Institutional entrepreneurship through network governance: a social network analysis of NEA's creative placemaking national initiative

Wen Guo

Published online: 07 Jun 2022.

Submit your article to this journal ↗

Article views: 40

View related articles ↗

View Crossmark data ↗

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

RESEARCH ARTICLE

Institutional entrepreneurship through network governance: a social network analysis of NEA's creative placemaking national initiative

Wen Guo

Arts Administration Program, Elon University, Elon, North Carolina, the US

ABSTRACT

The National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) implements creative placemaking (CPM) policy by forging and coordinating a broad-based national policy network. This article visualizes and analyzes the national CPM policy network based on hyperlinks on the policy actors' websites. By unpacking the roles, resources, and affected interests of policy actors and their relationships with each other in the policy network, this article finds that the NEA exercises institutional entrepreneurship through CPM policy with four governance strategies: (1) seek legitimacy by re-activating federal interagency relations; (2) reorient and expand arts constituencies through existing governance infrastructure and new brokers; (3) develop discursive strategy and advance policy implementation through consulting and research organizations, and (4) diversify financial support by reaching out to banks and foundations. In the entrepreneurial process, the NEA also develops a mutually reinforcing mechanism of public value, financial stability, and artistic vitality with the governance strategies.

Introduction

The National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) has been developing and strengthening national and local allies of the arts by encouraging partnerships between arts and non-arts fields across both the public and private sectors through creative placemaking (CPM) policy (Author, 2015). A variety of policy stakeholders have offered distinct definitions for CPM based on their differing priorities and goals. The NEA's definition of CPM as "partners from public, private, nonprofit, and community sectors [who] strategically shape the physical and social characteristics of a neighbourhood, town, city, or region around arts and cultural activities" (Markusen & Gadwa, 2010, p. 3) captures the fundamental characteristics of the CPM policy. The emphasis on cross-sector partnership aims to break the silos of artists and encourage them to work with non-arts fields to drive culturally sustaining and equitable community development (Frenette, 2017). To catalyze cross-sector partnerships in local CPM practice, the NEA coordinated a national-level CPM

CONTACT Wen Guo ✉ wguo2@elon.edu ⊕ Arts Administration Program and Department of Art, Elon University, Elon, North Carolina, the US

initiative constituted of officially announced partners of the following types: federal government agencies, national foundations and banks, organizations from civil society, including professional associations, advocacy organizations for arts and community development, and nonprofit consulting organizations for community change. Although public-private partnerships are commonly seen in American public policy as a model to deal with collective action problems caused by the fragmentation of government agencies, this level of broad-based partnership is novel for the NEA (Redaelli, 2016).

Although the NEA has put arts and culture on the urban policy agenda for many years since its architecture and design programmes started in the early 1970s, creative place-making is a national policy commitment representing a new stage of American arts policy. As a small, low-budget federal agency teetering between political controversies and funding instability, the NEA has to carefully balance its underlying goals of "financial sustainability, artistic vitality and recognized public value for the nonprofit arts" (Wyszomirski, 2013, p. 157). The NEA juxtaposes arts and community through CPM to build an unprecedentedly large pro-arts advocacy coalition that encompasses policy actors from a broad array of professional fields and policy domains. This article takes CPM policy as not just a federal arts policy programme, but a temporally constructed agency (Emirbayer & Mische, 1998) created by the NEA through a set of governance strategies that reshape how the arts are perceived, advocated for, and funded in the United States.

Building on DiMaggio's studies of institutional entrepreneurship (1988), Maguire, Hardy, and Lawrence define institutional entrepreneurship as the "activities of actors interested in particular institutional arrangements … who leverage resources to create new institutions or transform existing ones" (2004, p. 657). This study takes CPM as a new policy institution formulated through network governance strategies under the triple-bottom-line value system developed by the NEA over the last few decades. Institutional entrepreneurship is practiced through a process of mobilizing existing assets (e.g. legitimacy, formal authority, social position, and the ability and skills to access and leverage scarce and critical resources), developing a discursive strategy, and mobilizing allies in harmony within a specific context (Battilana et al., 2009). As an arms-length federal agency that plays a critical but limited role in manoeuvreing political and financial resources to support the U.S. cultural infrastructure, the NEA is motivated to create and disseminate new arts advocacy and arts funding practices. However, in a decentralized political system where it has less power to directly command the provision of political and material resources for the arts, the NEA coordinated a national CPM initiative as a horizontal governance network to mobilize resources widely dispersed among public and private sectors (Börzel, 2011; Frenette, 2017).

