitions, particularly the pro-balance and pro-equity sub-coalition have their own structural advantages to exert influence, resisting the dominant power of formal institutions and absolute growth agenda. The pro-growth sub-coalition cannot be

considered as the only “omnipresent activist” who “maneuver the baseline of urban process” (Molotch, 1993, p. 32), though they have a favorable structural position that allow them to exert expansive influence.

Pro-Equity Sub-Coalition The average indegree centrality score and betweenness centrality score of the pro-equity sub-coalition is only a little bit lower than the pro-balance sub-coalitions. The religious and secular social and human service organizations and churches in West Franklinton are deeply engaged in the historic neighborhood by providing social services and have been active advocates for the community for decades. For instance, Gladden Community House (GCH) has been in the neighborhood for 113 years. It plays an important role in gathering, coordinating, and distributing information on the services of other nonprofit social organizations serving the neighborhood through its monthly nonprofit collaborative meeting and collaborative projects with these nonprofits. The Saint John Episcopal Church (SJEC), founded in 1873, provides a variety of community programs and spiritual services in the neighborhood with a progressive view of contemporary social issues. As a landlord who moved in Franklinton in 2004 stated,

“There’s been so much press around East Franklinton [and] what has been happening there in the arts community, which is very cool, [But] there have been so many unsung heroes that have fought really hard in [West] Franklinton to really serve people. They’re just these silent giants that do really amazing work. Because these organizations have been around so long, they are dealing with third and fourth generations [of families]” (Thomson, 2017).

They do not only provide services for a well-defined constituency based on a committed donor base but also forge local coalitions across multiple organizations and sectors to address the neighborhood's chronic social problems and to influence the city's policy development decisions. Understanding the important roles of these nonprofits in Franklinton, government agencies and consulting companies seek advice for revitalization from them. Some businesses and developers try to build good relationship with them by offering support to the neighborhood through them. Individuals also use these organizations as their platforms to help generational residents. The strong presence of nonprofit organizations in the history of the Franklinton allows them to serve as "a viable platform for the aggregation of collective interest" (Hula et al., 1997, p. 460) of businesses and residents in the neighborhood. Being in one of the most poverty-stricken neighborhoods, these nonprofit organizations work as an informal governance body. Their political capacity and leverage power as an informal governance body comes from the relationship that they have built with local residents over long period of time. In other words, these actors have built substantial social capital and trust with residents in West Franklinton though power elicited from the social capital (structure) is not on par with that of the pro-growth sub-coalition.

Pro-Creative Sub-Coalition East Franklinton is where the creative revitalization starts as most creative businesses and artists' studios are located in East Franklinton. The CPM policy at the federal level has an intention of putting arts at the center of the CPM. However, organizations in the pro-creative coalition have the lowest average scores in all

the three centralities. The figures above show that the range of the outdegree, eigenvector, and betweenness centrality scores of the pro-creative sub-coalition is very wide. The highest centrality scores in the pro-creative sub-coalition are only smaller than those in the pro-balance sub-coalition. However, the policy actors of the lowest centrality scores are among policy actors of the lowest centrality scores in all the other sub-coalitions and the pro-creative sub-coalition in general receives the least incoming ties. The structural attributes of the pro-creative imply that the structural power of the sub-coalition is unevenly distributed. Only very few policy actors in the pro-creative sub-coalition are exceptionally interested in leading and making influence on the Franklinton revitalization policy issues.

For instance, FAD, the Columbus Idea Foundry (CIF), 400 West Rich, Franklinton Fridays, and Vanderelli Room have exceptional high scores in one or two of the centralities, most policy actors in the pro-creative sub-coalition have very low centrality scores. Many policy actors in East Franklinton are either small entrepreneurs or artists with less capacity and motivations to build and maintain many relations as individuals in comparison with organizations, which lowers the average political capacity, influence, and leverage of the sub-coalition.

The 400 West Rich houses artists' studios as a physical creative anchor of East Franklinton. The building of 400 West Rich is owned by a developer in California as a for-profit development property. Although 400 West Rich provide space to many artists and small arts organization to rent and it has high scores in all the three types of centralities, it is a building owned by a developer in California as an investment property

rather than a business with creativity and arts as its core service. 400 West Rich almost reconciles with the pro-growth sub-coalition due to their similar goals of increasing the land price of Franklinton while revitalizing urban cores by investing on historic structures. Developing 400 West Rich into art co-working space just happens to be their investment strategy instead of the mission of its business. The CIF is a for-profit co-working space and creative incubator with a focus on science and technology. As a CPM funded organization, the CIF does remain a relatively central position in the network with only high degree centrality that demonstrates its strong willingness to lead and resourcefulness in Franklinton revitalization. Although 400 West Rich and the CIF are considered as members of the pro-creative sub-coalition representing the creative entrepreneurs and artists, their business model and profit orientation do not put the arts and artists, particularly the socially engaging artists and arts, at the center of their business.

This indicates that although the sub-coalition of creative and arts sector is the driving force of the revitalization initially, their structural positions do not grant them the same extent of influence and leverage of negotiation with other policy coalition policy actors as a sub-coalition group. The existence of pro-creative sub-coalition introduce cultural apparatus and human agency into the Franklinton as a natural form of resistance, well-coordinated or not, to the overdeterministic and totalistic nature of urban political economy that leaves no room for culture (Molotch, 1993), though the pro-creative coalition is less influential in comparison with other sub-coalitions.

Pro-balance Sub-Coalition The pro-balance sub-coalition in the three jurisdictions relevant to the Franklinton revitalization also have the highest average scores in all the four centrality measures, implying that the influence of the pro-balance sub-coalition is the most influential policy sub-coalition among all sub-coalitions. In comparison with other sub-coalitions, the pro-balance sub-coalition is the most structurally advantaged group. The pro-balance sub-coalition holds an ideal vision for Franklinton revitalization, believing that their active presence in both sides of the neighborhood can help and engage residents and organizations in the west, solving inequity issues generated from the revitalization.

For instance, the FBT has forty business members of different sizes and levels of membership contribution in both sides of Franklinton and most business entities in the network are members of the FBT. As a business chamber that serves local businesses, the FBT organizes volunteer trash-picking events in collaboration with government office Keep Columbus Beautiful to keep a clean and welcome environment in Franklinton. It also tries to include residents in West Franklinton in the creative scenes in the East Franklinton. by expanding arts events to the west. The FDA moved from East Franklinton to West Franklinton while the development expands from the east of the west of the neighborhood. It also changes its name to FUEL to emphasize its mission in serving the generational Franklinton residents by building affordable housing, educating them money management and job-training skills, and connecting residents to other resources in the neighborhood. The FAD and the LGB are also organizations which uses their resources generated from their services and activities in East Franklinton to support

their philanthropic work in West Franklinton. As mentioned earlier, many creative individuals who live the west and work in the east also contribute to decreasing inequality in the process of Franklinton revitalization within their capacity. The former executive director of the FDA is the most important figure who has been trying to balance growth, innovation, and equity in the Franklinton redevelopment agenda. The next section will discuss him as a critical policy entrepreneur.

The analysis of the Franklinton policy network demonstrates how a policy coalition can be maneuvered by its sub-coalitions with distinct preferences of policy core beliefs on urban development issues. The unique geographic features of Franklinton and the structural attributes of policy sub-coalitions also showcase the four main characteristics of the social political dynamic of the CPM-catalyzed Franklinton revitalizations:

1. Franklinton today is an ongoing set of contests and collective actions of policy sub-coalitions defined by differing goal preferences shared within each sub-coalition in adjacent geographic locations. The residential segregation of Franklinton and its spatial relation with Downtown Columbus play a critical role in producing the social and political dynamics of the sub-coalitions.
2. It is widely recognized that the urban growth agenda is dominant in American urban politics. However, the network structure shows that the pro-growth sub-coalition does not structurally dominate the Franklinton revitalization network completely. Except for the arts and creative group, the other three sub-coalitions each has its own structural advantages measured by the four

different types centralities to compete with the pro-growth coalition.

Especially, the pro-balance sub-coalition wins over the pro-growth sub-coalition in every way, though it does not necessarily achieve their goals only with the structural advantages.

3. In comparison with the pro-growth sub-coalition, members in the pro-equity sub-coalition are mentioned by many policy actors as important community resources in Franklinton with substantial bargaining power. However, this sub-coalition still lacks structural advantages that allows it to exert large scope of influence on par with the pro-growth sub-coalition.
4. The pro-creative sub-coalition is the weakest one among all the sub-coalitions given it is primarily composed of small nonprofit organizations, small entrepreneurs, and creative individuals. The CPM grant only helps the funded organization, the CIF, to achieve more central position in the network rather than the arts and creative community as a whole.

6.3 Policy Entrepreneurs: Strategies of the Sub-coalitions to Influence Policy

Policy sub-coalitions and the structural power dynamics of the policy actors based on the general patterns of their network attributes. The analysis of the structural characteristics of the Franklinton's policy network and the power dynamics of sub-coalitions demonstrate the structural advantages of policy actors. The policy sub-coalitions utilize both their structural advantages and non-structural strategies to obtain resources and influence Franklinton's creative revitalization. Policy entrepreneurs are sources of skillful leadership who can obtain and leverage the other resources to achieve

the goals of their coalitions. Sewell (2005) argues that formal public officials, public opinion, information, mobilizable troops, financial resources, and skillful leadership are key resources of advocacy coalitions. Policy entrepreneurs often demonstrate “how skillful leadership leaders can create an attractive vision for a coalition, strategically use resources efficiently, and attract new resources to a coalition” (Sabatier, 2007).

The CPM policy also emphasizes the significance of having effective community leadership who understand how to maneuver through the cross-sectoral and cross-disciplinary collective actions of policy actors involved in arts-led urban development. Thus, policy entrepreneurship provides a perspective that can be operationalized with the social network analysis to explain the substantive content of the Franklinton policy network and significant strategies that sub-coalitions can use to obtain coalition resources and exert influence on Franklinton revitalization in the network.

6.3.1 Policy Entrepreneurs and Social Network Analysis

Policy entrepreneurs can be anyone “in or out of government, in elected or appointed positions, in interest groups or research organizations” (Kingdon, 1995, p. 122), who tend to make policy change or turn policy-making process and outcomes into their own advantages (Kingdon, 1995; Ingold and Varone, 2012; Zachariadis, 2007; Mintrom and Norman, 2009). Technically, all the policy actors in Franklinton CPM network have the potential to influence policy as policy entrepreneurs at any stage of the policy process for their own expected outcomes or changes. In order to function as a policy entrepreneur in the Franklinton creative placemaking, a policy actor needs to have both structural advantages and non-structural elements.

Mintrom and Norman (2009) note that policy entrepreneurship includes four elements: displaying social acuity, building teams, defining problems, and leading by example. Displaying social acuity refers to the ability of making good use of policy networks based on a good understanding of "the ideas, motives, and concerns of others in their local policy context" (Mintrom and Norman, 2009, p. 652). Building teams refers to the ability of building and maintaining policy coalitions made up by policy actors from various backgrounds. Defining problems means the ability to frame policy agenda by addressing the urgency of policy problems, highlighting failures of ongoing policies, and "drawing support from actors beyond the immediate scope of the problem" (Mintrom and Norman, 2009, p. 652). Leading with example means the ability of turning ideas into examples in action (Mintrom and Norman, 2009).

Translating the framework of Mintrom and Norman into operational language, we can divide the four elements of policy entrepreneurship into structural and nonstructural strategies of policy entrepreneurship to understand the entrepreneurial behaviors of policy actors in the Franklinton CPM network. Social acuity and team building as two elements that can be manifested by structural properties in policy networks. Social acuity refers to the ability of creating and taking advantage of a policy actor's structural advantages with high level of sharpness of recognizing opportunities and understanding other policy actors (Mintrom and Norman, 2009; Kingdon, 1995). Building teams focuses on the three facets of relationship management: composing and organizing a team of various fields and backgrounds with common pursuit of outcomes; effective use of personal/professional network; developing and working with coalitions (Mintrom and

Norman, 2009). Thus, from a structural perspective, being brokers within/between policy coalitions is an important policy entrepreneurial action. Problem definition and leading with example are nonstructural behaviors of policy entrepreneurs that can be studied substantively with qualitative data.

The structural advantage of policy entrepreneurs is the position of brokerage in the network. The brokerage power of a policy actor comes from the extent to which the policy actor lies on paths between other policy actors. In other words, the betweenness centrality of a policy actor manifests how much other policy actors depend on the policy actor. Given policy actors in a network belong to different coalitions with different opinions on policy issues, the membership of a policy actor is an essential factor to understand the function of brokerage advantage of that policy actor. Fernandez and Gould (1994) found two types of policy brokerage based on coalition membership of policy actors: internal brokerage and external brokerage (Figure 28). If policy actor A in a policy coalition trusts policy actors of other policy coalitions, he/she may choose policy actor B as either itinerant brokers or liaison brokers to help A connect with C. If policy actor A is willing to take the risk of getting connected with policy actor C through policy actor B in a different policy coalition. In other words, when a policy actor is trusted by a member or members of another sub-coalition, then the first actor has the potential to act as a policy entrepreneur.

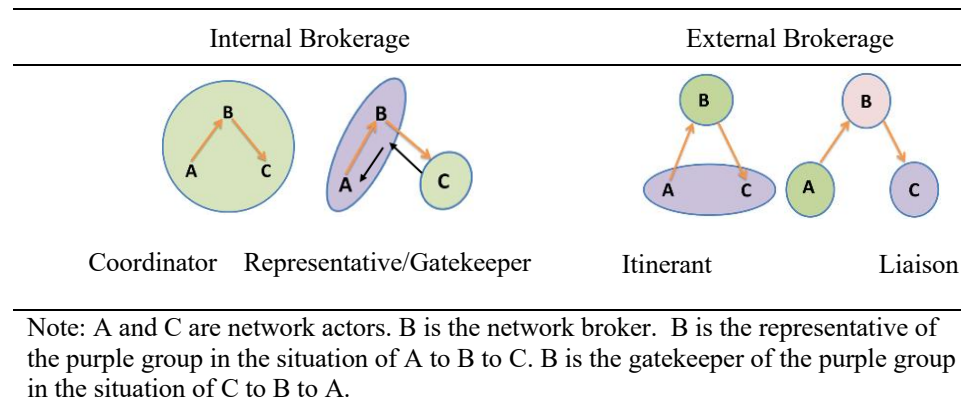


Figure 29 Fernandez and Gould Brokerage Typology

Mintrom and Norman (2009) argued that building coalition and negotiation between policy actors are also critical functions of policy entrepreneurs. From a structural point of view, this means that policy entrepreneurs are active brokers both within their coalitions and between different coalitions. In the context of community development, achieving a community wide policy goal requires collaboration between policy actors in different fields, sectors, and coalitions. While being an internal broker may not enhance coalition consensus or cohesion, it may act as a source of its internal group that needs legitimacy and recognition to be spokesmen, representatives, and negotiators. Alternatively, it transforms the assets of a coalition into a source of power to influence or mobilize other coalitions to achieve their desired policy goal at the community level. In parallel, only being external brokers may not make the best use of the social capital and resources gained from the external brokerage through effective distribution of responsibilities and interest among its coalition members. Being able to effectively coordinate and represent one's own coalition or bridge policy actors from different

coalitions for a common goal or managing both inner and outside brokerage effectively makes a policy actor a policy entrepreneur.

The three internal brokerage structures suggest that being an internal broker can be transcended to the three situations of policy entrepreneurs proposed by Mintrom and Norman (2009): 1) A policy entrepreneur can effectively coordinate resources and communications within its own coalition. 2) Other policy actors in a coalition trust a policy entrepreneur as representatives of their policy coalition to negotiate with policy actors of other coalitions. 3) A policy entrepreneur can be a gatekeeper of its preferred coalition if policy actors from other coalitions are willing to connect with the coalition through this policy entrepreneur. Being an external broker, a policy actor is either trustworthy for connecting policy actors from the same coalition or influential for bringing policy actors from different policy actors together.

The betweenness centrality scores of policy actors in the Franklinton creative revitalization policy network measure the brokerage capacity of policy actors granted by their structural positions in the network. Gould and Fernandez (1989) developed a broker typology based on group affiliation, capturing a more detailed and meaningful brokerage process within and between diverse types of vectors in a network. Their measurement of brokerage is more sensitive to structural differences between vectors than centrality measurement. The rank of betweenness centrality scores does not give closeup for particular policy actors with the consideration of structural inequivalence of network members and the critical brokerage function within and between group affiliation-based local blocks in a network (Gould and Fernandez, 1989). The contextualized meaning of a

network member filling a structural hole depends on the group affiliation of network members being connected only through brokers.

Combining the analysis on structural brokerage positions and substantive activities of policy actors, this next two sub-sections identify the key policy entrepreneurs in the process of revitalization from a structural perspective first and explains how their entrepreneurial behaviors as representatives of their policy stances lead their coalitions based on the four elements of policy entrepreneurship proposed by Mintrom and Norman (2009).

6.3.2 Identifying Policy Entrepreneurs based on Brokerage Structural Advantage

The affiliation-based brokerage score invented by Fernandez and Gould (1994) can help identify these policy actors from the three geographical locations defined earlier in chapter six and look into their internal and external brokerage activities to understand their entrepreneurial behaviors in relation to Franklinton creative placemaking. Using the locations of policy actors in Franklinton as a proxy of their preferred coalition affiliations, Fernandez and Gould brokerage typology calculates brokerage scores for individual policy actors to measure the probability of them being brokers between coalitions (locations) in the network and frequency of them playing the role of broker in the five types of brokerage structure. The t-statistic for individual policy actors can help us identify the most important policy entrepreneurs who are active as both internal brokers and external brokers. The t-statistic of individual policy entrepreneurs for the five brokerage structures demonstrate the strategies and patterns of policy entrepreneurs' brokerage activities.

The goal of this subsection is to analyze the behaviors of the most representative policy entrepreneurs with the highest certainty in the network. I use significant t-statistic at the highest level ($***p^2 < .01$) to identify policy actors who are most likely to be brokers. Table 29 lists all the identified policy entrepreneurs and their t scores³. The selected policy actors are policy entrepreneurs in the most general sense. The brokerage types of identified policy entrepreneurs and the sub-coalitions they belong to are listed in Table 30. Similar to Table 29, Table 30. only list brokerage types of the highest level of significance marked with three asterisks for a policy actor. The next part analyzes how these policy entrepreneurs strategically obtain and utilize resources to exert influence for their sub-coalitions in the network.

² The number of asterisks suggests the predetermined level of statistical significance of the t-score. The significance level only signifies the probability of rejecting the null hypothesis, which is "Policy actor A is not a general broker between the three coalitions" for a policy actor A. So, one cannot compare between the t-statistic of policy actors listed in the table.

³ Statistically, t-statistic is the ratio of the difference between the estimated value of the brokerage score from its hypothesized brokerage score divided its standard error. Technically, the Fernandez and Gould brokerage score method operates a t-test for each policy actors on the null hypothesis "Policy actor A is not a general broker between the three coalitions." If we choose $*p < .1$ as the significance level, the null hypothesis is rejected with a t-statistic larger than 1.65 or smaller than -1.65. Substantively, this indicates that the general brokerage role of a policy actor is statistically significant. If we choose $**p < .05$ as the significance level, the null hypothesis is rejected with a t-statistic larger than 1.96 or smaller than -1.96. If we choose $***p < .01$ as the significance level, the null hypothesis is rejected with a t-statistic larger than 2.58 or smaller than -2.58

Key Policy Entrepreneurs	Sub-coalitions	* <i>t</i>
Gladden Community House	Pro-equity	3.21***
Franklinton Art District	Pro-creative	3.59***
400 West Rich	Pro-growth	8.68***
Franklinton Urban Empowerment Lab	Pro-balance	10.95***
Former ED of Franklinton Development Association	Pro-balance	17.7***

****p* <.01; ***p* <.05; **p* <.1

Figure 30 Identification of Key Policy Entrepreneurs in Franklinton CPM Network

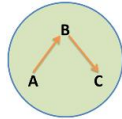
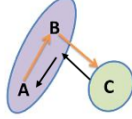
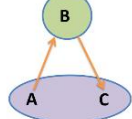
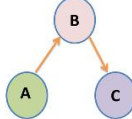
Policy Entrepreneurs	Coordinator (w_I)	Representative (yellow arrows) or Gatekeeper (black arrows) (b {IO}/{OI})	Itinerant (w_O)	Liaison (b_O)
Graph Illustration (Chaudhary & Warner, 2015, pp. 2-3)				
Former executive director of the FDA	10.45***	14.21***/16.63***	6.48***	17.83***
Franklinton Art District	6.36***	2.32/4.16***	-0.66	-0.02
400 West Rich	1.01	2.56/10.02***	9.61***	4.95***
Franklinton Urban Empowerment Lab	11.21***	7.78***/14.49***	2.34	6.3***
Gladden Community House	6.71***	2.49/5.01***	0.62	-0.19

Figure 31 Brokerage Positions of Identified Policy Entrepreneurs

6.3.3 Understanding Entrepreneurship Strategies of the Identified Policy Entrepreneurs

Integrating the output of brokerage roles in Table 6.6 and data from the interview and archived documents, I analyze the policy entrepreneurial behaviors of key policy

entrepreneurs identified above by the sub-coalitions they lead. It needs to be reminded beforehand that the pro-growth sub-coalition is the manifestation of formal institution. Given the pro-growth has fundamentally controlled the urban growth agenda at a higher political level, it does not have any motivation to change the status quo. So, pro-growth sub-coalition does not have any highly active policy entrepreneur appear in the list of the key policy entrepreneurs while other sub-coalitions endeavor to exert their influence with devoted policy entrepreneurs.

The following analysis explains how the policy entrepreneurs use the structural and nonstructural strategies of policy entrepreneurship (Mintrom and Norma, 2009), addressing the four main findings regarding policy entrepreneurship in other four policy sub-coalitions:

- 1) *Fostering network with a new vision:* The former executive director of the FDA, Jim Sweeney, demonstrates his quality of policy entrepreneurship by fostering a network that bridges arts, development, and social services to revitalize Franklinton through a bottom-up approach.
- 2) *Rebranding for the shifted agenda:* The transition from the FDA to FUEL adds a new element to policy entrepreneurship based on the characterization Mintrom and Norma (2009): tendency of policy proactivity.
- 3) *Leading by coordinating and leveraging:* As one of the oldest social service organization in Franklinton, the CEO of the GCH recognizes the benefit of Franklinton revitalization and the contribution of creative

community. Meanwhile, it unites the social sector to amplify the voice and power of the pro-equity sub-coalition, and also initiate relationships with developers in the pro-growth sub-coalition to leverage resources.

- 4) *Buffering displacement by claiming ownership of intangible community assets.* As a structurally weak sub-coalition, arts organizations represent artists and creatives to safeguard rights of artists and creatives.

Fostering Network with A CPM Vision In Table 30., it is easy to find that most policy actors with the brokerage advantage are organizational policy entrepreneurs. Sweeney is the only individual human policy entrepreneur on the list. As mentioned earlier, humans have much smaller capacity than organizations to influence policy as individuals. They need to function *through* or *as* organizational entities. Jim Sweeney is special because he founded the FDA originally to invest in Franklinton. Although he left the organization and the organization also rebranded itself as the FUEL, he was still an important policy actor who initially built the CPM-catalyzed creative revitalization network of Franklinton. He started investing in Franklinton with an intention of developing Franklinton by building affordable communities and using arts to revamp the image of “the bottoms”. Thus, he is a policy entrepreneur representing a balanced view for Franklinton revitalization. The statistically significant scores in all the four types of brokerage positions also shows his presence is critical for bringing different policy actors in different sub-coalition together to revitalize Franklinton.