The recent development of social network analysis allows policy scholars to understand policy process from a structural perspective. The concept of policy network has developed from a metaphor for government relations to competing theoretical frameworks that explain the complex political dynamics and policy process using empirical observations and analyses of policy actors and their behaviours (Thatcher, 1998). Governance emphasizes a malleable multi-level and cross-sectoral relationship for policy innovation and democratic renewal. As a form of policy network, governance networks are defined as "more or less stable patterns of social relations between mutually dependent actors, which cluster around policy problems, a policy programme, and/or a set of

resources and which emerge, are sustained, and are changed through a series of inter-actions" (Klijn & Koppenjan, 2015, p. 11). These inter-organizational or interpersonal net-works are formed by a plurality of interdependent policy actors across government, business, and civil society in the autonomous process of resource exchange and setting rules of game (Rhodes, 1997) around a specific policy issue (Helco, 1978).

This study seeks to answer the following questions: What are the underlying arts policy goals of the NEA, as an institutional entrepreneur, in building a collaborative governance network at the national level through CPM policy? Who is involved in the governance network, and how do they function towards the NEA's policy goals? What are the strat-egies used by the NEA to build and coordinate a collaborative governance network? How do the network governance strategies demonstrate the process of the NEA's insti-tutional entrepreneurship?

This article first identifies policy actors that form the NEA's CPM national policy network by introducing a novel method of observing arts and cultural policy networks. The rel-evant concepts of social network analysis will be reviewed and applied to provide a brief overview of the national CPM policy network as a whole, while focusing on the struc-tural advantage of policy actors in the network. Next, the article takes four sections to analyze the subgraphs of four policy actor groups and the four governance strategies of the NEA within these different groups. In conclusion, this article explains how the NEA achieves its institutional entrepreneurship in the process of readjusting the triple-bottom-line framework for U.S. cultural policy by using the governance strategies.

Observe and capture the national CPM policy network through hyperlinks

In 2010, under the leadership of Rocco Landesman, the NEA began to build official national CPM partnerships with policy actors from both the public and private sector, including eight federal agencies, fifteen foundations, and six financial institutions. In response to the increasing salience of urban policy during the Obama administration, sig-nalled by the establishment of the Office of Urban Affairs (Author, 2015), the NEA devel-oped micro-level policy through its Design and CPM programmes to deliberately leverage resources and achieve agency-wide macro-level policy change (Frenette, 2017; Wyszo-mirski, 2013). With this support, ArtPlace America[1] was founded as a critical national CPM partner to distribute funding to local CPM projects alongside the NEA's Our Town programme. In addition to the initial set of official partners announced by the NEA, more policy actors from federal government agencies, the philanthropic world, and nonprofit organizations in the fields of arts and community development joined in the practice and advocacy endeavours of CPM policy. To capture the network of national CPM policy actors, the author used hyperlink data of policy actors through observation and computer assistance (Rogers & Ben-David, 2010).

In a hyperlink policy network, policy actors are represented by their websites. The policy actors are tied to each other through the hyperlinks in their web pages referring to each other's web pages. The linking activities produce a directed policy network with senders and receivers (Yi & Scholz, 2016). Hyperlinks manifest two aspects of social relations of policy actors concerned by cultural policy scholars. First, the website of a policy actor could influence the trust, prestige, authority, or credibility of the websites of other policy actors through hyperlinks (Kleinberg, 1999; Palmer et al., 2000; Park, 2003).

According to Berardo and Scholz (2010), trust and endorsement is an important source of power. Policy actors execute and leverage political power by selecting partners and affiliations, which is typically publicized on their websites. These hyperlinks express endorsement and trust based on existing partnerships (Davenport & Cronin, 2000). Their names and reputations are at stake when they choose to refer to websites of other organizations. Yi and Scholz (2016) validated that mentioning and offering hyperlinks of other policy actors is a strategic action that aligns with the missions and goals of policy actors by researching the 48 governance networks of clean energy development across the contiguous United States.

Second, the patterns of hyperlinks managed by policy actors reflect the common interest of policy actors, which forms an "issue network" around a specific social or policy issue (Rogers & Ben-David, 2010). McNutt (2006) studied hyperlink networks centred around agriculture, women, banking, and aboriginal issues, arguing that hyperlinks mirror the real-world policy network. Policy allies tend to refer to each other through website hyperlinks while policy opponents tend to avoid doing so. The formation of hyperlink networks is a process of policy alliance-building (Park, 2003). With that assumption, Elgin (2015) and Häussler (2018) also used hyperlinks to study the coalitional conflicts around environmental policy issues. Therefore, the hyperlink network is a useful data source to study arts policy, which has been framed as a marginalized policy domain of low political salience in the U.S. (Balfe & Wyszomirski, 1985).

With the rapid development of information technology and open-source platforms, some social science studies have shown that using hyperlinks to construct social networks is an inexpensive and time-saving data collection method (Yi & Scholz, 2016). *IssueCrawler* is an online web network location and visualization software developed by an Amsterdam-based foundation. The crawler analyzes hyperlinks in three ways: co-link, snowball, and inter-actor. This study employed *IssueCrawler* to collect hyperlink network data of the national CPM policy initiative. To obtain a relatively complete list of organizations both strongly and weakly connected to the CPM policy, the author used a snowball analysis to capture all active live websites on May 23, 2018.[2] The author began by identifying a number of seed weblinks identified as key CPM policy actors, the officially claimed national CPM partners, including fourteen foundations, eight federal agencies, and six national banks. The software retains pages receiving at least one link from these seeds (Yi & Scholz, 2016). *IssueCrawler* generated 69 policy actors and their network structures. They were categorized into four different types of services (see Table 1): federal government agencies, advocacy and professional service organizations in the arts and development sectors, consulting and research organizations in the arts and development sector, and foundations and banks that provide financial support for the CPM policy.

Table 1. Types of policy actors in the national CPM policy network policy.

Service Types	Count
Government	9
Advocacy and professional services	25
Consulting and research	11
Foundation and bank	24
Total	69

In social network analysis, indegree centrality, outdegree centrality, eigenvector centrality, and betweenness centrality are four commonly used centrality scores to measure the different dimensions of power based on the structural positions of policy actors in a policy network. 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, showing 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 two unconnected policy actors. This centrality indicates the connectivity and leverage of the policy actor as a broker in the network. Therefore the *popularity (or authority), activity, reachability, and connectivity* of policy network actors can be gauged by their indegree centrality, outdegree centrality, eigenvector centrality, and betweenness centrality, respectively (Hanneman & Riddle, 2005).

Figures 1 and 2 display the boxplots of the four types of centrality scores by service groups of policy actors. Regarding the significance of the policy actors in the network, group-based boxplots show similar results with the centrality-based boxplots. Government agencies have the highest median of indegree centrality in comparison with other types of organizations with very similar medians for indegree centrality. The results indicate that the government agencies are the authoritative group of the CPM policy, with the NEA and the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) being the most important representatives. The average betweenness centrality scores of all four groups are close to one another while the government agencies have a slightly higher betweenness centrality indicating a relatively high connectivity. The NEA and the HUD are the most important brokers that bridge within and across the arts sector and the development sector.