Substantively, the Jim Sweeney’s behaviors bespeak the four key entrepreneurship strategies: displaying social acuity, building teams, defining problems,

and leading by example. In terms of social acuity, Jim Sweeney was sensitive to the needs and motives of other policy actors in Franklinton and Downtown Columbus. With a good understanding of the needs of different policy actors, he kept developing relationship with local civic organizations, community leaders, Columbus City Council, legislators, developers, and artists. He wove the relationship into a network where the development ambition of a Democratic Mayor, Michael Coleman, and the needs of improving housing condition in Franklinton converged on the idea of creating an edgy creative community when artists started migrating to Franklinton for lower rent from the gentrified Grandview neighborhood.

With the social acuity, Sweeney could fully tap into his structural advantage to build cross-sectoral partnership and leverage their activities towards the goal of making “a world-class creative community” without displacing existing residents (Sweeney, 2018, Personal Communication, Jan. 25, 2018). The brokerage statistics show that Jim Sweeney actively bridges policy actors both *within* the pro-balance sub-coalition as a coordinator, representative/gatekeeper, and *between* the different sub-coalitions as an itinerant and liaison. He is “more effective at operating in networks” (Mintrom and Norma, 2009, p. 651) than other policy entrepreneurs who do not have significant statistics on all brokerage types in the policy network.

Being a well-functioning coordinator within the pro-balance sub-coalition demonstrates his team building skills. As a coordinator within the pro-balance sub-coalition, Jim Sweeney was able to put up a team composed of key leaders from different organizations in Franklinton and Downtown Columbus, though the team is not

necessarily tight-knit from a structural perspective. For instance, the FAC, the FBT, and the FUEL (the former FDA) are civic organizations in Franklinton. The board members of the organizations were made up by local good hard-working resident volunteers who were property owners instead of representatives from development or construction companies (Sweeney, Personal Communication, Jan. 25, 2018).

Mintrom and Norma (2009) discuss the importance of the knowledge and skills offered by team members to policy entrepreneurs. In the case of Franklinton, particularly at the early stage, the board members in the civic organizations did provide knowledge and skills that help Jim Sweeney to understand the community. Nevertheless, the most important asset of these policy actors was not their direct assistance to the development but the “legitimacy” they offered to the FDA to obtain government grants for Franklinton development. Thus, team building in the context of community-driven development should also include policy actors who can grant “the solid legitimacy” to policy entrepreneurs.

From the non-structural perspective, Jim Sweeney also exercised policy entrepreneurship by defining problem and setting examples. Problem definition frames people’s perspective on the relationship between policy and their own interest. Therefore, effective problem definition requires a high level of social acuity skills of policy entrepreneurs in understanding needs of other policy actors and managing conflict and negotiation in policy networks (Mintrom and Norma, 2009). Jim Sweeney could promote the “district’s” creative revitalization successfully by coordinating the pro-balance sub-coalition and brokering between the four sub-coalitions in that he had a “balanced” view

of interests for different groups of policy actors involved in the revitalization. The development issues of Franklinton were defined as a problem of changing people's perception of Franklinton and creating a heterogeneous community.

As Sweeney noted in the research interview,

“So how does the CDC stay afloat in Columbus when the city does not give you Community Development Block Grant dollars to operate? It's very difficult. Like I said, many of us had gone out of business. The way you stay afloat is by being successful in developing real estate credit. And for years, years right up to 2008, the interest was exclusively homeownership. There was no interest in CDC's developing rental housing... And we need to sell house to stay alive. But the point it nobody would buy... There's no way they would sell house down and nobody wanted to come here. Everybody hated it. And then one day we said, well, why don't we just change the story? Let's just rebrand the neighborhood.” (Personal Communication, Jan. 25, 2018).

In addition, to keep the development sustainable and equitable to existing residents in the neighborhood, Sweeney continued that,

“We wanted to bring people with higher incomes to the neighborhood. How would you describe a healthy community? I'll answer that for you. Describe it as a mixed income community, as a heterogeneous community... You want a diversity of people have skin color, of income, of age or background with interest.

And Franklinton was very homogenous.” (Personal Communication, Jan. 25, 2018).

As a low-budget community CDC, the FDA had to collaborate with larger developers to build houses. In order hold the large developers accountable to the interest of Franklinton, the FDA took a planner-broker approach. The FDA represented the community with the support of the civic organizations mentioned above to plan projects and broker the deal with developers.

Sweeney talked about his risk management and negation strategy as follows, “We stay in the process, in the project as a partner so that we're able to make sure that our, our vision and our mission is met, that the public is being served, that the neighborhood is being served, and that the houses, when they come online or available to people from the community, and also attractive to have people from outside the community.”

To change the public perception of “the bottoms”, Jim Sweeney and his team turned to the arts to rebrand the neighborhood. He co-founded the FAD and launched the Urban Scrawl arts festival to create socially conscious and engaged murals. He helped the CIF purchase a property in Franklinton by applying for the CPM grant of ArtPlace America through the FDA. The efforts he put in fostering the arts scene in Franklinton set the example for collaboration between developers and arts community in Franklinton. The rebranding of Franklinton through the arts helped the FDA to improve housing

conditions for more than a hundred and fifty families and made Franklinton an innovative hub of central Ohio.

The elaboration above demonstrates how Jim Sweeney acts as an effective policy entrepreneur and leader of the pro-balance sub-coalition from the four inter-connected aspects of policy entrepreneurship: social acuity, team building, problem definition, and leading with example. The analysis above reflects the aspects of community leadership desired by the CPM in action. However, his use of arts community in Franklinton still follows the city branding approach to market and sell Franklinton to external investors and consumers. The CPM grant funded project was successful and the early stage of East Franklinton Creative Franklinton was deeply engaged with the civic organizations of Franklinton, the project was also taken as an example of bottom-up community revitalization though development equity issue of Franklinton remained controversial. However, the role of arts community and the cultural assets of the Franklinton in the process of revitalization is the subject of further discussion with the policy goals of the CPM. This consideration will be elaborated in Chapter eight.

Rebranding for the Shifted Agenda Jim Sweeney served as the executive director of the FDA until 2016 when the development started moving into West Franklinton. The FDA moved to West Franklinton and rebranded itself as the Franklinton Urban Empowerment Lab (FUEL) with a new executive director who had worked with Jim Sweeney closely in the FDA. In addition to building affordable housing, the organization created a much clearer mission on improving development equity in Franklinton while the investment was pouring into the neighborhood:

“FUEL’s mission has broadened over the years to address the affordability for Franklinton’s renters, who occupy nearly seventy percent of the homes in the neighborhood and will face displacement brought on by the changing characteristics of the community. The first strategy is development of affordable housing for low-to-moderate income individuals and families in Franklinton. The second strategy is to create programming that empowers current residents. The third strategy is to connect residents with available resources in the community through Franklinton.org.” (FUEL, 2018)

The FUEL has statistically significant scores in coordinator brokerage. The FUEL sustains the structural advantage of the FDA as a coordinator of relations in the pro-balance sub-coalition in collaboration intensively with the FAC and the FBT to help disadvantaged residents impacted by the development. In fact, the FUEL does not only coordinate within the sub-coalition but actually policy actors in the whole neighborhood. For instance, the FUEL creates the Franklinton.org website, listing all types of community resources provided by other organizations in the neighborhood. The significant gatekeeper/representative brokerage score also suggest that the FUEL represents the pro-balance sub-coalition to negotiating with policy actors in other sub-coalitions, mobilizing them to support its mission of creative and equitable development or connect pro-balance policy actors to resources in other sub-coalitions. For example, the FUEL partners with CelebrateOne, a taskforce under the City of Columbus, offering financial and life skill courses for challenged Franklinton residents.

Although my network data was collected at one point, having no ability to capture the evolution of network in an accurate way specifically, the inclusion of both FDA and the FUEL and the interview data provide enough materials to understand policy entrepreneurship at a critical moment of transition. The rebranded mission and leadership transition manifest the social acuity of community leaders for the changing stages of development in Franklinton. The policy problem of Franklinton shifts from getting attention to develop the forgotten “bottoms” to deal with the unexpected consequence of the revitalization. The newest list of board members of the FULE (Figure 32) in early 2019 shows that, after the transition, the network of the FDA and the sub-coalition was well preserved and even expanded with the participation of new policy actors. Policy actors in both the pro-creative sub-coalition (the representative in the CIF) and the pro-equity sub-coalition (the GCH and Franklinton Cycle Works) join in the board. The other members did not appear in my network data or interview data. Thus, they can be treated as new policy actors with explicit presence in the network, though they might have personal connections in Franklinton that I did not capture with my data collection.

As one element of policy entrepreneurship, “social acuity” emphasizes the importance of understanding the needs of different policy actors/coalitions and maneuvering the policy network. The analysis on the behaviors of the FUEL in the transition period of Franklinton revitalization add a *time* dimension of the “social acuity” or another aspect of the policy entrepreneurship. A policy entrepreneur needs to be familiar with or sensitive with the stages of a policy issue or the direction it evolves, so

he/she can define problem, build team, and set examples with proactive and adaptive strategies.

Board President / Lauren Edwards, Next Step Business Consulting

Secretary / Casey McCarty, Columbus Idea Foundry/Resident

Vice Chair / Joy Chivers, Gladden Community House

Treasurer / Chris Ofat, Tidwell Group

Jonathan Youngman, Franklinton Cycleworks/Resident

Greg Phillips, Columbus State Community College/Resident

Tamara Maynard, Office of Legal Affairs at The Ohio State University

Collin Morelock, Homeside Financial/Resident

George Mattei, Huntington National Bank

Figure 32 Board Members of the FUEL in 2019

Leading by Coordinating and Leveraging In West Franklinton, the GCH has been serving the neighborhood for over a century. It is an important leader of the informal governance body in Franklinton. The coordinator and gatekeeper t-statistic of GCH are statistically significant, indicating that it is a policy entrepreneur focusing on the inner brokerage activities to influence Franklinton revitalization. It coordinates resources within the pro-equity coalition in west Franklinton and interacts with other sub-coalitions on behalf of the interest of the social sector and the disadvantaged population.

In comparison with the pro-growth and pro-balance sub-coalition, the agency takes advantage of its deep roots in Franklinton to maneuver the policy network, build team, and influence policy problem definition. The CEO of the GCH host community

events and meetings to channel resources and relationship within the pro-equity sub-coalition. For instance, it organizes the National Night Out with the support of other nonprofit organizations in Franklinton for a decade to address community safety issues in Franklinton. The agency also organizes monthly meetings with nonprofit organizations to share information and address community issues. As a gatekeeper and representative of Franklinton, it influences Franklinton development by offering their deep understanding of the neighborhood to the city, planners, and developers. Development and planning consulting organizations, the city council, and media agencies consult the House about the social and cultural background of the community. Developers, businesses, and individuals who seek philanthropic opportunities in the West Franklinton also seek advice or resources from the House. The agency brings issues of development equity to the table while other policy actors consult opinions from the House.

Buffering displacement by claiming ownership of intangible community assets.

The pro-creative coalition is described as the arts, creative, and small entrepreneur community. They are derived from the pro-growth coalition since they are afraid of being priced out of the neighborhood by rising real estate property. Although the CIF was supported by the CPM, it does not appear to have advantageous structure to be a policy entrepreneur. Instead, the FAD has convincing internal brokerage activities as a coordinator and gatekeeper. However, it is unknown whether artists and creatives take the FAD as their representatives considering that the representative brokerage is not statistically significant.

As a gatekeeper, policy actors of other sub-coalitions turn to the FAD for advice and collaboration regarding arts projects. Recently, Kauffman Development reached out to the FAD collaborate with the world-renown street artist Eduardo Kobra as well as some local artists to create murals for their new luxury apartment buildings. As the first arts organization in Franklinton that organizes community arts events and supports arts, the FAD is definitely occupies the coordinator position. The creation of the organization by itself is a very entrepreneurial act that changes the image and fate of Franklinton. While the development is going, the organization started making moves to protect artists from being displaced from the neighborhood. For example, artists who organized and participated in the Franklinton Fridays, a community event showcasing local art and science, registered “Franklinton Fridays” as trade mark that belongs to the artist group. The registration honors the value of their presence in this neighborhood as vital intangible community asset. If they are priced out of the neighborhood, the trade mark will be gone with them. Although, this seems be a very weak strategy, it offers an alternative for artists to have tangible influence that can buffer the potential for displacement.

Chapter 7 Network Governance and Actor-level Performance in Creative Placemaking-Catalyzed Community Revitalization

7.1 Introduction

The Creative Placemaking (CPM) policy initiated by the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) put emphasis on cross-sectoral partnership between the arts sector and non-arts sectors. The emphasis is based on two assumptions: 1. Arts can exert positive economic and social impacts on communities and cities (Markusen and Gadawa, 2010). 2. Well-coordinated broad-based community partnerships in arts-led urban development can better facilitate the equitable urban development (Liu, 2017). The NEA and ArtPlace America, an arms-length nonprofit of the NEA founded for the implementation of the CPM, have been funding arts-centered projects that are implemented through partners in both the public and private sectors. The policy goals of the CPM were to boost economic growth, to enhance creativity in solving urban issues, and to ensure inclusive urban development with effective citizen participation (NEA, 2018; Markusen and Nicodemus 2014).

The national CPM initiative also researched the impact of CPM grants and indicators of their impact through extensive case studies on local partnerships funded by the CPM grants (e.g., NEA 2018; ArtPlace America, 2018; Morley and Winkler, 2014). The CPM cross-sectoral partnership is embedded in the policy network produced by the

collective actions of policy actors involved in the CPM-catalyzed community revitalization. Therefore, the case studies on projects funded by the CPM are not sufficient to understand the structural influence of the partnership in the network of local community development. To examine the impact of the CPM, the CPM partnership must be viewed as an integral part of the local community development network in that the influence of the CPM partnership is constrained by the position of the CPM partners in the network structure. The achievement of long-term community goals relies on the improved performance of individual policy actors who are involved in the network. Understanding the community-level policy performance of the CPM is premised upon the actor-level performance in the CPM-catalyzed community revitalization network.

Markusen (2014) remarked on the ten-year research agenda for creative cities that analyzes the complex social structure of urban policy actors and the conceptual challenges of making urban arts more inclusive in the process of urban transformation are key to untangle the relationship between urban revitalization, arts and culture sector, and gentrification. Therefore, the outcomes of the CPM can be explained by both structural and non-structural factors in a CPM-catalyzed community revitalization network. Therefore, drawing upon the network theory of social capital and Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF) theory of policy process, this chapter investigates the actor-level performance of the CPM policy from a network perspective by proposing a network-based framework that integrates social capital, policy beliefs, and policy learning to explain the actor-level performance of policy actors. This chapter aims at addressing the following research questions through the CPM-catalyzed Franklinton revitalization policy

network: How do social capital, policy beliefs, and policy learning influence the performance of policy actors in a CPM catalyzed urban development network? How do the arts community, particularly the artists, contribute to the goals of the CPM in community development?

7.2 A Review of Theoretical Hypotheses

7.2.1 Network and Policy Performance

Network governance is intended to achieve collective goals that cannot be done by individual organizations independently. Both the structural properties of the network and nodal-level network attributes of individual policy actors are associated with the goal achievement of the network as a whole and the performance of individual actors in the network (Provan and Kenis 2008). Provan and Milward (1991, 1995) studied the effectiveness of network governance by exploring how public service delivery networks influenced service outcomes as rated by clients in four metropolitan areas. In the same vein, Wang (2016) studied how network stability and centralization, in addition to other configurations of social factors, led to network-level effectiveness of urban neighborhood governance networks in Beijing.

Meier and O'Toole (2001) found a positive association between extensive networking of school superintendents and school performance. Some recent network performance studies made an explicit linkage between social capital and different levels of outcomes. Lubell and Mewhirter (2016) studied how transaction cost indicators influenced policy actors' perceived performance of policy forums nested in a complex governance system. Musso and Weare (2017) found a positive relationship between

social capital and democratic efficacy by analyzing networks of 82 city councils in Los Angeles and survey data of their self-rated democratic efficacy. Focusing on the performance in self-organizing policy networks instead of the imposed managed-networks, Yi (2018) found a positive association between social capital indicators and whole network governance outcomes. The review of the literature above shows that actor-level performance in self-organizing networks were rarely studied. This study fills this gap by utilizing a social influence model to examine the influence of structural and non-structural factors on governance performance at the actor level in the context of arts-led urban development network.

7.2.2 An Integrated Framework of the Actor-level Performance in A CPM-Catalyzed Community Revitalization Network

The CPM policy of the NEA has explicit goals to foster local arts-centered cross-sectoral partnerships for inclusive and equitable community development. In order to understand the collective community outcomes of the CPM over the long haul, it is important to first examine how individual policy actors perform. This chapter seeks to understand how the social structure of policy actors and their cognitive factors influence the performance of individual policy actors involved in a CPM-catalyzed community revitalization network. This section proposes an integrative framework for assessing the actor-level performance embedded within the CPM-catalyzed community revitalization network in Franklinton, by integrating the effects from social capital, policy beliefs, and policy learning (Figure 33).

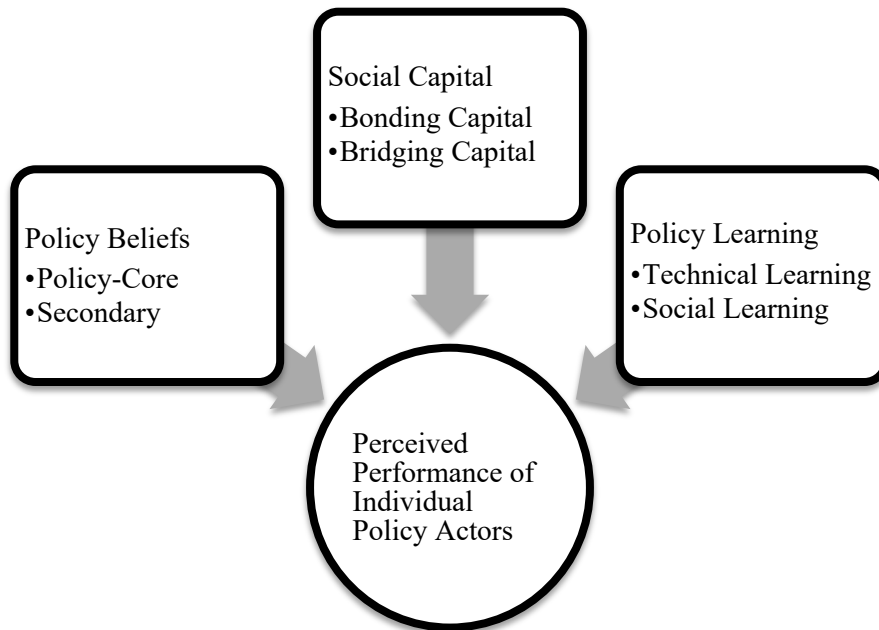


Figure 33 An Integrative Framework of Actor-level Performance in A CPM-Catalyzed Community Revitalization Network

Social Capital and Actor-level Performance Grodach (2011) argued that arts contribute to community development in the following ways: social capital generation, community social inclusion, and creativity stimulation. Social capital generation is a key foundation, upon which all other outcomes are built. Cultural investments excel other revitalization tools in cultivating bonding and bridging capital due to their potential for generating social cohesion and economic opportunities (Grodach 2011; Putman 1995). Mommaas (2004) noted that, in cultural clusters, a good balance of structural closeness and openness leads to a community with solidarity and adaptability. In a community with a balance of bonding and bridging social capital, community members have a shared

sense of responsibility for it and enough flexibility to adapt to external changes in the wider urban and cultural fields (Mommaas 2004).

In the network theory of social capital, different forms of social capital have various effects on the economic and social benefits to communities and individuals (Lin, 2008). Bonding capital is found positively associated with policy performance (Yi 2018). Bridging capital is often associated with opportunities for cross-group interactions that lead to efficiency and innovation (e.g., Granovetter 1977; Burt 2000; Gittel and Vidal 1998). Both bonding and bridging capital potentially lead to better actor-level outcomes. Thus, I propose the following hypotheses:

Bonding Social Capital Hypothesis: Bonding capital is positively associated with perceived actor-level performance.

Bridging Social Capital Hypothesis: Bridging capital is positively associated with perceived actor-level performance.

Policy Beliefs and Actor-level Performance The ACF postulates a system of three-tiered policy beliefs that influence coalition building and consequently policy changes. Deep-core beliefs refer to the fundamental values of policy actors that are extremely difficult to change. Policy-core beliefs refer to the system-wide fundamental means and ends of policies. Secondary beliefs are considerations regarding policy issues, proposals, and programs in specific geographic locations (Sabatier and Weible 2007; Henry et al. 2010). Policy beliefs, as an individual-level attribute, do not only influence policy processes through coalition building activities, but also fundamentally affect the performance of individual policy actors through shaping their behaviors within policy

activities (Newell and Simon 1972; Sabatier 1988; Schlager 1995; Lubell 2003). Lubell (2003) found that perceived policy effectiveness was a function of beliefs relevant to collective actions.

In the context of arts-led urban revitalization, many “impact” studies have endeavored to find evidence for the economic and social impact of the arts. Research generated in this area is subject to substantial academic critiques (Belfiore and Oliver 2007). Whether and how positive externalities of the arts can be utilized to enrich individuals and societies is a fundamental debate directly related to the justifications for public subsidy for the arts. Policy-core beliefs are a generic heuristic device that policy actors refer to for the assessment of policy effectiveness (Lubell 2003). Thus, in a CPM-catalyzed community revitalization network, the ways that policy actors view the possible impact of the arts influence how they interact with other policy actors for their selective and collective benefits.

The context-specific perception of the extrinsic values of the arts is the secondary belief of policy actors in Franklinton. While policy actors may have different opinions regarding the economic and social impact of the arts in general, their perceptions of the local arts community may vary depending on their assessment of the local conditions that favor (or bound) the social engagement activities of the local arts community. Lubell (2003) found that policy actors’ beliefs about task environment was an immediate driver for their political actions. Thus, the secondary belief may drive policy actors to adapt their behaviors to local arts-relevant conditions, inducing changes in actor-level performance. Accordingly, I propose the following hypotheses:

Policy-Core Belief Hypothesis: The greater the degree to which policy actors endorse the positive economic and social impact of the arts, the higher the level of perceived actor-level performance.

Secondary Belief Hypothesis: The greater the degree to which policy actors endorse the active participation of the local arts community in Franklinton community issues, the higher the level of perceived actor-level performance.

Policy Learning and Actor-level Performance The ACF defines policy-oriented learning as “relatively enduring alternations of thought or behavioral intentions that result from experience and/or new information and that are concerned with the attainment or revision of policy objectives” (Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith, 1999, p. 123). By definition, policy learning is an important mechanism for generating improved performance through the acquisition of knowledge and information among policy actors. Learning activities in different forms facilitate policy innovation and diffusion (e.g. Volden et al., 2008; Berry and Berry, 2018; Cook and Ward, 2011; Sheldrick et al., 2017), lead to policy changes (e.g., Sabatier and Weible, 2007; Lubell, 2003; Mintrom and Vergari, 1996), and enhance the organizational performance of individual network actors (e.g., Meier and O’Toole 2011; Uzzi, 1996; Aarstad and Greve, 2010).

In the context of the CPM, the NEA and its national partners fund research programs for CPM practices, establish accountability for community outcomes, and create forums for knowledge dissemination. As a result, local policy actors draw lessons from best practices and prepare for unanticipated outcomes by learning information provided by the CPM research and forums. Thus, I propose that these technical policy-

learning activities concerning the overall means and ends of the CPM have a positive impact on the performance of policy actors. Besides, learning about knowledge and information among policy actors about each other is critical for the successful coordination of a self-organizing network (Yi, 2018). Network-based social learning activities facilitate the adjustments of goals among policy actors towards shared network objectives. Accordingly, I propose two hypotheses for the two types of policy learning:

Technical Learning: Policy actors who are more active in gathering information about CPM policy have better perceived actor-level performance.

Social learning: Policy actors who are more active in learning about activities of other policy actors in the network have better perceived actor-level performance.

7.3 A Review of Method and Data

7.3.1 Social Influence and Social Disturbance Model

Social influence refers to the mechanism that one's beliefs and behaviors are influenced by that of others' in the same system. Network influence, both the interdependence of policy actors (interaction) and the various constraints and opportunities of the local network system (local effect), is generally modeled with network autocorrelation in different forms. The network disturbance model is selected as a version of the network autocorrelation model. This model is essentially the same as a spatial error model, except that the spatial matrix is replaced with a network matrix. The model reflects the mechanism through which a policy actor adapts its intrinsic opinions and behaviors to reduce the deviation between its intrinsic opinions/behaviors and those of their network neighbors (Leenders 2002). In Equation 1, the intrinsic policy beliefs,

policy learning activities, and the policy actors' network social capital are represented by X , and the residuals ε captures the latent factors that force a policy actor away from his or her intrinsic opinion. Being different from the network autocorrelation model that uses the network W as an independent variable representing the process of two nodes adapt their opinions based on the intrinsic opinion of each other, the social disturbance model takes the network as a part of error term W_ε . Treating the network as an error terms means that the network influence effect takes place in a process where a node observes its connected nodes deviating from their original intrinsic opinions and the node decides to adapt to the deviation rather than simply adapt to their original intrinsic opinions.

I adopt the social disturbance model instead of the network autocorrelation model for two theoretical reasons. 1) The policy actors do not change their behaviors simply because what their partners do. In a policy network, collaboration is a constant negotiation process. Policy actors adapt their behaviors based on changes their partners are willing to make. Because policy actors do not change their core policy easily and they have predetermined policy agenda to achieve. In this case, treating the network as an error term instead of an independent variable captures the nuanced negotiation process embedded in the interactions of policy actors with differing beliefs and policy agendas. 2) The network social capital factors measured by nodal-level structural attributes are included as intrinsic attributes of the policy actors predetermined by their structural positions in the network. The random network variable W_ε is used to capture the effect of interdependence of policy actors. Other random non-structural factors are represented by υ .

Equation 1

$$y = X\beta + \varepsilon, \quad \varepsilon = \rho W\varepsilon + v, \quad v \sim N(0, \sigma^2 I)$$

7.3.2 Variables and Measurement

To test the hypotheses proposed earlier, the perceived performance, network social capital, policy beliefs, and policy learning are operationalized into specific measures. Measurements of each variable and their data sources are presented in Table 7.

Dependent Variables		Measures	Data Source
Perceived performance of policy actors in <i>financial health/service innovation/community engagement</i>		The influence of participating the Franklinton revitalization network on policy actors' performance in financial health/service innovation/community engagement, on a scale of "1" ("Extremely negative") to "7" ("Extremely positive").	Survey data
Independent Variables		Measures	Data Source
Social Capital	Bonding Capital	Clustering coefficient (nodal level)	Calculated based on network data collected in survey
	Bridging Capital	Betweenness centrality (nodal level)	
Policy Beliefs	Policy Core Belief	The active participation of the arts community is critical to resolving a variety of community issues. Likert scale of "1" ("Very untrue of what I believe") to "7" ("Very true of what I believe").	Survey Data
	Secondary Belief	Arts organization and artists actively participate in Franklinton revitalization project as change agents of community issues in this neighborhood. Likert scale of "1" ("Very untrue of what I believe") to "7" ("Very true of what I believe").	
Policy Learning	Technical Learning	The familiarity with CPM policy initiated on a scale from "1" (Never heard about it) to "7" (expert level).	Survey data
	Social Learning	How actively do they learn about what other organization do in Franklinton community on a scale of "1" ("Very inactive") to "7" ("Very active")?	
Control Variable		Reciprocity score (nodal level)	Calculated based on network data collected in survey

Table 7 Variables and Measures of the Proposed Model

Dependent Variables The expected community outcomes of the CPM include the following three aspects: economic growth, innovation, and equity. The CPM policy is an "instrument for greater equity and expansion of opportunity for vulnerable populations"

(Scutari, 2018) in the process of economic growth. Creativity is considered an intrinsic quality of the arts (Oakley, 2009). The CPM initiatives encourage cross-sectoral partnership, particularly collaborations between the arts and non-arts fields for improved and innovative outcomes. Using the arts as a policy tool is expected to inspire creative solutions to community-defined issues and increase meaningful community engagement in the process of economic development (Markusen and Gadwa, 2010; Borrup, 2015).

In order to achieve the overarching goals of the CPM, policy actors need to enhance their own financial, innovative and community engagement performance. Thus, the dependent variables can be measured using the perceived performance of the policy actors in the areas of financial health, service innovation and community engagement corresponding to the community goals in economic growth, innovation and equity proposed by the CPM policy initiatives. The data on the three aspects of the performance were collected via a survey instrument, by asking research participants to rate how much the participation in the Franklinton revitalization network influences their organizational performance with respect to financial health, innovation motivation, and community commitment respectively, on a scale of “1” (“Extremely negative”) to “7” (“Extremely positive”).

Independent Variables: Social Capital Following the tradition in network studies, this chapter uses *clustering coefficient* and *betweenness centrality* to measure bonding social capital and bridging social capital respectively. Policy actors with a high clustering coefficient have more redundancy in network relations within the group, leading to a higher level of trust, belief agreement, and capacity to solve collective action problems

(Granovetter, 1985; Burt, 2005). The nodal clustering coefficient score indicates the density of a node's neighborhood, calculated as the ratio of the number of pairs of nodes in the neighborhood of a policy actor over all the possible ties between these nodes (Hanneman and Riddle, 2005). Bridging capital is measured with betweenness centrality. Betweenness centrality for ego is measured as the total number of geodesic paths between any two nodes that include the ego. It reflects the brokerage location of a node that links other nodes without direct relationships (Freeman, 1977). Policy actors with high betweenness centrality occupy advantageous positions to facilitate or limit interactions between other policy actors.

Independent Variables: Policy Beliefs As mentioned earlier, arts instrumentalism is one of the central debates in arts policy, because it relates to whether and how government should fund the arts. In the context of CPM policy, empirical evidence and research on the impact of CPM is scarce and underdeveloped. The fear of gentrification occurring after the presence of the arts community questions the impact of the arts on community development in the long haul (Scutari, 2018). Therefore, the policy-core belief is measured as how much a policy actor subscribes to the social and economic impact of the arts. Unlike a core belief that is difficult to change, a secondary belief is more adjustable with the intake of new information, experience, and changes in organizational strategies (Sabatier, 1998). Given that secondary beliefs are subject to the resources and constraints of local contexts, they also influence the performance of policy actors. The extent to which policy actors believe in the impact of Franklinton local artists on the economic and social issues in Franklinton is the secondary policy belief. To collect

data on the two measures, two survey questions were asked to research participants to measure the core belief and the secondary belief respectively: 1. The active participation of the arts community is critical to resolving a variety of community issues. 2. Arts organization and artists can actively participate in the Franklinton revitalization project as change agents in this neighborhood.

Independent Variables: Policy Learning Technical learning refers to learning activities surrounding formal policy documents, experiences, trends, and analysis of the CPM. Technical learning is measured by regarding the means and ends of CPM as a federal policy with local actions. The survey asked research participants to rate their familiarity with CPM policy initiated on a scale from “1” to “7”. Social learning refers to informal learning activities of policy actors by interacting with other policy actors in the network. Research participants were asked to rate how actively they learn about what other organization do in the Franklinton community on a scale of “1” (“Very inactive”) to “7” (“Very active”).

Control Variable Reciprocity is typically considered an optimal strategy for actors involved in social actions to obtain benefits through a “quid-pro-quid” mechanism and circumvent risks of defection through a “tit for tat” mechanism. Thus, policy actors who reciprocate tend to have better performances than those who do not (Axelrod, 1987). The reciprocity score of policy actors was included in the analysis as a control variable. The reciprocity score is measured as the rate of the total number of reciprocated ties involving a policy actor over the total number of ties it sends and receives.

7.4 Results and Findings

The statistical results of the three models are presented in Table 8. The results for each independent variable are presented and analyzed in the following subsections.

Qualitative information elicited from the interviews is incorporated to complement the quantitative data analysis on the social network data and to deepen the understanding of the case. The different research methods and perspectives are adopted as a means of triangulation to ensure that “the explained variance is a result of the underlying phenomenon or trait and not of the method” (Johnson et al. 2007, pp. 113-114).

Independent Variables	Financial Health	Service Innovation	Community Engagement
Nodal Level Bonding Capital (Clustering Coefficient)	2.51** (1.05)	1.84** (0.93)	3.47*** (0.99)
Nodal Level Bridging Capital (Betweenness Centrality)	0.004** (0.002)	0.002 (0.002)	0.04** (0.002)
Policy-core Belief in Arts Instrumentalism	0.16** (0.14)	0.29** (0.13)	0.36** (0.12)
Secondary Policy Belief in Local Arts Impact	0.25** (0.14)	0.17 (0.12)	0.08 (0.12)
Technical Policy Learning	-0.11 (0.10)	-0.02 (0.09)	-0.05 (0.10)
Social Learning	0.17** (0.12)	0.19** (0.12)	0.17** (0.11)
Reciprocity (Control Variable)	0.77 (1.0)	1.18 (0.92)	1.02 (0.97)
<i>BIC/AIC</i>	<i>266.5/286.7</i>	<i>253/273.6</i>	<i>260.7/281</i>

*** $p < .01$; ** $p < .05$; * $p < .1$ (standard errors in parentheses)

Table 8 The Summary of the Three Models for the Perceived Actor-level Performance

7.4.1 Social Capital and Performance

Bonding and Bridging Capital The findings provide partial support for the social capital hypotheses. Bonding social capital has a statistically significant effect on financial health, service innovation and community engagement. Bridging social capital is positively associated with financial health and community engagement but not service innovation. This result supports the argument of Mommass (2004) to a large extent since both bonding and bridging capital are positively associated with financial health and the community engagement of policy actors. Bonding capital grants policy actors trustworthy partners to avoid risks in financial exchange and strengthen existing relations between policy actors. Bridging capital brings new opportunities to policy actors for financial gains and new contacts so that policy actors can adapt to the changes in the external environment with more flexibility.

Bridging capital in this model is measured by betweenness centrality. Policy actors with higher betweenness centrality typically control resources, information and relations flowing between different groups. Having a diversity of resources is usually considered as a brokerage advantage that leads to innovation. However, bonding capital instead of bridging capital is positively associated with the service innovation of policy actors. This means that in the Franklinton CPM network, strong bonding relations with other policy actors are more important for policy actors for improved innovation capacity and motivation rather than the brokerage advantage of occupying structural holes. Both bridging and bonding capital can champion innovation in economic activities. In the context of Franklinton, the significance of bonding structure suggests that the structural

mechanism of innovation arise from powerful social inner circles manifested as “dense and cohesive networks with strong ties that create a high consensus on such practice” (Granovetter, 2005, p. 45). Bonding capital allows the more effective collaborations between policy actors to realize innovative ideas.

Bonding capital measured by a nodal-level clustering coefficient is similar to the idea of the close-knit dense inner circle. Han et al., (2011) found that the clustering coefficient of a network node decreases exponentially as the degree centrality increases. Thus, policy actors who belong to small inner circles are more likely to influence performance in service innovation. This makes sense in reality because policy actors with only a few connections have to rely on bonded relations to survive. In a small bonded cluster, the trust between policy actors allows them to bring their shared innovative ideas into fruition much easier than a large group of policy actors who are loosely connected, though new ideas may emerge from connections across sectors and fields.

For instance, the director of Franklinton Farms mentioned that the farm, the artists, and the 400 West Rich group had a small-scale partnership in the early stages of the farm and the development. Artists have occasionally created community murals for the farm and donated artwork to decorate areas of the farm. In fact, innovative programs were very rare according to the interviews. The “partnership” between the farm, the Idea Foundry, and the 400 West Rich group was limited to space sharing before the farm owned its own space. “There’s not that much exchange between Franklinton Farms and the East Franklinton art scene... We have not really figured out any sustained partnership yet. I do not know why this has not happened.” Similarly, a program manager in Gladden

Community House (GCH) mentioned that the GCH used to have close relationship with the previous director of the Franklinton Arts District (FAD). The cross-sectoral relationship between a human service organization and an arts organization has achieved program innovation in the past. However, “as things get bigger, as things grow, sometimes it is hard [to maintain the partnership]” (Anonymous, personal communication, Nov. 22, 2017).

Besides, both bonding and bridging capital have a positive effect on the financial health and community engagement of individual policy actors. Therefore, it is possible that the performance of the Franklinton policy actors in service innovation is not directly influenced by bridging capital but only by bonding capital and the improved financial and community engagement performance of policy actors.

7.4.2 Policy Beliefs and Performance

Core-Policy Belief. The core-policy belief in the arts is positively associated with all three aspects of actor-level performance: financial health, service innovation, and community engagement. Policy actors with a high level of policy-core belief in arts instrumentalism are more likely to incorporate the arts into their programs or provide support to artists and arts organization. These supportive behaviors lead to perceived improvement of policy actors’ performance in all three aspects. The improvement of financial performance is a result of the overall economic growth stimulated by the spending and investments by the lively arts scene in this neighborhood. For-profit businesses grew rapidly with more residents and investments flowing into the

neighborhood. These business establishments and affluent residents then became new funding resources for the nonprofit policy actors.

Core-policy belief drives policy actors to incorporate arts into their services for program innovation. The interview data show that the arts community provided innovative solutions to non-arts services as suggested by the CPM policy. For instance, Lower Lights Ministries (LLM), the Gladden Community House (GCH), Youth for Christ (YFC), and the St. John Episcopal Church are important social and human service organizations in the west side of Franklinton. As one of the first recipients of the Bellows Grant of the Franklinton Arts District (FAD) for community arts partnership, the LLM celebrated the children of Franklinton and their creative talents through a spring art gala. The LLM worked with the Red Door Theater in Franklinton on a one-day camp with about fifty children in the neighborhood. The GCH, YFC, and the church have worked with artists and arts organizations in Franklinton to better serve the disadvantaged clients in Franklinton through education and prevention.

The statistical results indicate that community engagement was a function of a policy-core belief in the instrumental value of the arts in community development. In CPM policy documents, the goal of community engagement is to create an equitable policy process that empowers community changes favored by citizens. The interview data show that community engagement elevated by arts activities do not necessarily contribute to an equitable policy process. The “community” members that policy actors attempt to engage are different depending on their varied target markets and clients. The community members that most businesses in East Franklinton target are from the creative class and

visitors with spending power. To these policy actors, arts and culture are effective branding and engagement tools to attract these community members.

For instance, developer CASTO hired artists to create public murals to "decorate" the fences of their River and Rich development site. Developer Kauffman commissioned world-known Brazilian muralist Eduardo Kobra with the help of twenty-five Columbus local artists to create a five-story portrait of himself for Kauffman's new development project in Franklinton. Such projects could decorate and beautify the ongoing development sites while, as a political symbol, showing the government and the arts community that the development was consistent with their vision for Franklinton.

Realizing that the development process had little participation from long-term residents, a few artists took a social activist approach to give voice to the long-term residents in the neighborhood. Mona Gazala is a visual artist living and working in the west part of the neighborhood. She provoked a public discussion on the equity issues of the Franklinton development and gave voice to local residents through her art and her nonprofit art organization in Franklinton as an agency outside the formal institutions. For instance, her work *Faces of Franklinton* included children from generational families of Franklinton who created self-portraits of themselves together.

The project was intended to empower the actual long-time residents of Franklinton with respect to the newly envisioned "creative community" for urban revitalization as "a visual reminder to the rest of Columbus that these are the people that need to be taken into consideration whenever redevelopment in the area is discussed" (Kitrick 2016). In response to the statements of the pro-growth representatives in the

media such as: “I do not see the harm.”, “Who is being displaced?”, and “There is nothing there but an empty field.”, she created a “mobile disruption” art project by putting a sign with these quotations and a photo of CASTO’s \$50 million River and Rich luxury apartment site on her truck, questioning the justice of the redevelopment process in Franklinton.

However, the CPM practitioners have to be aware that engaging existing residents in an impoverished neighborhood is key to an inclusive development. The interviews with urban planners, nonprofit leaders, and artists suggest that having long-term residents participate in public engagement events such as community policy forums held by the Franklinton Area Commission and other cultural activities is rather difficult. The former director of Franklinton Arts District said:

“In some ways it was like, it feels like you're throwing a party in someone else's neighborhood. If they don't show up and come, then it feels like a little iffy. People were always talking about having problems like getting the community (the long-term residents) to show up. it always felt like a challenge to reach them... even flyers were pretty ineffective or like going, going door to door didn't even.” (S. Weinstock, personal communication, March 6, 2018)

Jessica Phelps is a photojournalist. She had moved to the neighborhood before the large-scale development took place. She took a series of photos, namely *Rising from the Bottom*, on generational residents living in the neighborhood to “show that while many positive things happen as a rundown and neglected neighborhood is revitalized, it can

also do harm. People can become more marginalized and pushed further off from society” (The Image, Deconstructed, 2015). A contemporary mixed-media artist Kat Francis used her multi-material installation namely *Welcome to the Bottoms* to communicate her interest in space and her experience of “living in the really hard place, the roughest place ever” (Kane, 2018).

Secondary Belief. Secondary policy belief has a positive impact only on financial health while core-policy belief is positively associated with all three aspects of actor-level performance. In Franklinton, whether policy actors choose actions that benefit their service innovation and community engagement performance does not depend on their secondary belief on the level of social engagement of the Franklinton arts community but on their core-policy belief on arts instrumentalism. The effects of policy beliefs demonstrate that a policy-core belief and the assessment of the local arts community are equally important for policy actors with respect to their financial performance. Whether or not the policy actors believe the Franklinton arts community is capable of exerting broad social and economic impacts, their advancement in innovation and community engagement is fundamentally driven by their core-policy belief in the instrumental value of the arts.

7.4.3 Policy Learning and Performance

The statistical results support the effect of network policy-learning on the three aspects of perceived performance of policy actors. Policy actors’ technical policy learning on substantive information and knowledge of the CPM policy does not have a significant impact on their performance. Instead, learning about each others’ activities is

vital to the improvement of their performance. The significance of social learning effect demonstrates that having a good knowledge of policy actors involved in the network is crucial for the enhancement of their performance. Policy actors who actively communicate with other actors in the neighborhood are more likely to identify partners, opportunities, and resources for achieving their goals.

For example, The Land Grant Brewery Company in Franklinton is a good example showing how social learning activities benefit their community engagement programs. The energy initiative of the Land Grant's community engagement team sought to help teach residents in West Franklinton how to insulate their home at no cost. Realizing that other community partners have been working on this, they gave all the resources they collected to these community partners instead of offering the service directly to the community. Besides, they also tried to learn about the culture of the neighborhood by talking to their community partners to improve the styles of and approaches to giving. Their activities in learning from their neighbors fueled the motivation and capacity of the Land Grant's charitable program with a deep understanding of the community. The community partnership manager of the Land Grant commented on the process of building community partnership:

“So, we actually have several different strategies which support the neighborhood. But before we do anything at all, we go out, and we talk to people in the neighborhood. There is a bit of an issue with especially private companies who do philanthropy that is actually harmful... We do constantly remain in dialogue with different neighborhood institutions that we're always talking to

them and figuring out what it is.” (J. Kemble, personal communication, Feb. 27, 2018)

The NEA built online platforms and offline forums as infrastructure for CPM knowledge creation and diffusion (Redaelli 2017). The analysis above, however, shows that policy actors in community development rarely obtained policy knowledge directly through the formal channels of CPM policy and transformed the knowledge provided by the CPM initiative into useful experiences for success. They learned about the nuts and bolts of the CPM, even without knowing the name and definition of the policy, through socially embedded learning activities that directly contributed to their decisions and actions for the achievement of community-specific goals in Franklinton. The findings of this study are consonant with the argument by Weible and Cairney (2018) that policy learning is more of a by-product derived from negotiations and communications between policy actors than a result of intended research for improved policy performance.

7.5 Integration of Findings

The study suggests that performance at the policy actor level is a function of bonding capital, policy-core belief in arts instrumentalism, and social learning. In addition to other proposed factors, bridging capital is positively associated with the financial health and community engagement performance of policy actors. Secondary belief only has positive effect on the financial health of policy actors. The interview analysis undergirds the statistical findings with contextualized details and also brings up critical operational issues regarding the CPM policy in local communities.

First, the study demonstrates the importance of bonding and bridging social capital to the performance of policy actors in the arts-led urban development from a social network perspective. The results imply that fostering bonding and bridging capital and socially embedded learning activities are key to the success of CPM programs. To improve CPM policy design, CPM policy initiative needs to expand the focus from CPM funded partners and their activities to how these partners are socially structured in the community network and how the CPM funding can possibly change the existing community network structure. The study demonstrates the utility of social network analysis in understanding the complex policy network of arts-led urban development by proposing a theoretical framework for actor-level performance with structural and cognitive factors drawn from emerging policy network theories.

Second, the study contributes to the ACF theory in urban development by demonstrating the effect of core-policy beliefs on policy outcomes at the actor level. Recognizing the effect of core-policy beliefs in arts instrumentalism on actor-level performance, the policy actors in CPM-catalyzed community revitalization networks can improve their performance by embracing the core-policy beliefs as a shared value within their entities and aligning their values with other policy actors in the network. In doing so, they can deal more effectively with the threats to collective action and maintain a pro-growth coalition without the forfeiture of equity and existing community assets.

In the context of urban development and the CPM, the analysis shows that the instrumental value of the arts was well-recognized by policy actors and proved to be positively associated with actor-level performance. However, according to the interview,

many policy actors who have collaborated with local artists suggested that the arts and non-arts collaboration was very opportunistic. A photographer working in the 400 West Rich also commented on the arts activities: “I feel like a lot of people are quick to throw arts around the world...[being] self-congratulatory...without necessarily having a great impact, without doing, ultimately what they say they are doing.” (Anonymous, personal communication, March 9, 2018). The effectiveness and sustainability of the arts and non-arts collaborations are challenged by factors often neglected by the CPM grants and research: funding insufficiency, discrepancies in organizational priorities, and the divergent creative interests of artists.

On that note, the CPM grant injected into Franklinton is only a one-time relocation project for a for-profit organization. Residents, artists, and their representative nonprofits cannot hold a CPM-funded organization accountable with regard to its return to the community. Small-scale community-based arts projects, though highly spoken of by the human and service organizations, cannot directly benefit from such projects. With limited funding, policy actors have to focus on their organizational priorities instead of experimenting with arts-based programs. Believing in the instrumental value of the arts does not necessarily mean that the arts are prioritized at the behavioral level. A social worker in the GCH noted that:

“We just do not have the resources to be involved in the something [arts-related programs] because they [arts partners] also do not have the resources...They are not priorities not because we do not want them to. It is just that we cannot...like we want to be way more involved with the community than

we are, [and] we want to be way more proactive and work on building things and growing things. But as you know, all these things just keep getting worse. We have to keep shifting our focus more to reactionary and emergency services” (Anonymous, personal communication, Nov. 22, 2017).