The NEA is the most influential policy actor in the network with the highest eigenvector centrality, while other federal agencies have very limited reachability in this CPM policy network. The advocacy and professional service organizations and the consulting and
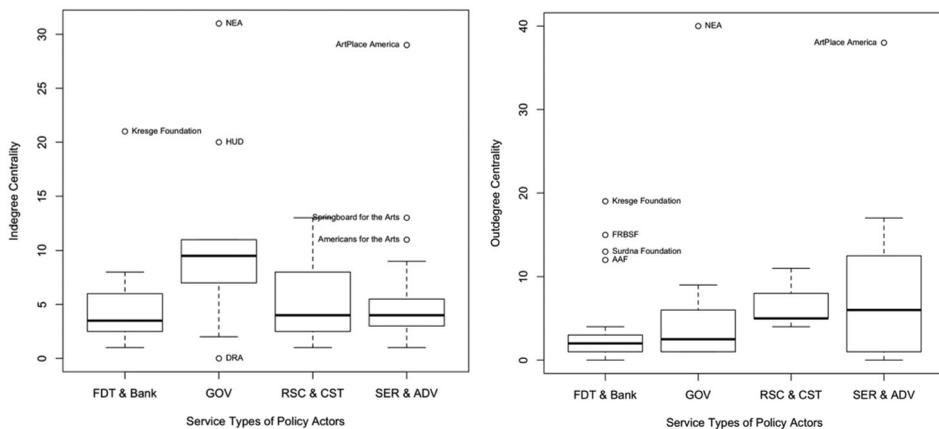

Figure 1. Boxplots of indegree and outdegree centrality scores by organizational type.
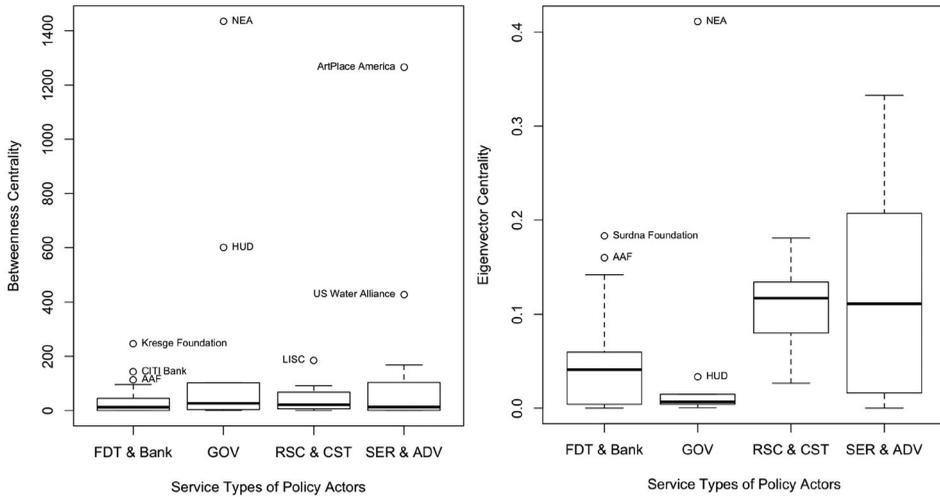
Figure 2. Boxplots of betweenness and eigenvector centrality scores by organizational type.

research organizations both have a larger median of outdegree centrality than other groups, indicating that these two types of organizations have a higher level of activity on average comparatively by sending ties frequently. The eigenvector centrality scores suggest that the advocacy and professional service organizations and the consulting and research organizations have extended influence in the network due to their high reachability. Although the government agencies have the lowest eigenvector score on average, which suggests their limited reachability in this CPM policy network, the NEA is the most influential policy actor in the network with the highest eigenvector centrality. The online social activity of foundations and banks is extremely low in general. At the same time, this group has four outliers with exceptionally large outdegree centrality and one outlier with very large indegree centrality.

The summary network statistics of the four groups in the national CPM policy network suggests that 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 both the authority and broker of the national CPM policy network, with the NEA and the HUD being the leading agencies. In particular, as a formal authority of U.S. arts policy, the NEA takes advantage of its leadership role and the legitimacy of the externalities of arts (Hughes, 1989) in public issues to access critical financial and political resources. Bridging social capital involves weak ties and well-connected brokers maximizing access to information and new ideas (Burt, 2002; Granovetter, 1973). The NEA filled the "structural hole" led by the absence of ties (Burt, 2002) between policy actors in the aforementioned four groups of policy actors to exchange dissimilar resources. Aligned with what Maguire et al. (2004) argue about institutional entrepreneurs, the NEA brings together diverse stakeholders as allies and orchestrates collective actions.

The research and consulting, as well as the professional service and advocacy, organizations play the role of influencers, extending deep into the network with strong reachability. The foundations and banks are financial supporters without many ongoing online

social activities, except for the Kresge Foundation leading the CPM movement with the NEA and ArtPlace America. Most do not seem to have a solid motivation to initiate ties or engage in brokerage activities regarding CPM. Exceptionally, Citibank has a relatively high betweenness centrality, indicating that the bank has more structural brokerage advantage than other banks. The Kresge Foundation and the American Architecture Foundation (AAF) also have larger betweenness centrality scores and outdegree centrality scores, indicating that they actively leverage and bridge other policy actors in the network.

Seek legitimacy by re-activating federal interagency relations

The NEA and ArtPlace America developed the CPM policy and announced their partnership with an alliance of federal agencies, including the HUD, the Department of Health and Human Service (HHS), the Department of Agriculture (USDA), the Department of Education (E.D.), the 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. Figure 3 shows the subgraphs of the national CPM policy network. The size of each circle represents the number of indegree (left) and outdegree (right) centrality scores of individual policy actors. The larger the indegree or outdegree centrality score a policy actor has, the larger its circle. Within the network of federal government agencies, the HUD, the DOT, and the HHS are the policy actors most frequently referred by other federal agencies in the network. In comparison with the NEA and other independent federal agencies, these three agencies are also considered the most relevant, authoritative, and resourceful policy actors regarding policy issues of community development due to their essential roles of improving the housing, living, and transportation conditions of neighbourhoods and communities in need (Erickson & Andrews, 2011; Kitchener et al., 2005). Other agencies seeking to improve their own relevance and usefulness by linking to these three government agencies.
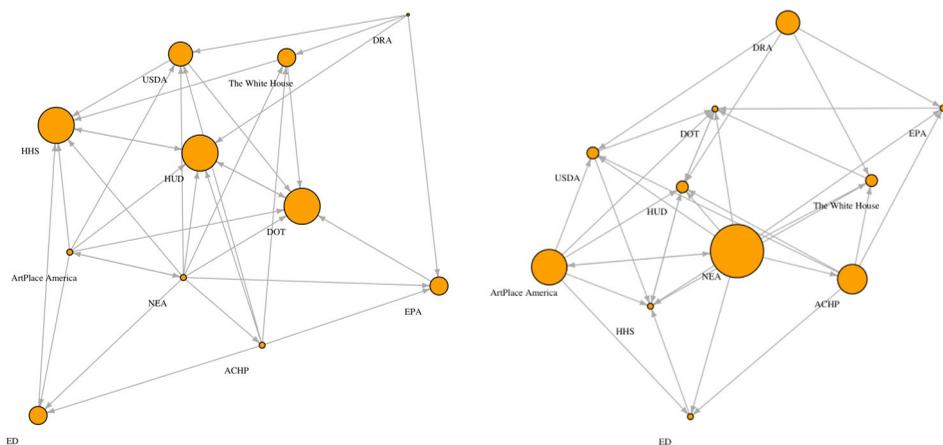

Figure 3. NEA's federal interagency coordination network: indegree (left) and outdegree centrality (right).

The NEA, ArtPlace America[3], and the ACHP are the most active but least popular federal agencies in the CPM network of federal agencies. The NEA and ArtPlace America are leaders of the CPM network, building up and maintaining the CPM policy network, and they both actively mention their partnerships with other federal actors on their websites. The ACHP plays a vital role in legislation, regulation, education, and preservation regarding American cultural heritage. These policy issues are also closely related to community development. In comparison to the budgets of other arms-length federal agencies, such as the EPA with an annual budget of over $882 million (EPA, 2022), these three agencies[4] have relatively small budgets (Frenette, 2017). Thus, in order to achieve their policy goals and increase their impact, they are driven to be connected with more resourceful and influential federal agencies.