Artists are advocated by the CPM policy initiative as an important community asset for an equitable and participatory planning process that prevents displacement and preserves the unique strength of communities. However, the interviews with artists and arts organizations show that artists have distinct artistic interests and understandings of community engagement. In Franklinton, only a few artists and their artwork explicitly reflect the social reality of the neighborhood and its revitalization. As an artist said in the interview:

“I guess like, showing up to a festival, uh, and painting in live in front of people is civic engagement. [Arts] definitely can [enhance community engagement], but it depends on artists. Some artists want to make a painting that talked about injustices. Some artists want to make a painting of pretty butterflies” (Weinstock, 2018).

Third, the federal and local CPM policy initiative should have a good understanding of the history and social fabric of their targeted communities and awareness of the timing of arts intervention in the process of community revitalization. Because of research and contemplation about these factors, the federal and local CPM

policy initiative can make better decisions about “what” and “when” to fund in order to achieve the goal of inclusive and equitable community revitalization.

Franklinton is known for its Appalachian roots and predominantly poor white population. The neighborhood had been a working-class community till the 1980s. Today, the neighborhood suffers many dark problems including prostitution, drug dealing, and gun shootings. Very few artists and cultural activities explicitly address the history and urgent social issues facing the neighborhood in the process of building a creative community. The Director of Franklinton Farms noted that: “I’m hoping there is more that is coming in regard to people that are truly concerned about what is actually on the ground here and how to represent that through art as opposed to just creative cool stuff” (N. Stanich, personal communication, Feb. 22, 2018).

With the creative revitalization plan specifically made for East Franklinton, East Franklinton inherently was recast as a community of the creative class that overshadowed the existence of the disadvantaged population in West Franklinton. The target audience of their community engagement activities was primarily the “creative class” rather than the disfranchised population in West Franklinton. The relocation of the Idea Foundry funded by the CPM grant was successful in attracting investments and entrepreneurs to the community. The project happened after the division of Franklinton and the release of the East Franklinton revitalization plan. The CPM project did not get a chance to facilitate an equitable planning process. This particular CPM project in Franklinton cannot be considered a desirable CPM case that represents inclusive and equitable development, even though the artists mentioned in the earlier cases made an effort to advocate for the

disfranchised population in Franklinton with their community-based social activism art project. These projects drew public attention to the disadvantaged population who would eventually be priced out of the neighborhood. However, these art projects could hardly lead to transformative changes in the community since the revitalization plan had already been made by the city.

Several limitations should be noted for the study. Given that little information is known about the population size and that snowball sampling exerts little control over the final sample size, it is unknown how representative the data are (Morris, 2004). Besides, the study only collected data in one neighborhood at one time point. The statistical findings of the single case cannot be generalized to other communities with CPM projects. Nevertheless, the study shows great sensitivity to the context of community development in Franklinton. The combination of quantitative and qualitative analyses provides sufficient contextual details that enable readers to decide how the research findings can be transferred to other communities interested in CPM or undergoing arts-led urban development. This study contributes to urban development research by providing a network perspective in order to understand behavioral drivers and the effectiveness of individual policy actors in recent CPM policy practices and arts-led urban development.

Chapter 8 How Does Franklinton Policy Network Become What It is

8.1 Introduction

Policy outcomes come out of informal networks of policy actors taking actions beyond formal institutions (Lubell, 2012). Chapter 7 investigates the factors that influence policy performance at the actor-level in the CPM-catalyzed Franklinton revitalization network, arguing that the actor-level policy performance is a function of nodal-level social capital, policy beliefs, and policy learning of policy actors through a social disturbance mechanism—the interdependence of policy actors in the network influence the performance of policy actors. In this policy outcome model, the network structure of Franklinton network is considered as a factor that mediates the effect (Sweet, 2019) of policy beliefs, social capital, and policy learning on the actor-level performance. In other words, policy beliefs, social capital, and policy learning influence actor-level through the Franklinton policy network.

Therefore, it is imperative to look into how social capital, policy learning, and policy beliefs influence the formation process of the Franklinton policy network. Theoretically, the ACF suggests that policy beliefs and policy learning influence network behaviors of policy actors. In addition, policy actors collectively form bonding or brokerage social capital structurally as a self-organizing solution to tackle collective action problems caused by the quandary of self-interested actions of policy actors and

collective inefficiency. Therefore, this chapter focuses on explaining the formation process of the CPM-catalyzed Franklinton creative revitalization policy network by modelling policy beliefs, policy learning, risk perception, social capital as influencers of the policy network structure.

The rest of the chapter is divided into three sections. Section 8.2 revisits the theoretical hypotheses and statistical model used to explain the network formation process. Section 8.3 of the chapter briefly reviews the utility of the exponential random graph model (ERGM) in this chapter, preparing readers to understand the specification and interpretation of the model results in the later chapter. Section 8.4 presents and analyzes the analytical results of the proposed statistical models, revealing how specific social and political factors play a role in driving the formation of the Franklinton creative revitalization policy network.

8.2 Review of The Theoretical Hypotheses

8.2.1 Theoretical Motivation: Network Formation as A Self-organizing Solution to Collective Action Problem

In the NEA whitepaper, Markusen and Gadawa (2010) propose the CPM policy as a collaborative institution where policy actors from different sectors and levels of government should be included in the policy process for community development. As a collaborative policy institution, the CPM-catalyzed Franklinton creative revitalization governs multiple community development relevant policy arenas that affect the interests of many policy actors. The collaborative institution relies on certain norms of inclusiveness that invite a broad range of policy actors from different policy institutions

to participate in the policy process (Lubell, 2013). The collaborative policy institution engenders collective inefficiency “in the absence of mechanisms to integrate decision across policies /or jurisdictions” (Feiock, 2013, p. 398). Local policy actors form policy networks through informal interactions, providing self-organizing mechanisms as “solutions to collective action problems imposed by fragmented formal authorities” (Scholz et al., 2008, p. 393). Both social capital theory and the ACF theory contribute to the explanation of the observed patterns of collaborations.

The collective action problems suggest that the choices of policy actors on policy coalitions and partners depend on their self-interested preferences which may lead to loss of other policy actors and collective inefficiency. In the process of seeking partners, policy actors confront the situation of prisoners’ dilemma where they can be defected by their partners within or beyond their policy coalitions when policy actors’ self-serving actions have possible detrimental effects on one another (Berardo and Scholz, 2010). Therefore, policy actors strategically choose partners to mitigate the risk of defection of other policy actors in collective actions. Policy actors’ choices of partners influence the formation of the observed policy network structure with dominant micro-level structures (Berardo and Scholz, 2010). The existing research argues that a policy network is dominated by bonding social capital when the individual payoff of lying and cheating is high, indicating that the policy game is a cooperation game that involves high risks of partner defection. A policy network is dominated by bridging social capital when the incentive of lying and cheating is weak, indicating that the policy game is a coordination game that involves low risks of partner defection (Berardo and Scholz, 2010). Therefore,

the identification of dominant structures as social capital in a policy network is critical for us to understand the level of risk of collective action problems policy actors face in the Franklinton revitalization policy subsystem.

An important component of the self-organizing activities of various policy actors is forging policy coalitions. The ACF argues that similarity in policy belief bonds policy actors. Weible (2005) discovered that shared core policy belief bonds policy stakeholders in the policy network for the placement of Marine Protected Areas (MPA) in California. In addition to the policy homophily effect, Henry et al. (2011) argued in their study on four collaborative networks in California planning policy subsystem that similar policy belief does not necessarily have a bonding effect on policy actors in the same coalition while dissimilar policy belief does have an anti-bridging effect on policy actors from different policy coalitions. This finding corroborates the “devil shift” assumption of the ACF that the fundamental differences between policy actors creates barriers for cross-coalition collaborations. The ACF theory also highlights the importance of policy-oriented learning between policy coalitions for them to achieve their policy objectives (Sabatier and Weible, 2007). In order to learn about relevant policy issues comprehensively, policy actors also need to interact with each other and learn about federal-level policies, contributing to the formation of a policy network.

The ACF suggests that external events such as changes in socio-economic conditions, public opinion, systemic governing coalition, and policy decisions in different scopes influence constraints and resources of policy actors and how they take actions in the policy subsystem (Sabatier and Weible, 2007). The risk of defection is resulted from

decisions of policy actors on their selection of partners and participation in a policy network. The external changes also bring social, economic, and political risks to policy actors, influencing how policy actors select partners and coalitions based on their internal resources and constraints in addition to policy beliefs and the risk of defection imposed by decisions of other policy actors.

Based on the theoretical motivation stated above, I propose four sets of statistical hypotheses to understand what drive the formation of the CPM-catalyzed Franklinton creative policy network. The hypotheses are intended to test whether the Franklinton policy network is a function of social capital, policy belief preferences of policy actors, policy learning, and their risk perceptions, controlling for the network homophily effect of geographic locations, legal status, and their service fields of policy actors. The next sub-section briefly reviews the hypotheses proposed earlier in the dissertation with explanations of each theoretical concepts and their operationalization in the research. Table 9, Table 10 are made as summary references of the explanations.

8.2.2 Modeling Policy Network Formation with Social Capital, Policy Beliefs, and Risk Perception

This chapter proposes of a model for Franklinton policy network formation, arguing that the formation of Franklinton policy network is a function of social capital, policy belief, policy learning, and risk perception. The dependent variable does not require much explanation because it is the Franklinton policy network constructed by interdependent relations of policy actors. Since we use the ERG model, the dependent variable can be understood as the probability of adding one addition tie in the Franklinton

policy network. Thus, in this subsection, I mainly elaborate on how each of the independent variables may theoretically explain the formation of the Franklinton policy network and how each of them is operationalized with concrete measures in this study.

Social Capital and Network Formation Social capital is generated by the policy network constructed by policy actors in the process of tackling their collective action problems. The type of social capital indicates the level of defection risk imposed by collective action problems in a policy game (Berardo and Scholz, 2010). A policy network of high-level risk of defection is dominated by bonding social capital. Every additional bonding capital structure has a positive effect on adding one more tie in the Franklinton policy network. A policy network of low-level risk of defection is dominated by bridging social capital. Every additional bridging capital structure has a positive effect on adding one more tie in the Franklinton policy network. A policy network can be dominated by both types of social capital, indicating this policy network include both high-risk cooperation and low-risk coordination problems. As a reminder, the social capital used in this chapter is different from the nodal level social capital in chapter seven. In this chapter, the network-level social capital is a global pattern generated by choices of all policy actors whereas the nodal level social capital is the local structural attributes of individual policy actors.

A policy network of high-risk cooperation problems primarily needs credibility. It involves extensive bonding structure such as reciprocity and clustered transitive relationships (Berardo and Scholz, 2010; Feiock, 2013). Reciprocity relationship allows for effective punishment to policy actors who defect others. Similarly, transitive

relationships with redundant, dense, and overlapping ties provide rich information about behaviors of policy actors involved in collective actions and decrease the cost of monitoring and sanctioning each other. Figure 34 shows a transitive structure. Transitive triad is the simplest bonding structure on which other closed structures are built (Carpenter et al., 2004). Policy actor *i* passes information to policy actor *j* through actor *k*. The direct connection between *i* and *j* helps *j* verify information obtained from *k*. Thus, bonding capital is measured by reciprocity and transitive network structures (Table 9).

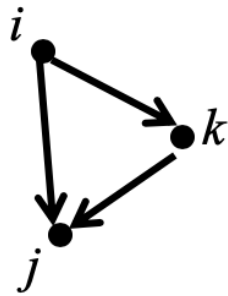


Figure 34 Illustration of Transitive Structure

	Bonding Capital		Bridging Capital
Reciprocity		In-n-star	
		Open two-path	
Transitivity		One configuration of NSP (n)	

Table 9 The Social Network Configurations of Social Capital

A policy network of low-risk coordination problems primarily needs efficiency. Policy actors in such policy games tend to maximize the number of policy actors they can reach through their existing direct contacts without creating redundant and overlapping relations. Thus, a policy network formed in response to these problems involve bridging capital with extensive centralized brokers and weak ties. In process of maximizing connections with centralized brokers collectively, policy actors are very likely to have shared partners. Thus, bridging social capital structures dominate coordination policy games (Berardo and Scholz, 2010).

Bridging social capital is measured by popular n -star and open two-path as illustrated in Table 9. In the popular n -star structure, n refers to number of ties sent to a centralized broker. In the context of Franklinton policy network, the structure of in- n -star means that policy actors connect to popular brokers to obtain information and resources efficiently. The open two-path means that a policy actor brokering two other policy actors who are not directly connected.

In the specific context of arts-led urban development, I propose a competing theory of social capital and risk of defection by introducing non-edgewise shared partners (NSP). The structure of the non-edgewise shared partners (NSP) means that two policy actors who are not directly connected can be bridged by n broker policy actors (Table 9). For instance, if $n=4$, policy actor i and policy actor j have three possible brokers that can connect them (Figure 35).

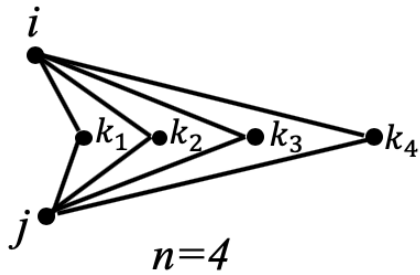


Figure 35 A Sample Illustration of NSP ($n=4$)

The open-two path and popular star structures are formed in that policy actors want to obtain resources and information from other policy actors efficiently without extra cost of building new direct relationship with them. The existing research suggest that brokerage capital emerges from collective actions problems of low defection risk and it has a positive impact on tie-formation of a policy network. In this dissertation, I argue a competing theory that bridging social capital can also emerge from collective action problems of high defection risk.

The NSP structure illustrates the scenario where a policy actor (i or j) strategically attain resources and information from another policy actor (j or i) through direct relations with more than one broker (k_n). In this scenario, the policy actor (i or j) actually does not save the cost of establishing an extra direct tie with the other policy actor (j or i). The policy actor (i or j) verify its knowledge and judgement of the other policy actor (j or i) through multiple brokers ($k_{1..n}$) to ensure the quality of resources and information. The high transaction cost of obtaining resources and information about each other (i and j) demonstrates that the policy actor values credibility more than efficiency by utilizing the

brokerage structure. Thus, the policy network is also driven by bridging capital in the form of NSP to cope with high-risk collective action problems. In the stage of statistical analyze, I will use both $n=2$ and $n=3$ to test the structure. Because usually people tend to confirm them ideas after “triangulating” with three other policy actors. Validating information with two policy actors is good enough for a policy actor to make decisions.

In order to understand the nature of collective action problems of Franklinton creative revitalization policy, I propose the following hypotheses to find the dominant network structures that influence the formation of the Franklinton network:

Bonding Social Capital Hypothesis: Bonding capital drives the formation of the Franklinton policy network.

Bridging Social Capital Hypothesis: Bridging capital drives the formation of the Franklinton policy network.

In addition to the concern of defection risks, policy beliefs also influence policy actors’ relationship building activities and choices of partners.

Policy Beliefs and Network Formation Policy beliefs influence social relationship building activities of policy actors in two ways: 1) A certain policy belief can motivate them to actively initiate relationship to form a policy network; 2) From an ACF perspective, shared policy beliefs unite policy actors as policy coalitions. Policy actors make decisions on whether they actively building ties in the policy network and whom they choose to build relationships with depending on their policy beliefs.

The national CPM policy leaders render a series of value assumptions to define the expected impact of the CPM. The local policy actors have their own beliefs regarding

the value assumptions promoted in the CPM policy. The overarching value assumption proposed in the CPM is the instrumental use of arts in solving a broad range of community economic and social issues. Community engagement in planning and decision-making process of equitable community development is emphasized (Borup, 2015). Thus, community engagement through the arts is considered an important value assumption of the CPM. Nonprofit arts organizations by nature carry social missions whereas individual artists who practice a broad spectrum of art forms are not necessarily driven by social missions. The roles played by the two types of arts constituencies in community engagement need to be considered differently. Thus, I assume that policy actors have different belief preferences for functions of arts organizations and artists in terms of the impact of their community engagement on the equity goal of the CPM. The three belief preferences are operationalized in survey questions for policy actors to rate their level of agreement on the following three statements at the Likert scale of seven points:

1) Arts can be used as a policy instrument to help achieve a broad spectrum of community goals in Franklinton.

2) Participation of artists can increase development equity through community engagement in the decision-making process of Franklinton revitalization.

3) Participation of artists can increase development equity through community engagement in the decision-making process of Franklinton revitalization.

The belief preferences of policy actors on the value assumptions of the CPM are policy core beliefs regarding the relationship between arts and community development

at the macro level. The policy actors in Franklinton policy network also hold a series of secondary policy belief preferences for Franklinton creative revitalization. The secondary policy belief preferences also essentially speak to a set of policy priorities of policy actors. Although all the policy actors support economic growth of Franklinton, policy actors have belief preferences for the interconnected issues of Franklinton. Based on interview data, the analysis in chapter six identifies four possible policy coalitions who have distinct policy belief preferences for Franklinton redevelopment policy issues: pro-growth sub-coalition, pro-equity sub-coalition, pro-creative sub-coalition. However, it is unknown whether the policy beliefs motivate them to be socially active in the network and whether the differing policy belief preferences drive Franklinton policy actors to form different policy coalitions. Thus, this chapter tests both the belief drive effect and belief homophily effect in the Franklinton policy network.

The pro-growth sub-coalition cares about the overall economic growth of Downtown Columbus contributed by Franklinton. The pro-equity sub-coalition focuses on development equity for disadvantaged populations in Franklinton revitalization. The pro-creative sub-coalition most emphasizes the growth of creative industry and arts vibrancy. In this chapter, we are more interested in exploring whether the particular belief preference for arts vibrancy, rather than the general creative industry that includes technology focused fields, can hold a group of arts policy actors in a pro-creative sub-coalition together. Based on my research interviews and media report, I categorize policy beliefs of policy actors into the following four types, asking policy actors to assess their level of priority on a seven Likert scale:

- 1) *The overall economic growth of Downtown Columbus contributed by Franklinton.*
- 2) *Social equity and justice for local residents and disadvantaged populations.*
- 3) *The growth of creative sector in Franklinton.*
- 4) *Chasing the balance of economic growth, innovation, and equity in Franklinton.*

Both the CPM policy core beliefs and local policy preferences have possible impact on how socially active policy actors are and who they choose to build relationship with.

Thus, I propose the following hypotheses:

CPM Policy Core Policy Belief Drive Effect Hypothesis: The CPM policy core beliefs have a positive impact on the initiation of policy actors in process of Franklinton creative revitalization.

Local Policy Belief Preferences Drive Effect Hypothesis: The local policy belief preferences have a positive impact on the initiation of policy actors in the process of Franklinton creative revitalization.

CPM Policy Core Belief Homophily Hypothesis: The homophily effect of the CPM policy core belief exists in Franklinton creative revitalization policy network.

Local Policy Belief Preferences Homophily Hypothesis: The homophily effect of the local policy belief preferences exists in Franklinton creative revitalization policy network.

Policy Learning Chapter seven introduces two types of policy learning: technical policy learning and social learning. Technical policy learning refers to learning activities

carries out to obtain formal official knowledge and information regarding the CPM policy. Policy actors who are familiar with the CPM policy knowledge are more likely to initiate relationship with others because the CPM encourages building broad-based partnership. These policy actors who are familiar with the CPM policy knowledge are more likely to be perused by other policy actors since they are considered as experts of capitalizing community cultural assets. Social learning is the behaviors of policy actors obtaining information about each other through informal social activities. Both types of policy learning can generate ties and form policy network. Therefore, I propose the two hypotheses:

Technical Learning Hypothesis: Technical learning activities on the CPM policy has a positive impact on tie formation in Franklinton revitalization.

Social Learning Hypothesis: Social learning activities have a positive impact on tie formation in Franklinton revitalization.

Perception of External Environment Risk The risk of defection is an assumption to propose the social capital hypotheses. Avoiding high/low risk of defection motivates policy actors to form different types of social capital structures. The ACF suggests that social, economic and political changes in external environment affect formation of policy coalitions by changing resources and constraints. Policy actors are also concerned about externally induced risks brought by those changes in addition to the internal political risk of partner defection.

The median rating of the three types of risk levels is 5, 5, and 6. Their means are 5, 5, and 5.3. On average, the perceived risk that policy actors are taking with their

participation in Franklinton creative placemaking is relatively high. The risk imposed by crisis related to political stability and regulatory changes in Franklinton is only slightly higher than other two types of external risks. To tackle with the potential imposed risks of the large external environment, policy actors tend to be more socially active, forming a security net to buffer possible negative impact brought by the changes. Hence, I propose that risks in the economic, policy, and social spheres of policy actors brought by the external changes in external environment have positive impact on tie formation of the Franklinton policy network. The three spheres are operationalized with the following statements in the research survey:

1) *Economic Risk: Business loss led by problems that arise during the implementation of Franklinton revitalization.*

2) *Social Risk: Demands from existing and changing structure of residents, businesses, community groups and civil society organizations.*

3) *Policy Risk: Crisis related to political stability and regulatory changes in Franklinton and Columbus.*

Based on the analysis of possible risks imposed by changes in external environment, I come up with the following hypotheses:

Potential Economic Risk Hypothesis: The potential economic risk has a positive impact on tie formation of Franklinton policy network.

Potential Social Risk Hypothesis: The potential social risk has a positive impact on tie formation of Franklinton policy network.

Potential Policy Change Risk Hypothesis: The potential political risk has a positive impact on tie formation of Franklinton policy network.

Control Variables Homophily effect in terms of service type, tax status, and physical locations of actors are typically found in inter-organizational collaboration networks and innovation network in existing studies (Boschma and Frenken, 2010; Knoblen and Oerlemans, 2006). Since the theoretical focus of this study is about belief homophily effect, these factors are used in the model as control variables to make assure the inclusion of possible factors that contribute to network formation of policy actors with similar non-relational traits. In the Franklinton policy network, the basic attributes of policy actors include their legal status, fields of service, residence status, and geographical locations in Franklinton.

To present all the concepts and their operationalized measures, I summarize the explanation above in the following reference table (Table 10):

Dependent Variables		Measures	Data Source
Franklinton Policy Network		The probability of adding one addition tie in the Franklinton policy network	Network data from survey and interview
Independent Variables		Measures	Data Source
Social Capital	Bonding Capital	Number of <i>reciprocity</i> and <i>transitivity</i> structures (network level)	Calculated based on network data collected in survey
	Bridging Capital	Number of <i>k-in-star</i> , <i>open-two path</i> and <i>none-edgewise shared partners</i> structure (network level)	
Policy Beliefs	CPM Policy Core Belief	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Instrumental use of the arts 2) Equity through community engagement of artists organizations 3) Equity through community engagement of artists Likert scale of “1” (“Very untrue of what I believe”) to “7” (“Very true of what I believe”).	Survey data
	Franklinton Policy Belief Preferences	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Pro-growth 2) Pro-equity 3) Pro-creative 4) Pro-balance Likert scale of “1” (“Very untrue of what I believe”) to “7” (“Very true of what I believe”).	
Policy Learning	Technical Learning	The familiarity with CPM policy. Likert scale of “1” (Never heard about it) to “7” (expert level).	Survey data
	Social Learning	Active level of policy actors learning about other organizations in Franklinton. Likert scale of “1” (“Very inactive”) to “7” (“Very active”).	