The partnership between the NEA and the HUD, DOT, EPA, and AHCP can be traced back to the NEA's early strategy of integrating the arts into solutions to urban issues. The series of national crises rooted in urban decay and the urban riots of the 1950s and 1960s (Lang, 2008) as well as the rising environmentalism driven by upper-middle-class consumerism in the 1970s (Silveira, 2001) pushed the NEA to make urban housing, landscape, and the living environment an important policy area where arts practices related to design, public art, and architecture could make a difference. Different from the CPM that emphasizes civic participation and artistic vitality without prescribing a one-size-fits-all strategy for communities, these early programmes in partnership with relevant federal agencies reflect the NEA's focus on achieving artistic excellence in all disciplines (Wyszomirski, 2013), as articulated by Bill N. Ivey, the former Director of NEA's Architecture and Environmental Arts Programme, in 1971:

> … as encompassing all those arts and professions whose prime concern is in the shaping of the physical environment. … the Endowment will further the cause of environmental quality and seek to create standards of excellence for the guidance of both the public and private element of our country … " (NEA, 1972, p. 14).

From 1969 through 1979, the focus of the NEA shifted to improving the different aspects of the physical environment of communities in urban areas. During this period, most research projects, design and education programmes, and public art were funded through the Architecture, Planning and Design Programme[5] to support planning and research on arts and cultural facilities in inner city areas and city boundary problems related to "highways, waterways, railroads, and historic landmark districts which shape and define urban areas" (NEA, 1973, p. 20). In 1972, the Architecture and Environmental Arts Programme initiated a grant known as "Facilities for the Arts" to finance the renovation and adaptive use of historical assets and old buildings in inner city areas as a strategy to support the growth of new cultural institutions and the revival of old cultural institutions (NEA, 1972). In 1973, taking the upcoming U.S. Bicentennial as an opportunity (Taylor & Barresi, 1984), a series of National Theme programmes and a Preservation of Our American Architectural Heritage programme were created in the Architecture and Environmental Arts Programme. Over the following three years, the NEA developed the City Edges, City Options, City Scale, and City Spirits programmes focused around urban environment, national identity, and America's cultural heritage (NEA, 1973).

This brief review covers how the NEA mobilized existing relational assets to create a new CPM policy institution by connecting the arts community to the existing discourse

and texts of "placemaking" known by professional fields and scholars relevant to community development (Zitcer, 2020). The CPM partnership at the federal level is a reactivation and reinforcement of existing federal partnerships between the arts and the community development sector. The federal-level partnership further legitimates the new discourse of CPM from a top-down perspective by attaining endorsement from the federal partners, though the term has been challenged by scholars and practitioners who are aware of the broader attention around its role in promoting gentrification, displacement, and different forms of social exclusion (Arroyo, 2017; Zitcer, 2020).

While the NEA had collaborated with other, previously mentioned, federal agencies on tangible arts and cultural programmes before its funding and political crisis in the late 1980s (Author, 2015), the CPM policy is the first formally announced strategic alliance of U.S. national arts policy at the federal level. To better understand the relationship between the NEA and other federal agencies, it is necessary to examine what resources the NEA and ArtPlace America need from the federal alliance for the CPM. To this end, the author investigated the specific resources, expertise, and power which the NEA attempts to obtain by coordinating and influencing other federal agencies. Table 2 lists the officially announced partnerships and objectives of the NEA/ArtPlace America and other federal agencies. The NEA enahnces the coordination of the federal interagency network and national-level public-private partnership with the intention to enahncei community-level collaborative governance and long-term outcomes with a Frenette, 2017). The analysis of the details of the announced partnerships in Table 2 suggest that the NEA contributes to the partnerships in various forms: technical assistance, staff support, co-funding, research, knowledge distribution, and network maintenance, through individual projects, long-term programmes, and creating new organizations.

Working with the official approval of other federal agencies, the NEA and its constituencies are perceived as a promising group of service providers rather than a group irrelevant to community development issues, including housing, urban planning, public safety, health, and food. Additionally, small-scale collaborations expand the funding pool for the arts and cultural sector in the development sector. In a discussion session of the Aspen Institute Arts Programme in 2014, the former NEA Chairman[6] Rocco Landesman noted, "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).

By reintroducing the arts as a viable partner of other federal agencies, the NEA can obtain both tangible resources and political support from other federal agencies and their constituencies. This allows the agency to exert its impact and promote the influence of the arts across different sectors at different levels. However, the NEA is mentioned by other federal agencies only as a tangentially relevant partner contributing to very few projects, such as the HUD's SC2 and the DOT's Every Place Counts Initiative. With the exception of the NEA, ArtPlace America, and the ACHP, other federal agencies are not actively engaged in promoting the CPM policy or do not have frequent interactions with the three federal agencies. This implies that the arts sector is not a highly relevant component of the policy issues with which the HUD, the DOT, the HHS, and other federal agencies are concerned, though the NEA endeavours to expand the influence of the arts in other policy fields as a valuable resource or policy tool.