Continued

Table 10 Variables and Measures of the Proposed Model

Table 10 continued

	Economic Risk	Financial challenge led by problems rising from the implementation of Franklinton revitalization.	
Risk Perception	Social Risk	Demands from existing and changing structure of residents, businesses, community groups and civil society organizations.	Survey data
	Policy Change Risk	Crisis related to political stability and regulatory changes in Franklinton and Columbus. Likert scale of “1” (“Very low risk”) to “7” (“Very high risk”).	
Control Variables	Proximity	Fields of service Legal status Residence status Geographic locations	Survey data

8.3 Review of Exponential Random Graph Model

The ERGM is a family of statistical models that estimate the effects of different types of network configurations and non-structural covariates network formation. Lusher et al., summarize that the ERGM has the following fundamental theoretical assumptions about social networks: Social networks are locally constructed (e.g., reciprocity, transitivity, homophily) and self-organized (i.e., network ties depend on one another), relying on the dependencies between ties. Social networks can be viewed as multiple ongoing processes shaped by both endogenous structural configurations and exogenous factors.

The ERGM estimate the influence of structural configurations and non-structural covariates on the probability of adding one additional tie (edge) to observed networks

with model parameters simultaneously. In other words, the probability of an addition tie in an observed network depends on the number of a set of network configurations and the value of other non-structural covariates. The statistical results of an ERGM indicates the importance of the network configurations and non-structural covariates in shaping the observed social networks (Skyler and Desmarais, 2010; Lusher and Robins, 2012).

A fundamental advantage of the ERGM is that it is a local network process based on binary ties without assuming relational independence, which means that the presence of one tie is related to the presence of others. ERGM can model both structural effects endogenous to the network and covariates effect (actor attributes as explanatory variables) exogenous to the network (Skyler and Desmarais, 2010). In the context of Franklinton policy network, social capital is measured by endogenous structures of the observed network. The covariates are the behavioral data that measure policy belief, policy learning, risk perception of policy actors in Franklinton. The ERGM estimates their effect on the probability of adding one additional tie to the Franklinton policy network.

8.4 Results and Findings

The statistical results of the proposed ERG model are presented in Table 11. The ERGM results show that the Franklinton policy network is not a random network. The network is a function of bonding social capital and other covariates measuring specific aspects of policy belief, policy belief homophily, policy learning, and risk perception. This section explains how Franklinton creative revitalization policy network become what it is by analyzing the factors that influence the self-organizing behaviors of policy

network actors and how these factors contribute to our understanding of the assumptions and implementation of the CPM policy.

ERGM parameter			
	Network Configurations	Estimated Coefficient	Standard Error
Bonding Social Capital	Reciprocity (mutual)	2.19*** ⁴	0.14
	Transitivity	_____	_____
Bridging Social Capital	Open-two path	_____	_____
	k-in-star popularity	_____	_____
	None-edgewise 3 Shared Partners (3-NSP)	_____	_____
CPM Policy Core Belief	Arts Instrumentalism in Community Development	-0.18**	0.04
	Equity through Community Engagement of Artists	-0.11	0.06
	Equity through Community Engagement of Arts organizations	0.27***	0.064
CPM Policy Core Belief Homophily	Arts Instrumentalism in Community Development	-0.002	0.034
	Equity through Community Engagement of Artists	0.005	0.04
	Equity through Community Engagement of Arts organizations	-0.08	0.04

Continued

Table 11 The ERG Model for Franklinton CPM Policy Network

⁴ The number of asterisks suggests the predetermined level of statistical significance of an independent variable. The significance level only signifies the probability of rejecting a null hypothesis, such as ‘the reciprocity structure does not influence the formation of Franklinton policy network’. So, one cannot compare between the level of statistical significance of independent variables. It is either significant (with asterisks) or non-significant (without asterisk) of policy actors listed in the table.

Table 11 continued

	Downtown Columbus economic growth	-0.03	0.04
Secondary Policy	Growth of the arts sector	-0.13	0.02
Belief Preferences	Development Equity	0.17***	0.04
	Balanced Franklinton development	0.08*	0.04
	Downtown Columbus economic growth	-0.13***	0.03
Secondary Policy	Growth of the arts sector	0.003	0.04
Belief Preference	Development Equity	0.03	0.03
	Balanced Franklinton development	0.12***	0.03
	Technical policy learning	0.11***	0.03
Policy Learning	Social learning	0.09***	0.02
	Economic risk	-0.13***	0.03
Risk Perception	Social risk	0.03	0.04
	Policy change risk	0.11***	0.03
	Service type	0.61***	0.08
Control Variables	Tax Status	0.25**	0.08
	Residential Status	-0.003	0.08
	Physical Location	0.55***	0.08
<i>AIC/BIC</i>		3558/3720	

*** $p < .01$; ** $p < .05$; * $p < .1$

This section is divided into six subsections. Drawing from qualitative evidences elicited from the interviews, I first analyze the results of the independent variables individually. The first four subsections analyze the statistical results of the four sets of proposed hypotheses regarding social capital, policy belief, policy learning, and risk perception. The statistical results are validated, interpreted, and contextualized with qualitative data, articulating strong arguments with rich details and thick description. The

fifth integrate them as a grand model that offers a comprehensive explanation to the formation of the Franklinton policy network. The last part briefly analyzes the results of model diagnostics, demonstrating that the model is an accurate estimation of the observed social network data and the model fits the data well.

8.4.2 A Cooperation Policy Game Dominated by Reciprocal Bonding Capital

Table 12 exhibits the partial results of the ERG model for social capital, the results show that reciprocity is the only statistically significant network configuration. All the other network configurations do not produce driving self-organizing mechanism for the formation of Franklinton policy network.

	Network Configurations	Estimated Coefficient	Standard Error
Bonding Social capital	Reciprocity (mutual)	2.19***	0.14
	Transitivity	_____	_____
Bridging Social Capital	Open-two path	_____	_____
	k-in-star popularity	_____	_____
	None-edgewise 3 Shared Partners (3-NSP)	_____	_____

Table 12 Partial ERG Model of Social Capital for Franklinton CPM Policy Network

The coefficient of an independent variable in an ERG model is the change in the likelihood of a tie for a unit change in an independent variable. Instead of interpreting the coefficients directly, it is usually more efficient to visualize the predictability conditional probability plots of independent variables to understand the relationship between an independent variable and the probability of any dyad forming a tie for an ERG model.

The plot indicates the effect of an independent variable on the observed network conditioning on the effect of all the other independent variables. Figure 36 is the conditional probability plot of reciprocity. Reciprocity structure is considered as a binary variable. Zero and one at the horizontal axis represents its absence and presence respectively. The dots on at vertical axis are conditional probabilities of each dyad forming a tie in the network conditioning on the effect of other independent variables. The figure shows a significant increase of the conditional probability of a tie when reciprocity structure presents. Thus, reciprocity has a significant positive impact on tie formation in the Franklinton policy network.

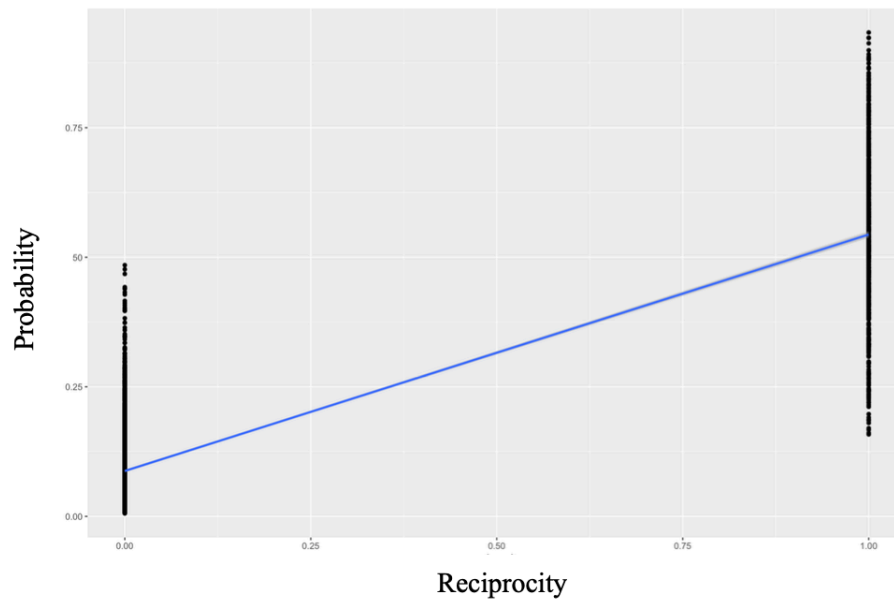


Figure 36 Conditional Probability Plot of Reciprocity

Reciprocity is a structural form of bonding social capital. The significant coefficient for reciprocity confirms that the reciprocal relations dominate the network structure. Policy actors in network is more likely to form mutually beneficial relations. The mutually beneficial relations signal trust between reciprocal policy actors. Policy actors develop reciprocal relationship overtime to maintain a tit-for-tat mechanism. Policy actors get their reputation of honesty in continuous fair-play with repeated transactions so that they can participate in future partnership. Otherwise they will be punished for their current defections, creating “shadow of future” (Axelrod, 1989) that prohibit them from future collaborations with other policy actors. Thus, the Franklinton policy network is a high-risk cooperation game dominated by bonding capital in the form of reciprocity.

However, transitivity structure is not statistically significant in this high-risk cooperation policy game. The lack of the simplest clustering closure structure, other more complicated bonding relations cannot come into existence without enough transitive triads. The bonding relations between policy actors in the Franklinton policy network are not consolidated triadic clusters. The policy actors in the Franklinton policy network are not motivated to form the closed structure social clustering, though the policy game they are involved is a high-risk game. The reciprocity is more often seen in two-party collaborative projects where credible commitments are required only from two parties. The triadic clusters are needed in multiplayer collaborative projects to ensure credibility of all players. If policy actors do not have project that benefit multiple parties, they are

simply not propelled to scrutinize the trustworthiness through transitive closure structures (Berardo and Scholz, 2010).

The results show that trust between policy actors is built on two-partner collaborations projects. The Franklinton revitalization does not have enough multiplayer partnership that motivate policy actors to form closed social clustering. The transitive triad also represents the bonding relations built by policy brokers to hold policy actors between or within policy coalitions together (Henry et al., 2010). Having insignificant coefficient of transitive triads suggests that policy actors in the Franklinton policy network are not well knit by brokers within or across policy sub-coalitions.

The model results show that the Franklinton policy network is not driven by low-risk coordination games. Because none of the proposed bridging structures is statistically significant. In chapter six, we find that the Franklinton policy network are led by several well-connected policy entrepreneurs who bridges different policy actors who are not directly actor. They do not forge structures that dominate the Franklinton policy network formation. The lack of brokerage relationship also results the lack of transitive triads which is built on the most basic bridging action completed by three policy actors.

Building “social capital, social cohesion, and the capacity for collective action in placed-based communities are central to forming sustainable and equitable cities and neighborhoods” (Borup, 2016, p. 4). Creative placemaking build social capital by finding common ground and to blending organizational goals with a participatory planning approach and the willingness and capacity of arts and cultural organizations as well as artists taking on an outward orientation (Borup, 2016). The statistical results of

the Franklinton policy network indicate that bridging silos between policy actors is a key challenge for the implementation of CPM policy at the local level when a policy game is considered highly risky by policy actors. The CPM grants can only forge project-based cross-sectoral partnership. Such partnership of small scale does not necessarily lead to extended brokerage behaviors in local communities during a short period of time.

Without brokerage within or across different sectors or coalitions that define groups in a policy network, large collaborative projects that engage multiple policy actors are less likely to happen.

In chapter six, I demonstrate that the innovation sub-coalition, particularly artists within the group are very fragmented. To outsiders of Franklinton, the advertisement of Franklinton makes us feel that the creative policy actors is a densely connected group. Because these policy actors are often mentioned together to describe the vibrant creative and arts scene in Franklinton. In fact, these policy actors are not necessarily partners working on same projects, though major policy actors had tried to connect these policy actors together to work on tangible collaborative large-scale projects. An example drawn from my qualitative interview illuminates a façade of the statistical finding.

The larger creative and arts organizations including COSI, the Idea Foundry, 400 West Rich and a few others used to have a series of meetings to improve and evaluate the experience of Franklinton Fridays by making signage, advancing way-finding, inventing themes for Franklinton Fridays, developing APPs to track patterns of visitors, and other collective service and information activities. These monthly-based meetings were initiated and organized by OSU STEAM factory and COSI with an intention to be

involved in Franklinton Fridays. These meetings did not go anywhere eventually. A representative of one of these organizations characterized the dynamics of these collaborative efforts in Franklinton in this way,

“[These meetings were] just trying to mix everything up to make it feel more like a neighborhood than isolated spots and also was trying to explore how does COSI best fit into this. Because COSI is a much larger institution, a much more well established, but right at the time and still today doesn't do anything on Friday nights. It's close to the public. It's only a couple blocks away, but it's a couple blocks of absolute nothing that's a little bit... Uh, we started meeting on a monthly basis, turned it into a Franklinton Fridays working group. And after a few months, it, it dissolved... I really don't know. I can't pinpoint why. People were really interested in, really pumped about just driving, getting people invested in Franklinton Friday, but then it, it splintered off.”

The attempt of several large arts and creative organizations in Franklinton demonstrate the struggles of coordinating large-scale collaboration only within the pro-creative group. The partnership dissolved suggests that the reciprocal bonding capital was not utilized to develop more expanded collaborations. The policy actors collectively “made” the decision as reactions to incentives of external environment and their internal configurations that deviated them from the demands of the external environment (Simon, 1996). Internally, the rationality of policy actors was bounded. They did not have enough information and methods to insure or predict their share of gains from certain collective

choices made by the group even if the collective choice turned out to be the most effective choice. Externally, all the policy actors were self-sustained businesses. They had reliable and sufficient resources for their own prioritized organizational goals. They were satisfied with what they could achieve with these resources at least at the moment they decided not to make decision. They were not motivated and configured to develop more extended collaborative projects.

8.4.3 Understanding CPM Value Assumption in Franklinton through Belief Hypotheses

Arts Instrumentalism and Socially Marginal Actors Table 13 exhibits the ERGM results of policy core belief effect and its homophily effect in Franklinton policy network. Franklinton creative revitalization is an arts-based development project catalyzed by a CPM grant. Similar to data analysis, instead of explaining the coefficient, I present the relationship between levels of policy belief and the probability of tie formation in the Franklinton policy network with a conditional probability plot (Figure 37). Surprisingly, the plot illustrates a slightly negative relations between policy core belief of using arts as an instrument to help solve issues in community development and the probability of forming a new tie conditioning on effect of other structural factors and covariates. The slope of the line is not sharp, indicating that the influence of the belief on probability of tie formation is not very large, though its coefficient statistically significant. The more a policy actor agrees on arts instrumentalism in community development, the less likely it sends a tie to others. The result actually indicates that policy actors of high level of beliefs in arts instrumentalism are not socially active actors. Yet, we do not know why they are less active with such a strong belief.

CPM Policy Core Belief	Arts Instrumentalism in Community Development	-0.18**	0.04
	Equity through Community Engagement of Artists	-0.11	0.06
	Equity through Community Engagement of organizations	0.27***	0.064
	Arts Instrumentalism in Community Development	-0.002	0.034
CPM Policy Core Belief Homophily	Equity through Community Engagement of Artists	0.005	0.04
	Equity through Community Engagement of organizations	-0.08	0.04

Table 13 Partial ERG Model of Policy Belief for Franklinton CPM Policy Network

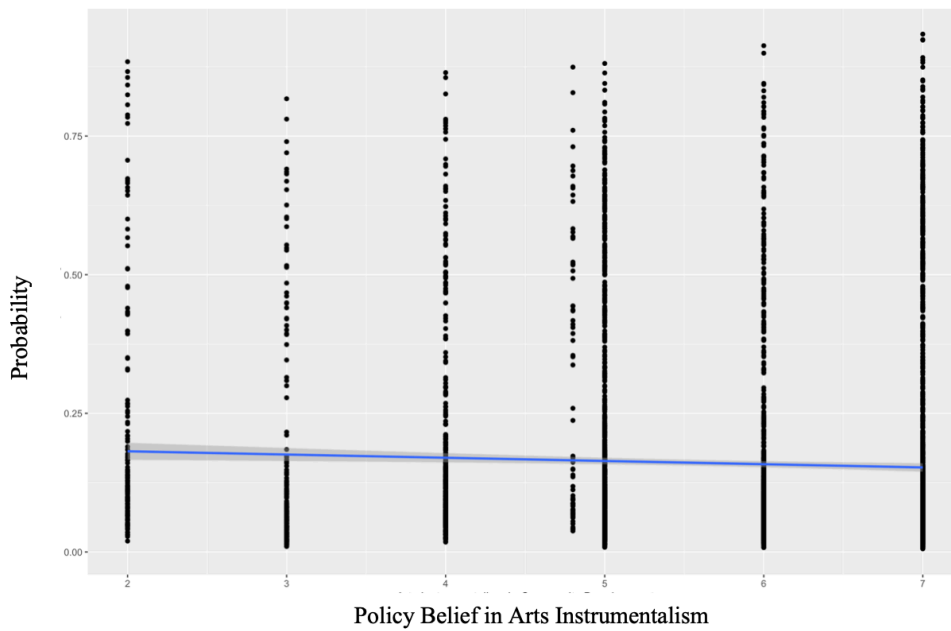


Figure 37 Conditional Probability Plot for Policy Belief in Arts Instrumentalism

I test the probability of receiving ties while keeping other covariates the same in this new model. I also found a negative relationship between this particular belief and the probability of a policy actor receiving ties from others. This means that the level of belief in arts instrumentalism has a negative relationship with the probability of policy actors receiving ties from others conditioning on other factors. The data analysis indicates that, to any policy actor, if it believes more in arts instrumentalism, the more socially marginal it is in comparison with other policy actors when other independent variables are controlled. The statistical results imply that the most policy actors with higher level of belief in arts instrumentalism are less connected in the network in comparison with those with lower level of belief in arts instrumentalism. Although many of the policy actors have strong intention to advocate for arts instrumentalism or actively work on using arts to make positive economic and social impact, they might be restricted by resources, capacity or other limitations to build social capital in the network. Even if they have strong intention to lead by initiating ties, they are not considered as attractive partners by other policy actors.

My interview suggests that individual artists, creatives, and charitable millennium homeowners are representatives of those policy actors who strongly believe that arts can help tackle with social and economic problems in Franklinton. Economically, artists and creatives were small entrepreneurs or sole-proprietors focusing on survival. Many of them worked in co-working space and did have frequent interactions with each other. However, they were more like friendly acquaintance randomly passing information and giving suggestions to each other. Very few of them forged tangible partnership with

others. Although they held the belief in arts instrumentalism, the nature of their entity and their key goals only allowed for erratic interactions that did not lead to expanded tie-formation in Franklinton policy network.

In the social aspect of arts instrumentalism, these policy actors also lacked resource and capacity to expand their connections in Franklinton. A Franklinton resident worked in the science and technology field. She taught kids about science during weekends for free in a Franklinton branch of Columbus Metropolitan Library. By the time of interview, she did not have any partner working on this with her. The teaching activities were not formalized as a program of the library or institutionalized as an organization. In chapter seven, I mentioned social activist artists Mona Gazala and Jessica Phelps. Gazala ran her own non-profit arts organization, hosting arts residence programs and created arts projects reflecting on development justice in Franklinton. Phelps used her journalism style photography to document life of the generational residents in Franklinton. They were probably the only artists using their arts skills to advocate for disadvantaged populations and addressing justice issues in the Franklinton policy network. However, as individuals, they do not have enough resources and capacity to build consistent and sustainable relationship with other policy actors.

Ambiguous and Elusive Arts Instrumentalism The insignificant coefficient of the homophily effect renders a consistent finding with the belief effect of arts instrumentalism. The insignificance of homophily effect suggests that policy actors do not choose their partners based on the level of belief in arts instrumentalism. The belief in arts instrumentalism does not hold people together to take collective actions. Although

the federal and local government are explicit about the general policy goals, strategies of achieving the goals, and distribution of interest of creative placemaking, policy goals can easily fall elusive due to the complexity of development issues.

Particularly, both practitioners and researchers criticized the slippery causal path between CPM policy and its outcomes defined by the NEA, AFTA and other consulting agencies (Moss, 2012; Gadwa-Nicodemus, 2013; Stern, 2014, Morley and Winkler, 2014). This suggests that policy actors have difficulty in linking arts activities and their desired long-term social and economic outcomes in practices. The belief in arts instrumentalism lacks clear definition and accountability in real-world practices for policy actors to find capable and reliable partners to work with. The ambiguous, broad, and controversial meanings and connotations of arts as tools in community development may lead policy actors to make efforts in different directions. Partnership is less likely to happen not to say coalition building that requires strong and crystal-clear census on a certain policy belief.

Community Engagement and Representation Engaging citizen participation as an approach to improving development equity is a very important theme of the CPM. Arts is considered as an effective tool to engagement citizen participation in the decision-making process of community development. However, it is unclear how artists and arts organizations play different roles in engaging citizen in community development. The conditional probability plot (Figure 38) exhibits a positive relationship between the belief in arts organization and the probability of sending ties a policy actor in the Franklinton policy network conditioning on all other independent variables. Policy actors who believe

more in community engagement through arts organization are more likely to send ties. On the contrary, the belief in community engagement through artists is not statistically significant, indicating that policy actors perceive the roles played by artists and arts organizations in community development are different and the positive perception of arts organization are more likely to motivate social activities. Both of their homophily effects are not statistically significant, indicating that the idea of engaging citizen participations in community development through arts organization/artists does not generate partnership in Franklinton.

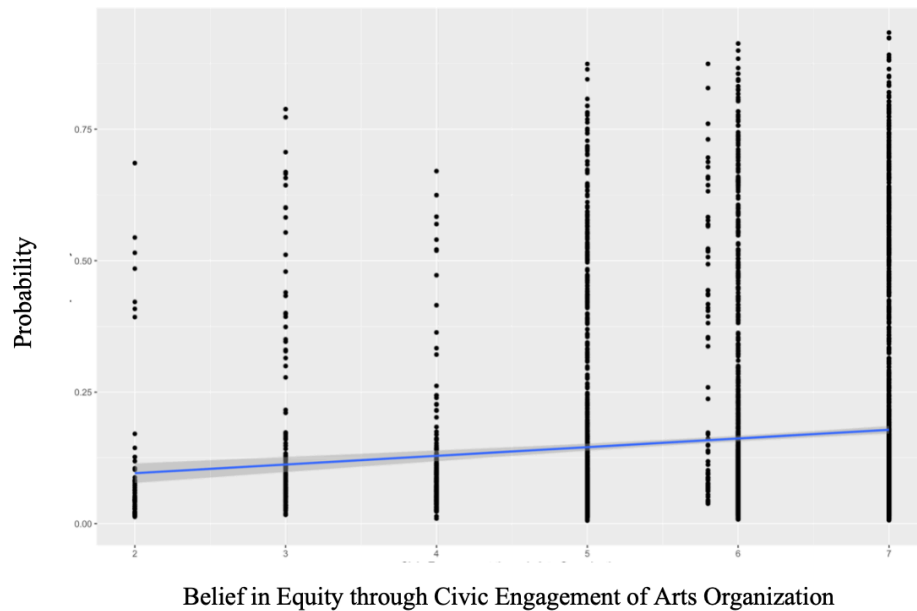


Figure 38 Conditional Probability Plot for Policy Belief in Equity through Community engagement through Arts Organization

To most policy actors, arts organizations have more capacity and resources to organize community engagement activities than individual artists. Although the very

existence of artist in Franklinton attracted public attention to the neighborhood, they had to be organized by arts organizations to exert influence effectively. In Franklinton, most arts activities that engaged the public were organized by Franklinton Arts District (FAD) and 400 West Rich. East Franklinton was known to the rest of Columbus through lively arts activities organized by the FAD, such as Urban Scrawl and Franklinton Fridays organized by these two local arts anchors. Many policy actors in the east part of Franklinton have participated in these activities at a certain point of their involvement in Franklinton revitalization. The FAD also collaborated with Franklinton Board of Trade (FBT) to engage the disadvantaged generational residents by bringing the vital creative scene to West Franklinton.

“Civic Engagement” in Complex Social Fabric Artists and arts organizations promote social equity through their expertise in civic engagement. In the context of community development, artists and arts organizations are not necessarily considered the same in terms of the influence their community engagement activities on social equity. Although the belief in arts organizations motivates more tie initiation activities, their function in engaging citizens for equitable community development needs to be investigated in comparison with individual artists. The complex social fabric in the transition period of a neighborhood like Franklinton have a diversity of stakeholders to be engaged in the decision-making process of community development. So, it is important to understand who we are talking about when we are talking about “civic engagement” through arts organizations/artists and what barriers prohibit them from carrying out their community engagement mission assumed by the CPM policy.

In the context of Franklinton, community engagement activities carried out by 400 West Rich and Franklinton Arts District mainly was steered to engage people outside Franklinton to invest into Franklinton. Although they tried to bring the creative arts scene to West Franklinton, the content of the arts scene was not designed to attract impoverished generational residents in the other part of the neighborhood. The community engagement in neighborhood development is supposed to give voices to all types of stakeholders, particularly those disadvantaged policy actors. The “civic engagement” activities of these arts organizations are an act of “bottom-up” revitalization, showing a gesture of inclusion but actually appealing to the creative community and future owners of Franklinton. On the contrary, artworks of artists like Gazala and Phelps did give voice to the disadvantaged residents in Franklinton, bringing public attention from the festive creative scene from East Franklinton to generational residents facing challenges from displacement, food access, unemployment among others.

The assumption of using arts to promote equitable community development is that the arts community and residents share the same interests regarding the community or at least they have enough trust from community members to give voices on behalf of them. However, artists, arts organizations, and philanthropic creatives are not considered as allies or partners of the generational Franklinton residents to address their needs effectively. For instance, a research participant talked about an impressed experience she had in a Franklinton Area Commission (FAC) meeting,

“One millennial of them especially came to the area commission, ‘I’m wanting to be a commissioner of this well-established area commission’. Most of the people had been in the community 30, 40 years. This young man was full of zeal, good intentions, and passion. see. But he explained to the commission, ‘I represent about 10 families, um, that of my age group that have come and moved into this neighborhood and we’re here to tell you that, um, we’re going to stand with you. We are not going to let people be displaced. We’re here to fight against gentrification. We’re on your side. We’re here to help and protect’. And we all just looked at him. And one of the oldest folks when he got all done, looked at him and said, ‘you do understand, you are the gentrification. Don’t you?’ That blindness to the fact that you’re here and you can’t help protect us was a real wake up call for that young man”.

On the other hand, most artists and arts organization located in Franklinton did not view themselves as advocates for the disadvantaged populations in Franklinton. Many artists in Franklinton had experienced displacement in different communities. Some of them came to Franklinton first because they were priced out of Grandview under expansive development. They simply take Franklinton as their workplace or a place where the fate of displacement is written no matter what people do. Some artists bought their own properties in the neighborhood. As property owners, they had their own visions for this community. For example, Joe Wolfe was an artist and director of a small urban farm. He managed his homestead farm in his newly bought property in Franklinton. On

one hand, he helped with the food access problem in Franklinton by giving free farm grown food to neighborhood people who helped with harvesting. He made large installation art in his farm land to beautify the neighborhood. On the other hand, he had clear opinion on what kind of neighbors he wanted and who got pushed out of the neighborhood with quite dark problems.

He stated,

“So sometimes the people get caught up with those statistics are like...so many residents that have been here for x number of years just got forced out. Um, but like if you look down the street, some of my neighbors' houses, their yards are like completely covered in trash, you know, piles of dirty diaper. These broken windows...so that people can't see through it...Like, don't really want to see that. But is that wrong of me? Because I'm the new guy that just moved in the, I want to like see a clean neighborhood. So, if it is that guy gets kicked out of the neighborhood. I am going to be happy because it means there's going to be another clean property and they won't be as much trash blowing around everywhere.”

He went on,

“So, like two doors to the north. About a year and a half ago. There was a murder and abduction. Uh, those people don't live there now. One of them was dead. So, do I mind that those people moved out of the neighborhood? No, not really. They were, one was a prostitute. One was selling drugs constantly. So, yeah, they got ‘displaced’, but not really because of me. They got displaced

because they shot each other and then the cops came in and found their drug and prostitution or anything.” (Joe Wolfe, Personal Communication, March 2nd, 2018)

The quantitative data suggests that the belief in community engagement through arts organization is positively associated with any policy actor sending out a tie. The result indicates that active engagement of community stakeholders through arts organizations, rather than artists, contributes significantly to the formation of the network. The contrasting result of arts organizations and artists provides an opportunity to look into the different roles of arts organizations and artists in engaging citizens and enhancing development equity. The analysis of qualitative data implies that the arts community cannot be viewed as a single group but rather as diverse types of entities with differing perspectives on their artistic passion and their relationship with the community they live in. Engaging the public and disadvantaged populations through the arts in a community under massive changes in a certain short period of time can be very tricky when it comes to whose interest artists and arts organizations represent in local CPM practices.

8.4.3 Scrutinizing Coalition Building through Secondary Policy Belief Preferences

Table 14 shows the statistical results of secondary policy belief effect and belief homophily effect of secondary policy beliefs in Franklinton policy network. I first interpret the statistical results and explain their implication in the context of Franklinton creative revitalization. These four preferences represent priorities of policy issues in

Franklinton development that divide policy actors into different sub-coalitions given all the policy actors agree upon Franklinton revitalization. The belief preferences for growth of the arts sector, development equity and balanced Franklinton development are statistically significant. The belief preferences for Downtown Columbus economic growth and growth of the arts sector does not have statistically significant impact on the formation of Franklinton policy network.

	Downtown Columbus economic growth	-0.03	0.04
Secondary Policy Belief Preferences	Growth of the arts sector	-0.13	0.02
	Development Equity	0.17***	0.04
	Balanced Franklinton development	0.08*	0.04
	Downtown Columbus economic growth	-0.13***	0.03
Secondary Policy Belief Preference Homophily	Growth of the arts sector	0.003	0.04
	Development Equity	0.06	0.03
	Balanced Franklinton development	0.12***	0.03

Table 14 Partial ERG Model of Policy Belief for Franklinton CPM Policy Network

The conditional probability plots in Figure 39 and Figure 40 show that preference for balanced Franklinton development and equitable development are positively associated with the probability of a policy actor sending an additional tie in the Franklinton policy network conditioning on the effect of other independent variables. Policy actors who have stronger preference for Downtown Columbus economic growth and the growth of arts sector in Franklinton are much less active than policy actors prioritizing equitable development and balanced Franklinton development.

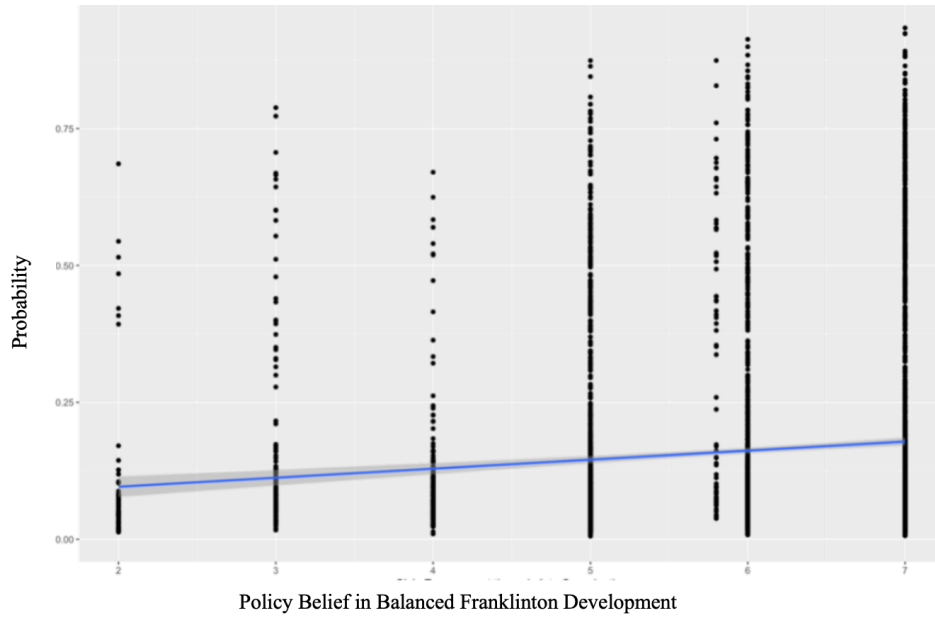


Figure 39 Conditional Probability Plot for Policy Belief in Balanced Franklinton Development

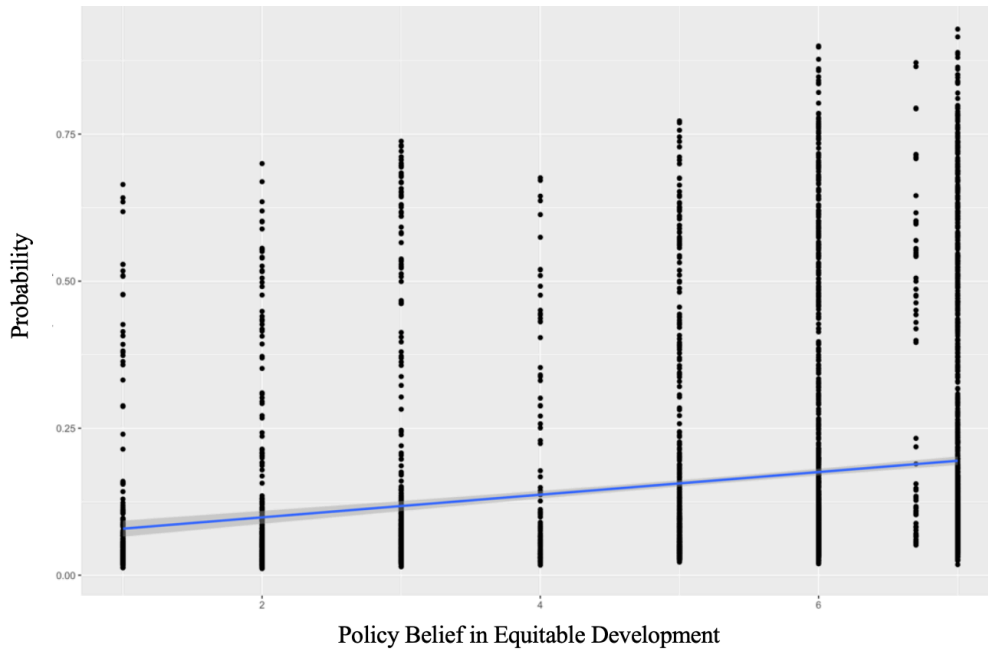


Figure 40 Conditional Probability Plot for Policy Belief in Equitable Development

The statistics of homophily effect indicate statistically significant relations between policy preference for Downtown Columbus economic growth and balanced Franklinton development. The interpretation of the homophily coefficient is different from that of belief effect and network configurations. To test homophily effect, the ERG model uses the absolute distance between beliefs of policy actors as independent variable and the probability of adding an additional tie dependent tie. Therefore, if the negative coefficient of a homophily independent variable is statistically significant, it means that the less distant the beliefs of any two policy actors are, the more likely they can develop a

tie between each other. In other words, the negative relation indicates the presence of belief homophily effect in the network.

In the Franklinton policy network, the coefficient of the homophily effect of belief in Downtown Columbus economic development is negative. The slope of its conditional probability plot (Figure 41) also shows a negative association between belief distance of two policy actors in Downtown Columbus economic growth and the probability of a tie formation between the dyad. This indicates that similar level of priority (smaller distance) for Downtown Columbus economic growth increases the probability of forming a tie between any two policy actors. On the contrary, Figure 42 illustrates the positive association between belief distance of two policy actors in balanced development Franklinton development and the probability of forming new dyad ties. This result indicates that a heterophily effect between policy actors with similar level of belief in balanced Franklinton development. The statistical results validate previous qualitative analysis on social relations of different groups of policy actors in Franklinton.

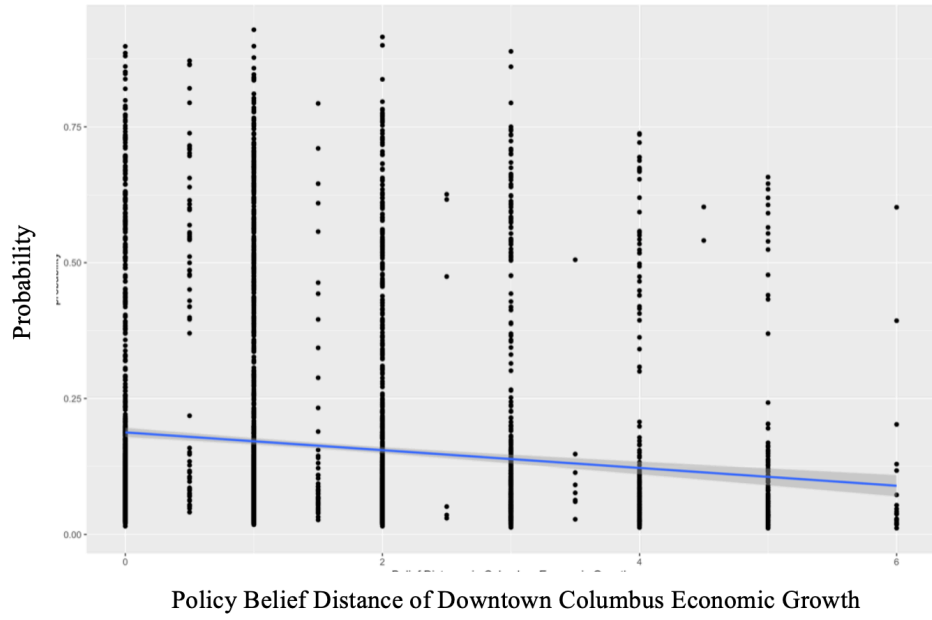


Figure 41 Conditional Probability Plot for Policy Belief Distance of Downtown Columbus Economic Growth

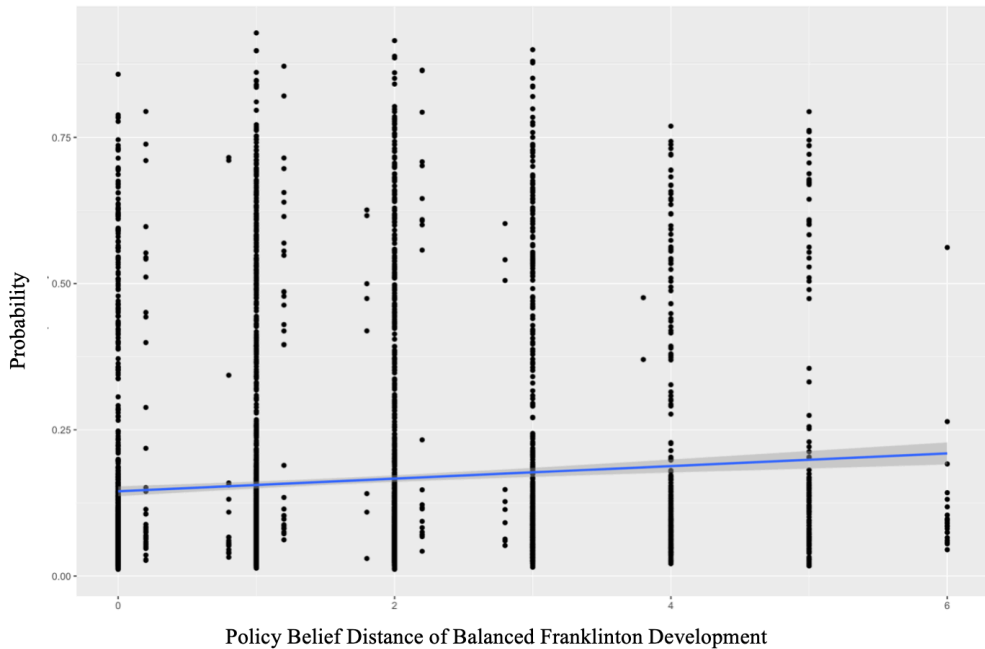


Figure 42 Conditional Probability Plot for Policy Belief Distance of Balanced Franklinton Development

First, policy actors who prioritize the economic growth of Downtown Columbus do not drive the formation of Franklinton network by sending ties out (belief effect) but by frequent interactions with each other (homophily). As a powerful urban growth inner circle representing the interest of developers and the city, they are a powerful pro-growth coalition built on this same goal of making Franklinton a part of Downtown Columbus. The insignificant result of belief effect is consistent with previous finding on path of influence of urban growth elites. As the most powerful urban group who dominate the development agenda, their influence on Franklinton revitalization is not through the assumed non-hierarchical policy network of informal interactions between all types of

policy actors. They have successfully influenced the agenda of Franklinton revitalization without significantly changing the structure of policy network.

Second, the Franklinton arts scene is a critical catalyst of Franklinton revitalization. However, people who prioritize the vitality of arts neither actively send ties to exert influence nor form coalitions based on similar belief. The statistical result validates the earlier analysis that the arts community is a highly fragmented group without much coordinated political actions to make impact to the network in general. They cannot be viewed as a “sub-coalition” with a clear political agenda and policy goals.

Third, the policy actors who prioritize equitable development successfully influence the structure by actively sending out ties. However, their tendency of becoming a belief-bonded coalition is not statistically significant. Two possible arguments can explain the result. First, many policy actors prioritizing equitable development are charitable individuals. Bounded by limited information and different philanthropic interests, they do not necessarily find or connect with each other. Second, the secular and religious nonprofit organizations in Franklinton provide different types of social services to the generational residents in Franklinton. As an informal governance body, they have advocated for Franklinton residents for decades. However, the result indicates that their shared belief in equity do not bond them together to influence the Franklinton policy network significantly. The informal governance body has very limited power to resist major “equity crisis” from a structural perspective. Thus, the result is consistent with the

previous finding that the pro-equity policy sub-coalition is only a loosely connected group without influential concerted actions as a well-coordinated coalition.

The policy preference for balanced Franklinton development has a positively associated with probability of sending one more tie in Franklinton policy network. The heterophily effect of policy actors' belief in balanced Franklinton development is statistically significant. The results imply that policy actors with high level of agreement on balanced Franklinton development have significant impact on the structure of the Franklinton policy network. The significant heterophily effect undergirds the argument in chapter six that pro-balance policy actors are important brokers communicating between policy actors with differing policy priorities in order to balance the competing policy agenda in Franklinton.

8.4.4 Policy Learning and Network Formation

The statistical results (15) of policy learning support the proposed hypotheses. The probability plots Figure 43 and Figure 44 show that technical policy learning increases the probability receiving ties and social learning increases the probability of sending ties conditioning on other independent variables. As proposed earlier, the positive effect of social learning on Franklinton network formation is intuitive to understand. The intention to know about other policy actors drives policy actors to send ties to others.

Policy actors who actively learn about technical knowledge regarding the CPM policy are motivated policy actors interested in adopting arts as tools of community development. The CPM policy is proposed with corresponding funding and technical

support to facilitate interested policy actors. In Franklinton, Jim Sweeney helped the Idea Foundry obtain the CPM grant of ArtPlace America. The grant allowed them to catalyze the revitalization of Franklinton with the settlement and expansion of Idea Foundry. As CPM “experts” who actively shape this policy locally, they had the resources and endorsement from the CPM policy authority to be pursued by other policy actors involved in Franklinton revitalization.

Policy Learning	Technical policy learning (incoming ties)	0.11***	0.03
	Social learning (outgoing ties)	0.09***	0.02

Table 15 Partial ERG Model of Policy Learning

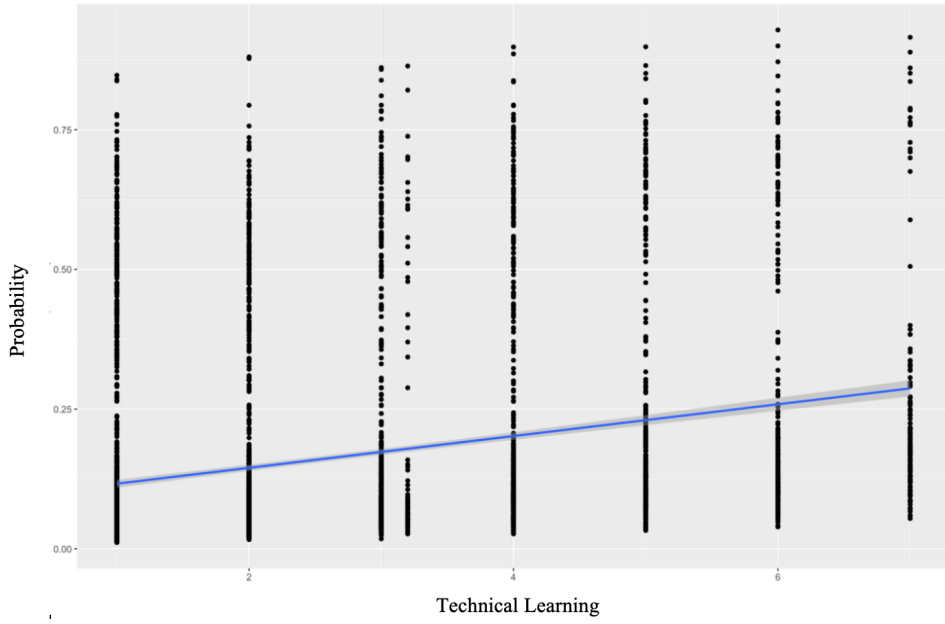


Figure 43 Conditional Probability Plot for the Effect of Technical Learning

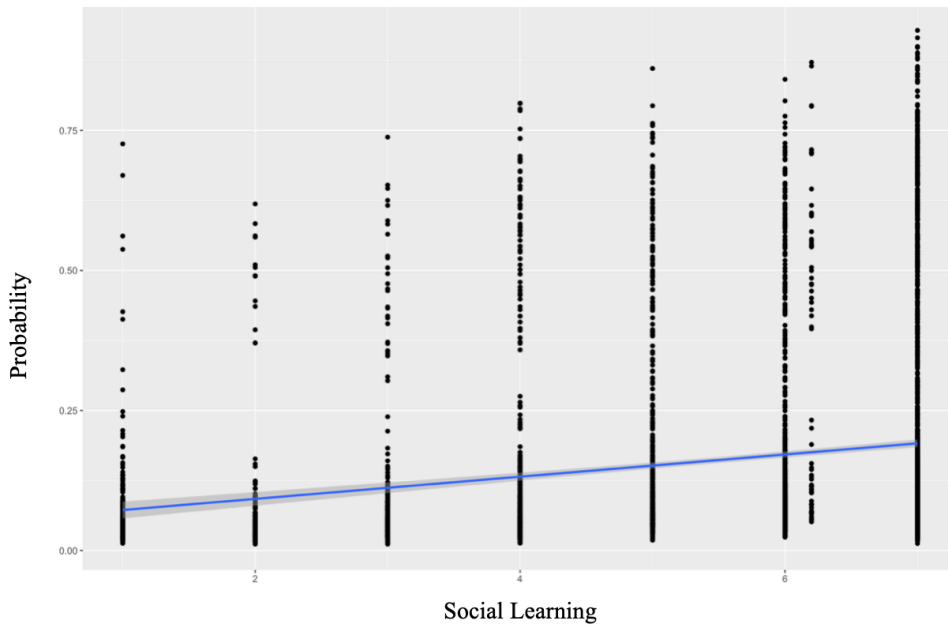


Figure 44 Conditional Probability Plot for the Effect of Social Learning

8.4.5 Risk Perception and Network Formation

The ERGM results (Table 16) show that the economic risk and policy change risk have statistically significant impact on the formation of Franklinton policy network. The probability plot Figure 45 of the economic risk effect shows that with every additional level increase of perceived risk, the probability of adding a new tie in the network increases. The negative association is opposing to the proposed hypothesis. An alternative explanation for this is that business loss challenges the survival of policy actors significantly, so that policy actors tend to avoid this type of risk by being cautious with partner selection or keeping status quo.