Table 2. The substantive content of NEA's federal interagency coordination network.

Key Federal Partners	Partnership	Tangible Activities	Goals
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, GA. (One-time)	• 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)	• 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)	• 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)	• 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)	• 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)	• 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)	• 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)	• Federal-level impact • State-level impact • Cross-sectoral impact
NEA, EPA	Governors' Institute on Community Design	Provide technical assistance and knowledge distribution for state governors.	• Federal-level impact • State-level impact
NEA, DRA	Creative Placemaking Training and Initiative	Provide CPM leadership training and grants	• Federal-level impact • Local-level impact • Cross-sectoral impact • Expand funding resource for local CPM practices

Reorient and expand arts constituencies through existing governance infrastructure and new brokers

Figures 4 and 5 visualize the network of all the advocacy and professional service organizations as the subgraph of the entire national CPM policy network. This 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. Sixteen of these organizations are advocacy and professional service organizations representing different arts disciplines.

Similar to Figure 3, the size of the circles in Figures 4 and 5 represents the outdegree and indegree centrality scores of policy actors in the network. The colour of the circles represents the fields of these organizations. Except for the U.S. Conference of Mayors (USCM), a professional political association, all the other policy actors are from either the development sector or the arts sector. 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. This result suggests that the arts advocacy and professional service organizations are more active in initiating relationships than development advocacy and service
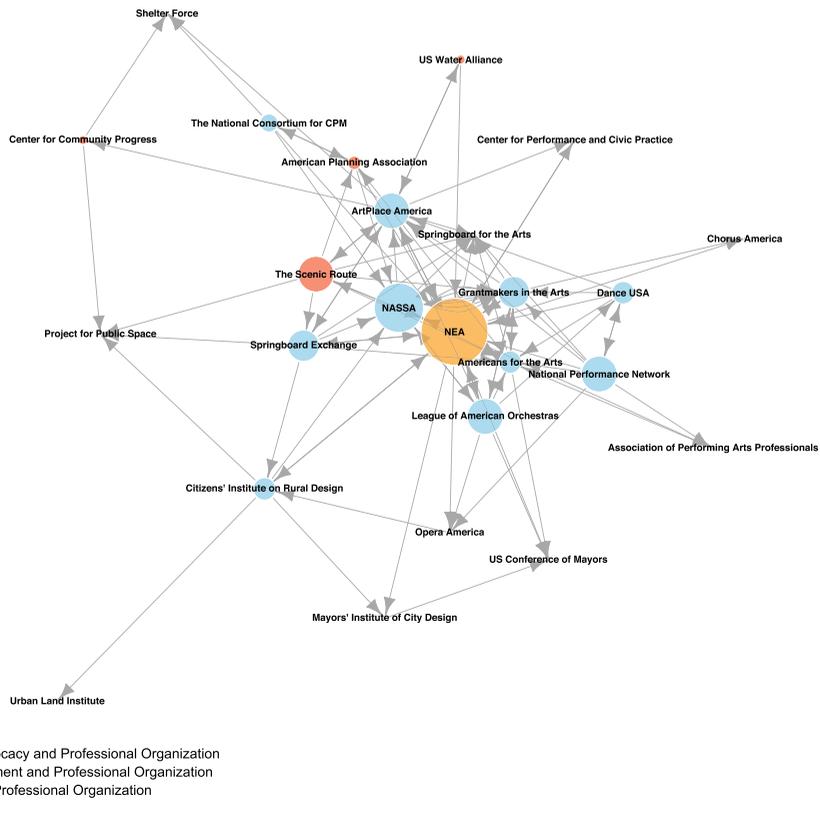