	Economic risk	-0.13***	0.03
Risk Perception	Social risk	0.04	0.04
	Policy change risk	0.11***	0.03

Table 16 Partial ERG Model of External Risk

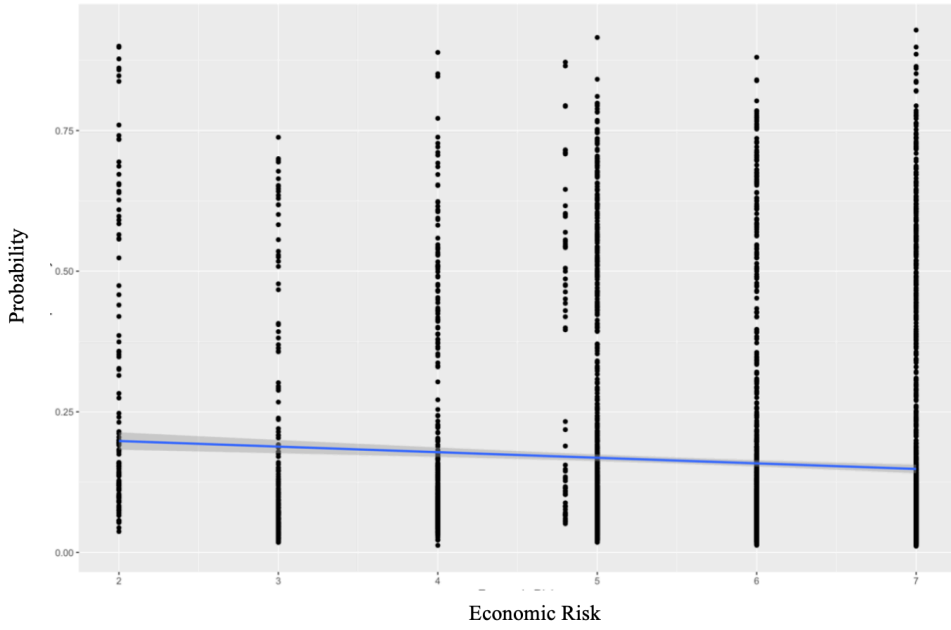


Figure 45 Conditional Probability Plot for the Effect of Economic Risk

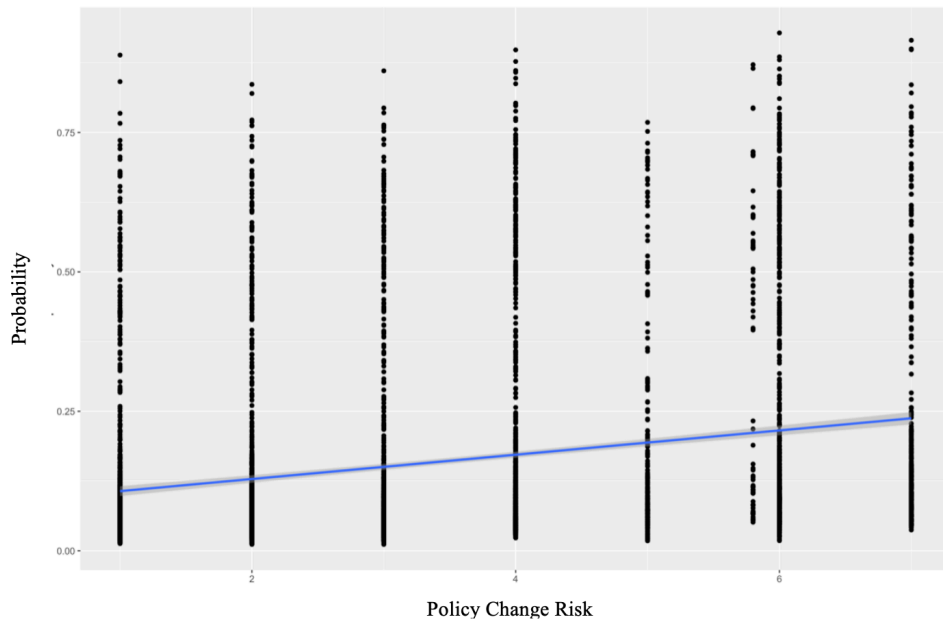


Figure 46 Conditional Probability Plot for the Effect of Policy Change Risk

Figure 46 exhibits a positive association between perceived policy change risk and the probability of a policy actor sending an additional tie in Franklinton policy network. This result supports the proposed hypothesis that policy actors react to external policy change by actively making new connections and searching for allies. The risks brought by policy changes include many aspects. To developers, the transition of city leadership may significantly influence the value and incentive of their investment in Franklinton. To homeowners, changes in zoning codes may force them to sell their properties eventually. To artists and small creative entrepreneurs, the city's zoning enforcement and endorsement of real estate investment may also displace them. To social service organizations, the city's policy decisions on Franklinton development will fundamentally change the composition of their clients and whether they will stay in the neighborhood in the future.

As Reverend Dr. Lee, the Vicar of Saint Episcopal Church commented,

“I don't know if we'll be here...Well, as the poor go away, their identity has to change and that's going to be tough. They could choose and I'm sure some will choose to go away and find something else, someplace else to be that meets what they perceive the church is supposed to be about. I, I don't know what's going to happen. It's a scary time for us. What we are doing is staying very much a part of the unofficial social networks in the neighborhood”.

The policy changes in Franklinton posits many unforeseen challenges to policy actors of different kinds, propelling them forging allies to influence policy. In other words, this significant effect of policy change risk supports the fundamental assumption of the network theory of ACF: the fundamental assumption of studying policy coalitions and policy change: the ultimate goal of policy actors making connections and forging networks is to influence policy.

Essentially, perceived internal risks in the collaboration between policy actors manifest trust between policy actors depending whether policy actors believe the collaborative action will be coordinated successfully, the resources and interests can be distributed reasonably, and their partners will not turn their back to them. The environment risk effect in the research demonstrates an alternative pathway to social behaviors of policy actors in addition to the internal risk of collaboration between policy actors.

The previous sections analyzed the different factors that can possibly influence the formation of Franklinton policy network based on the theoretical framework of ACF and Ecology of Game. The model suggests that the Franklinton policy network is high-risk cooperation game to policy actors. The network is a function of policy core belief in community engagement through arts organization, secondary belief in development equity and balanced Franklinton development, homophily effect of secondary belief in Downtown Columbus economic growth, heterophily effect of secondary belief in balanced Franklinton development, policy learning, and risk of external environment. The analysis above contextualizes the statistical results in Franklinton revitalization. The

model implies that the Franklinton policy network is result of how policy actors self-organize themselves to achieve competing local policy priorities while both the arts community and the goal of community engagement through the arts are marginalized. Belief homophily proves the belief-based policy coalition proposed by the ACF. On the other hand, the significant result of heterophily effect indicates the importance of policy brokers in shaping the Franklinton policy network.

8.4.6 Model Diagnostics

In order to make sure that the model is an accurate estimation of observed Franklinton policy network. I conducted Markov Chain Monte Carlo (MCMC) diagnostics and goodness-of-fit (GOF) diagnostics⁵. The MCMC diagnostics generate frequency and density plots for each independent variable in the ERG model. I only put the plots of two variables in the model to demonstrate the diagnostic results in Figure 46. The stationary and well-mixed frequency chains and normally distributed density plot is a good sign of propriate model convergence.

⁵ The process and specification for the statistical estimation of the two tests is out of the scope of the research. But one can refer to dedicated statistical research articles on degeneracy problem and goodness-of-fit of ERG family models (e.g., Handcock, 2003; Hunter & Goodreau, 2003).

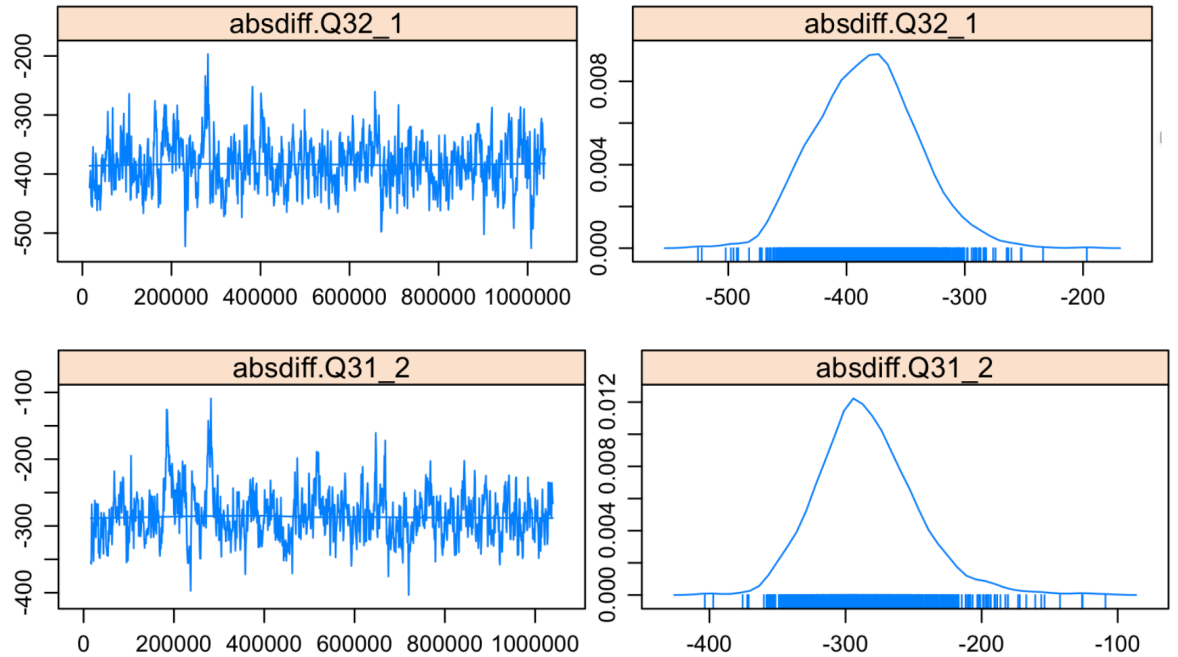


Figure 47 Sampled Statistics of MCMC Diagnosis of Franklinton CPM Network

The goodness-of-fit (GOF) diagnostics tests whether the model fits the data well when it reproduces statistics for network structures not included in the model such as dyad-wise shared partners, indegree, outdegree in the case of Franklinton policy network. The GOF test help generate the distribution of values of the structures in simulated networks. These values are compared with statistics of those structures in observed network. The *p-value* of GOF is closer to 1 the better the model fits. In the GOF test for my model, the *p-value* for dyad-wise shared partner, indegree, and outdegree are 0.94, 1, and 1. The test also generate frequency and boxplots to compare values of simulated networks and the original network. Figure 48 illustrates the result of the GOF test for my model. The bold line in the frequency plots are values from the data of Franklinton policy

network while the boxplots are the values from the simulated networks. The means of the simulated networks largely overlap with the observed value, implying that the model fits the data well.

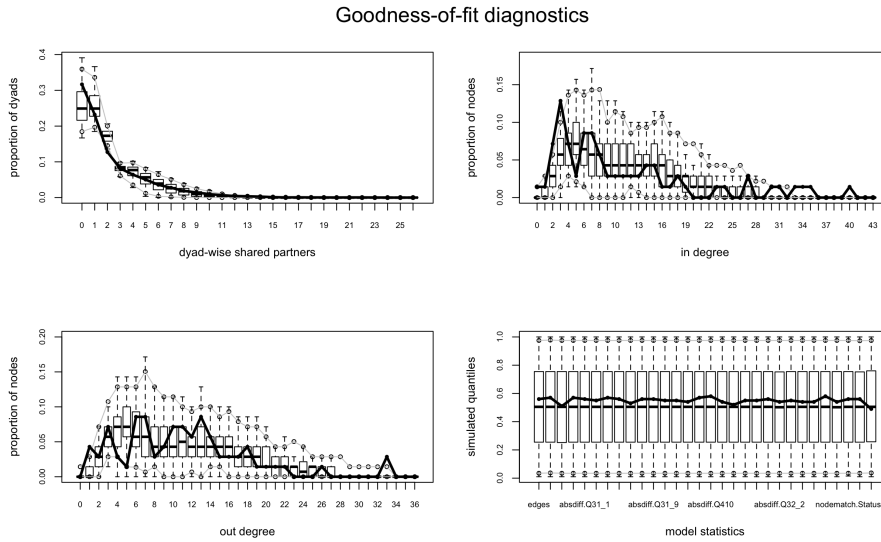


Figure 48 Goodness-of-fit Diagnosis of Franklinton CPM Network

Chapter 9 Analyzing Structure as A Departure: Conclusion, Policy Implication, and Discussion

This chapter concludes the dissertation with four sections. This first section gives readers an overview of the research process and the research findings in previous chapters. The second section particularly addresses policy implications generated from findings from the federal and local level policy network analysis. The third section discusses the intellectual merit and limitations of the research as an experimental project of using social network analysis to study American urban arts policy. The fourth section reflects on the process of the dissertation research and lessons learned from the process. In the end, I envision the future research agenda built on the dissertation research.

9.1 Overview of the Dissertation

This dissertation studies “Creative Placemaking” (CPM) as a recent national arts policy initiated by the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) from a social network perspective. By reviewing existing academic literature in public policy, urban studies, arts administration, and sociology, I found that the concept of “network” is barely addressed empirically in studies on art-led urban development. The metaphorical use of “social network” does not allow for in-depth research on the nuanced socio-political relations embedded in the complex social fabric of communities undergoing arts-led development and the structural positions of arts and cultural groups in such communities.

Lubell et al. (2012) proposed a general framework of a policy system that links social elements at different levels to policy outputs and policy outcomes. The framework is illustrated by Figure 49 Social Elements of a Policy System (Lubell et al., p. 354). Policy network is used as a meso-level social element that connects the macro-level institutional arrangements, micro-level individual behavior, and policy outputs and policy outcomes. With the four chapters overviewed above, the dissertation adapts the general framework to the context of arts-led urban development intervened by the CPM policy of the NEA to investigate the dynamics and mechanism of urban arts policy network structure at both the federal and local level. At the federal level, the outcomes of CPM are controversial to define and difficult to observe. The focus of analyzing of the national CPM policy network to understand how the institutional arrangement of the NEA for American arts policy and its policy coalition network built on the CPM policy influence each other. At the local level, the analysis focuses on looking into how individual policy actors influence policy outcomes through their partnership choices that construct the local policy network (Figure 49). Both Figure 49 and Figure 50 are carefully explained as the overarching theoretical framework in chapter three.

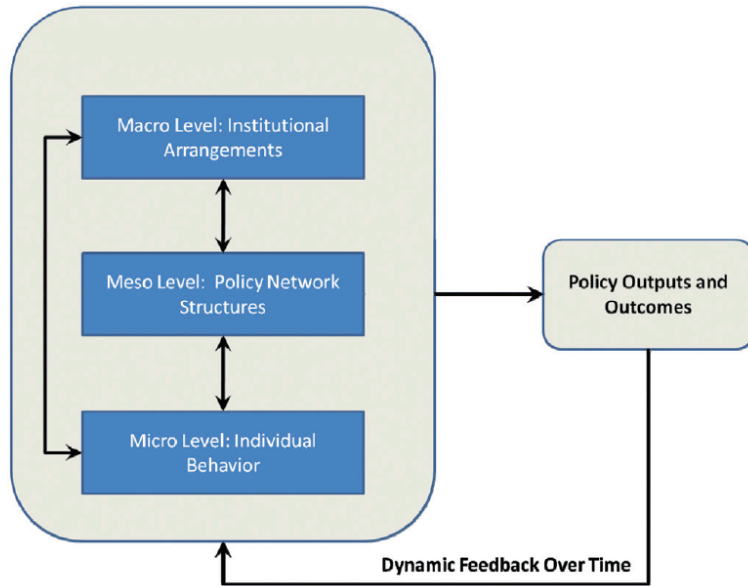


Figure 49 Social Element of Policy System

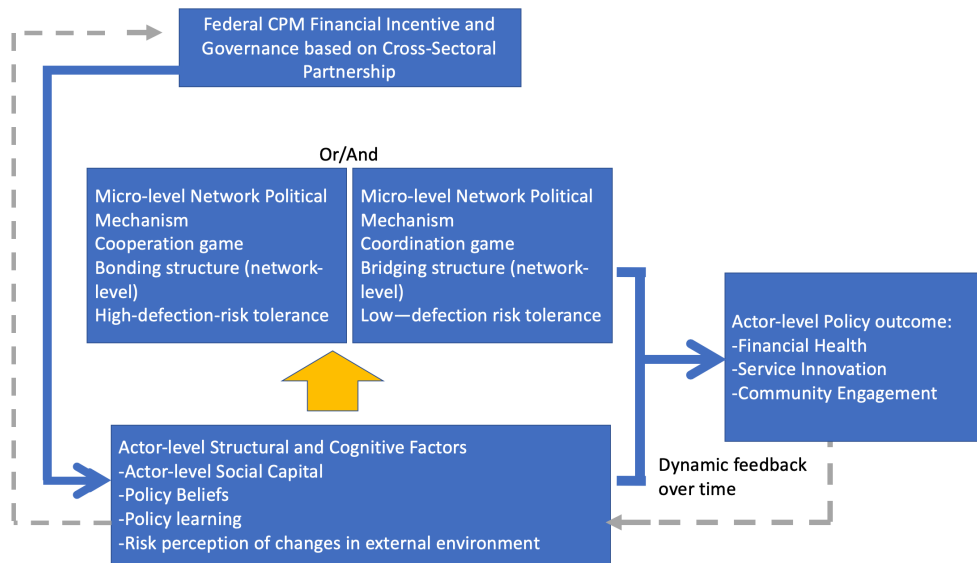


Figure 50 The Adapted General Framework of Local CPM Policy Subsystem

Drawing from the empirical social network analysis approach that revives the traditional public policy theories such as Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF) and Ecology of Game (EG), this study looks into the national CPM governance network administered by the NEA and the self-organizing policy network of the CPM-catalyzed Franklinton creative revitalization in Columbus, OH. The dissertation uses both descriptive social network analysis and statistical modeling to study the two levels of CPM policy network.

In order to conduct the analysis, I collected a variety of data from multiple resources including archived documents, online blogs, video clips, surveys, and interviews. Particularly, for the national policy network, I collected hyperlink data of national CPM policy actors to project their actual relations and network structures. For the Franklinton case, I collected network data and their opinion data through surveys and interviews by using the snowball sampling method. Different purposes drive the analysis on the two levels of networks. The national level analysis is proposed to identify coalition building strategies of the NEA as the central coordinator of the national CPM policy network. The local level analysis investigates the political dynamics of coalitions, actor-level outcomes, and mechanism of network formation of policy actors involved in Franklinton creative revitalization.

At the national level, the analysis unpacks the CPM policy coalition of the NEA, elaborating on the roles, resources, and affected interests of policy actors, and their relationships with each other in the national CPM policy network. Focusing on the value-driven nature of policy coalition assumed by the ACF, the analysis addresses how the

NEA partners with a variety of policy actors across policy domains and societal sectors, coordinating a national arts policy coalition through and for the CPM. The analysis on the national CPM policy network discovers a set of coalition building strategies including breaking the silo of arts policy, mobilizing policy belief and resources for coalition building, strengthening political legitimacy of the agency and public funding appropriation, advancing the accountability system of the agency and arts nonprofits, and improving financial inclusion of disadvantaged arts policy constituencies. The exercise of the strategies is driven by the ultimate goal of forming a virtuous value cycle of the triple-bottom line where social equity, artistic innovation, and financial sustainability feeds each other (Wyszomirski, 2013).

At the local level, I conduct an extensive descriptive and statistical analysis based on both social network data and rich qualitative interview data collected in the field. In chapter six, I employ the ACF and social network analysis as an approach to policy stakeholder analysis, depicting the political context of the CPM-catalyzed Franklinton creative revitalization from a structural perspective with a detailed description of local policy coalitions, identification of policy entrepreneurs, and analysis of leadership strategies.

In chapter seven, I use the social disturbance model to test the proposed framework of actor-level performance. The model is intended to explain how social capital, policy learning, policy beliefs influence the perceived outcomes of policy actors in the aspect of economic growth, innovation, and equity corresponding to the key goals of the CPM. The study suggests that performance at the policy actor level is a function of

bonding capital, policy-core belief in arts instrumentalism, and social learning. The chapter explicitly shows that artists and arts activities contributes to Franklinton creative revitalization by explaining the effect of policy belief in arts instrumentalism on outcomes in the three dimensions.

Policy belief, social capital, and policy learning influence actor-level performance through a social contagion mechanism. The social disturbance model adopted to test the process is not designed to test whether the social network influences the dependent variable with statistical significance. The network structure is included as an error term with the assumption that policy actors adapt their behaviors to shrink their behavioral deviation to their partners based on how much change their partners make to decrease the deviation. In this social disturbance model, the network structure is treated theoretically as a latent variable that pushes a policy actor's opinion away from its intrinsic stance. In this model, we only know that the interdependence of policy actors in the network and their tendency to diminish their behavioral deviation influence actor-level performance in addition to social capital, policy belief, and policy learning.

Meanwhile, the existing research on the ACF (Henry et al., 2005) suggests that social capital and policy belief are drivers of policy network structure. The ACF theory proposes that policy learning plays a vital role in coalition building. Therefore, social capital, policy belief, policy learning may directly influence actor-level performance. They influence performance by driving the network formation. The network structure can be treated as a latent variable that mediates the effect of social capital, policy belief, policy learning on actor-level performance. Thus, chapter eight investigates the

“mediating process” by taking the formation of Franklinton creative revitalization as a collective self-organizing strategy of policy actors when facing collective action problems and differing policy belief preferences. Since the ACF argues that changes of the external environment act as influencers of coalition building, the model also includes policy actors’ risk perception of changes in the external environment as a covariate to explain network formation. Using the Exponential Random Graph Model (ERGM), I test how network-level social capital, policy belief, policy learning, and risks imposed by changes of external environment influence the network formation of Franklinton creative revitalization.

9.2 Policy Implication: Reimagine American Cultural Policy through the CPM

The dissertation research generates a series of theoretical findings on the CPM policy from a structural perspective. By integrating and comparing these findings from the federal and local CPM policy network, I come up with the following policy implications for practitioners in the arts sector and those interested in incorporating the arts as a part of tools for community development.

9.2.1 Redefining the Mode of Governance of American Arts Policy

Before the funding crisis of the NEA, the NEA distributed funding to state and local arts agencies as a form of subsidies for American nonprofit arts while the focus of the subsidies changed with the evolution of the triple-bottom-line system. The CPM policy implies a new policy regime the NEA just entered by governing American arts policy through networks forged by collaboration and voluntary activities of policy actors in both the public and private sectors. Since the NEA and its arms-length play critical

roles in defining the policy goals of the CPM and facilitating activities of the member organizations in the national CPM policy network, the mode of the CPM network governance is a lead-organization governed policy network (Provan and Kenis, 2007). The NEA intends to deepen and expand the relationship between the arts community and other societal sectors and service fields through the CPM policy.

I identified five network management strategies the NEA developed to achieve the goal of creating a virtuous cycle of recognized public value, financial sustainability, and localizing artistic vitality. The analysis network governance strategies of American arts policy through the CPM suggests that process of building the national CPM coalition for and through the CPM bring significant changes to American arts policy in the three aspects: 1) the boundary of arts/cultural policy system, 2) funding approach and 3) advocacy rationale. The three policy implications generated from the analysis are discussed in the following three paragraphs.

Anchoring American Cultural Policy in Community Development Wyszomirski (2004) suggested that the narrow focus of American arts policy on the arts had shifted dramatically to a broader scope of issues in the general cultural phenomena, though the evidence manifested a clear history of resistance to systemic thinking for a holistic and coordinated cultural policy. The rise of the CPM suggests that the holistic planning for American cultural policy takes on a path of place-based and community-centered cultural system with connections to all other policy issues. The arts are connected to the most general cultural phenomena but with a clear goal of generating benefits for various urban and rural communities in the US. The network fostered by the NEA through the CPM

goes beyond the traditional nonprofit cultural realm to an extensive fields related to the broad term of “community development.” The arts policy actually evolves and becomes “cultural policy” in the broadest sense: providing “institutional supports that channel both aesthetic creativity and collective ways of life—a bridge between the two registers” (Miller and Yúdice, 2002, p. 1). The network management strategies of the NEA showcase a series of actions of the NEA redefining the boundary of American arts policy to American cultural policy. The network represents the institutional arrangement of the NEA connecting the intrinsic value of the arts and the well-being of citizens and communities as a way of governing a general culture that celebrates community-centered creativity, equity, history, and culture (Kresge, 2018).

Navigating the Governance Network for Funding Nonprofit arts organization needed a new funding mechanism to sustain its fragile financial condition in the wake of the financial crisis in 2008. The CPM can also be considered as a response to the arts funding needs. By analyzing the network between the NEA, ArtPlace America, foundations and the banks, I concluded that the CPM policy revamped the private arts funding approach in chapter five. The community-anchored cultural policy allows the NEA to build federal interagency partnership and relationship with foundations which did not include arts traditionally. The relationship channeled funding resources and opportunities in other policy domains to the arts.

The traditional arts funders also adopted the CPM, adapting their funding models to the new environment. For instance, as one of the biggest culture funders in the US, the Kresge Foundation was one of the first to embrace the CPM. It used to fund traditional

and large art nonprofits to help them expand their donor base. In the past ten years, the foundation developed a new philanthropic theme to expand opportunities for American cities. Thus, they managed to introduce the arts and culture to the public realm, pursuing the comprehensive cross-sectoral and cross-disciplinary solutions that benefit both cities and the arts and cultural sector. Specifically, the supports for the traditional large arts institutions were veered to support community arts exemplars that address social equity and civic engagement.

The analysis of the NEA's national CPM network implies that American cultural policy has evolved to respond to the trend that social and policy issues are governed via a more holistic and integrative approach. Arts managers and arts policymakers need to be aware of how to navigate the NEA's governance network in order to identify funding opportunities and demonstrate the relevance of their organizational missions and administrative capacity to echo the changes in the funding environment. Yet, the funders, practitioner, and researchers are still on their journey of accumulating knowledge and understanding the complexities of the governance network.

Revisiting Advocacy Rationale for the Arts The analysis of the national CPM policy network also found that the NEA explicitly expanded its national arts advocacy coalition with the participation of the CPM partners. The partnership with policy actors in the development and planning sector, particularly those working on equitability and diversity in development. The involvement of the development sector does not only expand the arts advocacy coalition but also grant the opportunity to the CPM funders and their partners in the development sector to revisit the controversial advocacy rhetoric of

“positive social impact of the arts.” The experts in the community development sector guide the arts community to offer creativity and services for community defined goals more effectively than before. The CPM funders, primarily the NEA and foundations, and their partners in the development sector have been looking for appropriate tools and methods to precisely evaluate the contribution of the arts to various aspects of community outcomes.

The researchers and practitioners have not found valid tools to identify the causal link between the arts and positive community outcomes. Nevertheless, the expansion of arts advocacy coalition at the national level allows for the argument of the “social impact of the arts” to be revisited by stakeholders in the arts sector and the development sector that includes actors in a broad array of social service fields. They work together through tangible projects to investigate how art and other social sectors develop the partnership to achieve sustainable community goals, and how the efforts of the arts community can be gauged to generate valid rationale with concrete evidence for arts advocacy.

9.2.2 Challenging Assumptions of the CPM Policy at the Local Level

The relocation of the Columbus Idea Foundry (CIF) was one of the early CPM projects funded by ArtPlace America. The partnership network of the project is embedded in the broader policy network of the Franklinton creative revitalization. Instead of focusing on the CIF relocation project solely, this dissertation analyzes the more extensive network where it is embedded to understand what the federal CPM policy means to the local community through a structural perspective. The three chapters on the local network provide a comprehensive analysis of the political context, power dynamics,

leadership, and network mechanism of the policy process for the CPM-catalyzed Franklinton creative revitalization. Using the national CPM policy network as a frame of reference, the analysis of the Franklinton network generates the following three policy implications for the CPM practitioners and policymakers to consider.

Lacking Leadership Intention Developing sustainable partnership is a crucial theme of the national CPM coalition. The Franklinton policy network does show the characteristics of a cross-sectoral and interdisciplinary partnership. Unlike the national CPM partnership leveraged by the NEA, the partnership between arts and non-arts sector in Franklinton is funded by the non-arts partners in the neighborhood. The arts community does not show a strong intention or capacity to lead the local CPM cross-sectoral partnership. As the examples mentioned in chapter seven, the collaboration between the arts and social service sector was only limited by funding insufficiency of social service organizations given artists usually did not have the capacity to sustain such partnership when social service organizations had to prioritize their core programs. The mural projects were usually dominated by the developers to choose “appropriate artists” who agreed to do work that benefit their development projects.

Despite lacking leadership capacity, the local arts community and their network are not politically driven to lead social changes in local communities. In contrast, the high outdegree centrality of the NEA and ArtPlace America shows that they have firm intention to lead the CPM coalition with the support of a dense subnetwork of arts service organizations. On the contrary, the GCAC and the local arts community in Franklinton do not show a strong leadership intention structure-wise. As a public arts funder, the GCAC

supports the CPM in the sense of promoting the importance of the arts community in the City of Columbus instead of taking the initiative to build a local CPM coalition.

Meanwhile, the centrality measures indicate that the arts community is marginal and weak in the Franklinton policy network. Unlike other policy actors whose connections are based on shared policy goals and beliefs regarding the development of the community, the arts community, particularly artists do not have strong intention to influence Franklinton revitalization. Their connections in the network are primarily due to friendly interactions based on spatial proximity.

The reality in Franklinton suggests that a critical task for the NEA and other national CPM leaders is to provide long-term support to dedicated arts leaders (individuals or institutions) who are interested in challenging established power regime in urban development. The support allows local arts leaders to be independent enough so that they can leverage the local development policy network to advocate and implement the political agenda of the CPM.

The Shadow of Blurring Funding Target The CIF's relocation was made possible by the CPM grant received by the grassroots CDC Franklinton Development Association (FDA). Its presence contributed to the economic growth of Franklinton by housing entrepreneurs and start-ups with a technological and science focus rather than the arts. As mentioned earlier in chapter seven, the interviews showed that the for-profit businesses indeed contributed to the economic growth of the neighborhood by attracting entrepreneurs, small businesses, and makers. But it was not managed in a way that directly benefitted the vulnerable populations in the neighborhood. This suggests that

CPM policy is not immune to problems brought by the blurring definition of “creative.” An inclusive and interdisciplinary approach to “creativity” is encouraged by the CPM but the problem is how resources and power can be channeled to arts and cultural projects (rather than others) that address issues deeply connected to the disadvantaged populations if funding arts-based strategies for equitability and diversity in community development remains to be the central theme of the CPM.

“Bottom-up” Does not Mean Representation and Consensus Grassroots organizations and entrepreneurs led the revitalization process. However, the creative revitalization centered network captures very few generational residents. The arts and cultural scene in the East Franklinton is considered disconnected from the generational residents living in the West Franklinton. The partnership between artists and nonprofit service organizations is serendipitous and inconsistent. Most of the community-based arts organizations in Franklinton barely address the generational residents and other vulnerable populations living in the neighborhood. These newcomers do not even share the same vision for Franklinton, as can be seen in the case of the Independence Festival. They were either established to rebrand the neighborhood for external real estate investment or moved in later for the vibrant creative cluster. Even COSI, a large culture organization located on the Scioto Peninsula for over two decades, it never identified itself as a member of the neighborhood.

The neighborhood almost did not have any instituted arts organization offering formal arts services to its residents for decades. Except for the funding inefficiency for arts programs and the lack of formal arts organizations in the poor neighborhood

historically, different perceptions of “art” and “the value of art” also contribute to the disconnection. In my research interview, a long-term resident in West Franklinton noted that the arts were very important part his own life as a fashion stylist and small owner of a design business. Many of the arts programs he was involved in were supported by religious organizations to teach local young people embroidery, screen printing, handcraft, and cosmetology that can bring them employment opportunities. Nevertheless, he had to say that, to most people in Franklinton, the art was only “one percent” of their life and the community could not be developed with artists in mind (Anonymous, Personal Communication, 2017).

The disconnection between the arts scene and the vulnerable populations in Franklinton is a good example showing possible challenges and complexity in the process of using the arts to engage disadvantaged populations and address their concerned community issues. Contemplating the following questions may help the CPM funders and local practitioners to develop programs fits the social and cultural reality of a community: 1) Who does the CPM project target on benefiting in the community? 2) What do their formal and informal arts and cultural life look like in the community? 3) Are there any existing arts and cultural organizations or groups actively serving the community? 4) How to develop a cultural vision for the evolving community under development?

9.3 Intellectual Merit, Limitation, and Future Research Agenda

9.3.1 Intellectual Merit

The research analytical process and findings enhance our understanding of multiple dimensions of local arts-led urban development and the CPM policy with thick

description and analysis of multiple actors, key events, decision venues, and historical process that shape the implementation and outcomes of the CPM in Franklinton. As a historically vulnerable community targeted by the CPM policy, the case of Franklinton was carefully chosen to be studied. The implication generated from the Franklinton case provides context-dependent knowledge and experience at the very heart of the CPM policy. Meanwhile, the characteristics of Franklinton and its revitalization process include factors, relationship, challenges, and situations shared by a broad class of communities and their CPM practices. Although one observation at one time point does not grant generalizability to the statistical results, implications generated from the research can be transferred to other communities as useful knowledge and experience. The research also contributes to the general knowledge in cultural policy and arts administration as an exploratory learning process of using social network analysis and policy process theories to understand other CPM cases and a broad class of phenomena in this research field.

Specifically, the dissertation contributes to research on arts policy and administration with theory development, methodological innovation, and practical implication. Theoretically, the research bridges the existing theories of the public policy process, arts-led urban development, and American arts policy to explain the policy process of the CPM policy. In order to develop an explanatory mechanism for socio-political dynamics of the CPM policy at the federal and local level, the research observes and analyzes the CPM policy in close-up with different types of empirical data. The research brings concepts and arguments frequently discussed in the field of cultural

policy to the ground by discussing their specificities, providing measures, and operationalizing them in the context of the CPM policy.

Methodologically, the research uses the mixed-method for a comprehensive look at the CPM policy through a single case. In order to theoretically explain the political dynamics of the collective actions in CPM-catalyzed community development and the CPM partnership of the NEA at the national level, the research employs social network analysis as the quantitative method complementary to the qualitative analysis on interview data and various archived documents. In the field cultural policy and arts administration, traditional quantitative data and statistical analysis are usually considered difficult to generate precise and profound explanations or theories. The social network analysis offers an alternative quantitative method to collect and analyze empirical data to explain phenomena in cultural policy and arts administration by investigating the relationship of actors involved and their social structure.

The policy practice of the CPM drives the dissertation research. Therefore, an essential purpose of the research is to generate practical implications for stakeholders of the CPM policy to consider. The research contributes to a new perspective to analyze and evaluate CPM practices at the local level. CPM stakeholders can use social network analysis as an effective tool to understand and navigate the social structure of local communities. Drawing conclusions from the comprehensive data analysis, the research challenges the underlying assumptions of the federal CPM policy that ignores the social reality in the local context, highlighting problems that prohibit the CPM policy from empowering the arts community and achieving its stated goals.

9.3.2 Limitation and Future Research Agenda

The mixed-method approach increases the depth and transferability of the research with complementary data and analytical strategies. However, the statistical results of the single-case study at one time point lacks generalizability by nature. The future research will need to be adapt the measures, survey and interview instruments developed in this dissertation research to study more communities catalyzed by the CPM grants. Alternatively, with the interview and survey contacts developed in the research, it is feasible to conduct longitudinal studies on this one community. I will observe the evolution of the Franklinton policy network over a longer period of time to analyze change of social fabric, cultural change, and political dynamics of the neighborhood revitalized through the arts.

This dissertation research integrated the concepts and theories mainly from the policy process theories. The research analysis found that the hypotheses and concepts developed in he ACF do not fully capture and address theoretical inquiries most interesting to cultural policy and arts administration research. For instance, the ACF is useful in studying the CPM in that it is related to urban development policy system where political divide is evident and the negotiation between coalitions are critical to making policy change. However, in most cases, such clear, consistent, and fundamental divides are not easily observed and captured in the cultural and arts policy issues unless radical changes happen in larger social, political, and cultural environment. Therefore, a theoretical framework that can offer explanation for the network governance of general

cultural policy issues is needed based on careful studies on how policy networks operate in a variety of cultural policy issues.

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Appendix A Acronyms, Full Names, and Service Fields of National Creative
Placemaking Making Partners

Acronyms	ID	Type
N/A	Kresge Foundation	Foundation and Bank
NEA	National Endowment of Arts	Government
SFTA	Springboard for the Arts	Service and Advocacy
PPS	Project for Public Space	Service and Advocacy
N/A	Orton Foundation	Foundation and Bank
USCM	US Conference of Mayors	Service and Advocacy
N/A	Opera America	Service and Advocacy
MICD	Mayors' Institute of City Design	Service and Advocacy
N/A	The White House	Government
AFTA	Americans for the Arts	Service and Advocacy
N/A	Knight Foundation	Foundation and Bank
GIA	Grantmakers in the Arts	Service and Advocacy
N/A	ArtPlace America	Service and Advocacy
ED	Department of Education	Government

HUD	Department of Housing and Urban Development	Government
NASAA	National Assembly of State Arts Agencies	Service and Advocacy
N/A	PolicyLink	Research or Consulting
USDA	Department of Agriculture	Government
N/A	Urban Institute	Research or Consulting
TTPL	The Trust for Public Land	Research or Consulting
EPA	Environmental Protection Agency	Government
ULI	Urban Land Institute	Service and Advocacy
MMFF	MMFisher Foundation	Foundation and Bank
N/A	Mellon Foundation	Foundation and Bank
N/A	Surdna Foundation	Foundation and Bank
N/A	Ford Foundation	Foundation and Bank
FPA	Forecast Public Art	Research or Consulting
N/A	Aspen Institute	Research or Consulting
N/A	Springboard Exchange	Service and Advocacy
SF	Shelter Force	Service and Advocacy
N/A	BC Workshop	Research or Consulting
APA	American Planning Association	Service and Advocacy
N/A	Rasmuson Foundation	Foundation and Bank
APAP	Association of Performing Arts Professionals	Service and Advocacy

RWJF	Robert Wood Johnson Foundation	Foundation and Bank
LAO	League of American Orchestras	Service and Advocacy
RPRI	Rural Policy Research Institute	Service and Advocacy
FRBSF	Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco	Foundation and Bank
AAF	American Architecture Foundation	Foundation and Bank
CPCP	Center for Performance and Civic Practice	Service and Advocacy
N/A	Dance USA	Service and Advocacy
N/A	Irvine Foundation	Foundation and Bank
CCP	Center for Community Progress	Research or Consulting
N/A	Bloomberg Philanthropies	Foundation and Bank
N/A	Stavros S. Niarchos Foundation	Foundation and Bank
PLC	Partners for Livable Communities	Research or Consulting
Scenic Route	The Scenic Route	Service and Advocacy
N/A	Rockefeller Foundation	Foundation and Bank
CIRD	Citizens' Institute on Rural Design	Service and Advocacy
NAS	National Arts Strategies	Research or Consulting
N/A	Artspace DIY	Research or Consulting
NPN	National Performance Network	Service and Advocacy
N/A	McKnight Foundation	Foundation and Bank
N/A	William Penn Foundation	Foundation and Bank
N/A	Chorus America	Service and Advocacy

N/A	Bush Foundation	Foundation and Bank
ACHP	Advisory Council on Historic Preservation	Government
NCCP	The National Consortium for CPM	Service and Advocacy
DRA	Delta Regional Authority	Government
USWA	US Water Alliance	Service and Advocacy
HHS	Department of Health and Human Services	Government
N/A	Bank of America	Foundation and Bank
N/A	CITI Bank	Foundation and Bank
N/A	Chase Bank	Foundation and Bank
N/A	Deutsche Bank	Foundation and Bank
N/A	Morgan Stanley	Foundation and Bank
N/A	Met Life	Foundation and Bank
DOT	Department of Transportation	Government
LISC	Local Initiatives Support Corporation	Research or Consulting

Appendix B Acronyms, Full Names, Service Fields, Tax Status, and Geographical
Locations of Franklinton Network Actors by Sub-Coalitions

Acronyms	Full Name	Service	Tax Status	Location
Pro-Equity Sub-Coalition (Count=20)				
LLH	Lower Lights Health	Social	Nonprofit	West
GCH	Gladden Community House	Social	Nonprofit	West
LLM	Lower Lights Ministries	Social	Nonprofit	West
COYF	Central Ohio Youth For	Social	Nonprofit	West
FCPC	Franklinton Community Pride Center	Development	Government	West
MCH	Mount Carmel Hospital	Social	Nonprofit	West
TSSP	The Second Sight Project (Mona Gazala)	Arts	Nonprofit	West
TBUC	The Bottoms Up Coffee	Social	Business and Nonprofit	West
LLS	Latin*Leader Shift	Social	Nonprofit	West
N/A	Dre Peopels	Arts	Sole proprietorship	West
N/A	Magic Farms	Restaurant and Food Service	Nonprofit	West
N/A	Franklinton Farms	Restaurant and Food Service	Nonprofit	West
N/A	Sakary L Chep	Social	Nonprofit	West
N/A	Franklinton Library	Research/Education	Nonprofit	West

SJEC	St. John Episcopal Church	Social	Nonprofit	West
N/A	Joy Sullivan	Research/Education	Nonprofit	West
N/A	Joan Rowe	Research/Education	Nonprofit	West
AES	Avondale Elementary School	Research/Education	Government	West
FCW	Franklinton Cycle Works	Social	Nonprofit	West
N/A	Tommy's Dinner	Restaurant and Food Service	Business	West
Pro-Creative Sub-Coalition (Count=21)				
N/A	STEAM Factory	Research/Education	Nonprofit	East
N/A	Erdos	Science/Technology	Nonprofit	East
FAD	Franklinton Art District	Arts	Nonprofit	East
N/A	Glass Axis	Arts	Nonprofit	East
N/A	Vanderelli Room	Arts	Nonprofit	East
TLA	Tim Lai Architect	Arts	Business and Nonprofit	East
CIF	Columbus Idea Foundry	Science/Technology	Nonprofit	East
N/A	400 West Rich of Urban Smart Growth	Development	Business	East
N/A	Big Tuna	Science/Technology	Business	East
TTS	Tech Talent South	Science/Technology	Business	East
N/A	Michael Halliday	Arts	Sole proprietorship	East
RGB	Roy G Biv	Arts	Nonprofit	East
N/A	Jemremy Wood	Arts	Sole proprietorship	East
N/A	Kobolt Studio	Arts	Business	East
N/A	Judy Rush	Arts	Sole proprietorship	East

N/A	Movement Activity	Arts	Business	East
N/A	Stephen Tackcs	Arts	Sole proprietorship	East
VSA	VSA	Science/Technology	Business	East
LIA	Lundberg Industrial Arts	Arts	Business	East
N/A	Multivarious	Science/Technology	Business	East
FPH	Franklinton Play House	Arts	Nonprofit	East
Pro-Growth Sub-Coalition (Count=20)				
CASTO	CASTO Development	Development	Business	Downtown
N/A	Kelley Company	Development	Business	Downtown
CMHA	Columbus Metropolitan Housing Authority	Development	Nonprofit	Downtown
EFRB	East Franklinton Review Board	Development	Government	Downtown
CNP	City Neighborhood Planning	Development	Government	Downtown
CPAP	Columbus Public Art Project	Arts	Government	Downtown
GCAC	Greater Columbus Arts Council	Arts	Government	Downtown
OSU	Ohio State University	Research/Education	Government	Downtown
COSI	Center of Science and Industry	Science/Technology	Nonprofit	Downtown
N/A	Loose Film	Arts	Business	Downtown
N/A	Art Mobile	Arts	Business	Downtown
SSP	Side Street Project	Development	Business	Downtown
ASLA	ASLA Consulting	Development	Business	Downtown
DDA	DiSalvo Development Advisors	Development	Sole proprietorship	Downtown
N/A	Columbus 1812	Media	Business	Downtown
N/A	Columbus Underground	Media	Business	Downtown
IDF	Independence Day Festival	Arts	Nonprofit	Downtown
CCDC	Columbus City Design Center	Arts	Government	Downtown
N/A	Columbus City Council	Development	Government	Downtown
ADMHB	Alcohol, Drug and Mental Health Board	Social	Nonprofit	Downtown

Pro-Balance Sub-Coalition (Count=9)				
FAC	Franklinton Area Commission	Development	Government	Among the Three Jurisdiction
FBT	Franklinton Board of Trade	Development	Nonprofit	Among the Three Jurisdiction
FUEL	Franklinton Urban Empowerment Lab	Development	Business and Nonprofit	Among the Three Jurisdiction
FDA	Franklinton Development Association	Development	Business and Nonprofit	Among the Three Jurisdiction
N/A	Katie Golonka	Arts	Sole proprietorship	Among the Three Jurisdiction
N/A	Franklinton Fridays	Arts	Nonprofit	Among the Three Jurisdiction
N/A	Alexandria Kalika	Research/Education	Nonprofit	Among the Three Jurisdiction
N/A	Land Grant	Restaurant and Food Service	Business and Nonprofit	Among the Three Jurisdiction
N/A	Chris Tennant	Arts	Sole proprietorship	Among the Three Jurisdiction