Figure 4. The advocacy and professional service organization subgraph (outdegree).
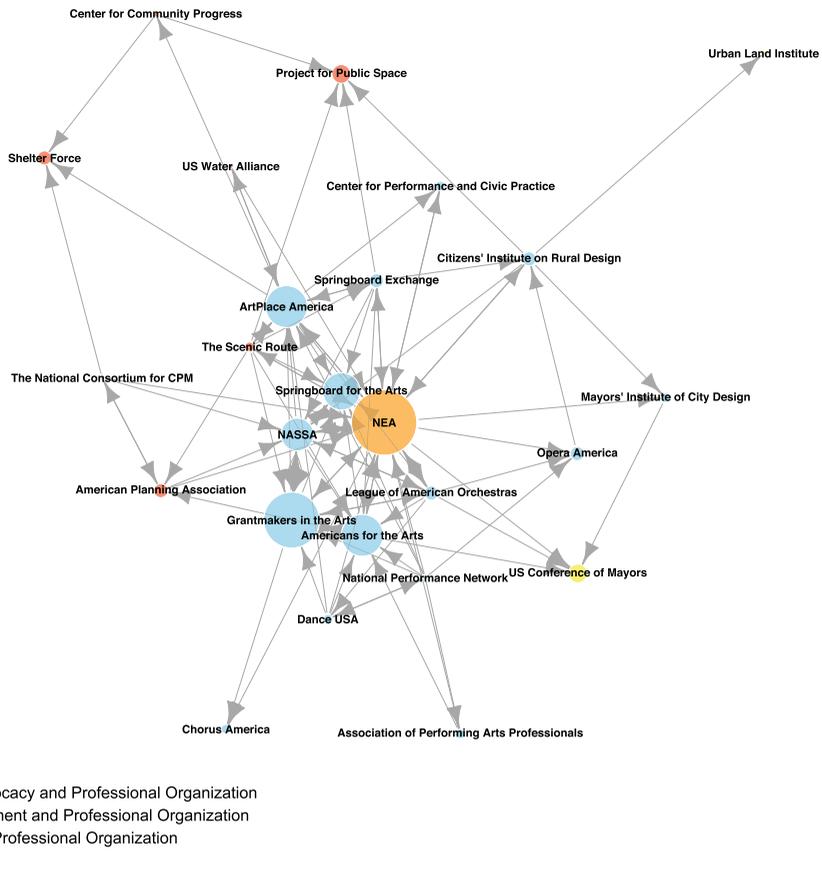
Figure 5. The advocacy and professional service organization subgraph (indegree).

organizations. The arts advocacy and service organizations are also popular authorities frequently referred by other policy actors in the subgraph.

Battilana et al. (2009) argued that it is critical for institutional entrepreneurs to mobilize allies to help diffuse new practices and beliefs in that all actors relevant to the CPM policy can challenge and destabilize the new policy institution through refining, sustaining, or rejecting its meaning. The CPM introduces a new way of funding the arts, suggesting the erosion of the old arts funding model. Support for arts service organizations create a sense of certainty for the NEA regarding re-embedding the CPM policy into the existing arts policy institution (Beckert, 1999). These nonprofit arts advocacy and professional service organizations are the existing governance infrastructure, maintained by the NEA for decades. They collectively "work on behalf of the artists and professional institutions that make up the arts and culture community" (Wyszomirski, 2008, p. 44). Although many arts service organizations are not directly involved in the CPM policy as major participants of policy implementation or programme funders, they are engaged in promoting strategic moves, policy decisions, best practices, and programme information regarding the CPM and the national/regional CPM leaders. As these arts service organizations are the legacy of the institutionalization of U.S. arts policy, the NEA can easily impose change through the exercise of its dominant power in the arts field (Dorado, 2005).

The arts service organizations support and disseminate the concept of the CPM to guide the arts community in their specialized arts disciplines to reorient their efforts in artistic production, audience reach, and financial development. Such activities educate and encourage artists and arts organizations in their concerned arts disciplines to reassess how they can better connect with communities and seek non-traditional resources to support their creative endeavours. As an essential interest group of the NEA, the arts advocacy and service organizations function as a specialized mobilization system that engages artists and arts organizations to participate in the CPM and enrich the content of the CPM with their artistic and professional expertise.

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 6 shows that they are mainly socially active within the arts sector. It is critical for the NEA to create new organizations, including ArtPlace America, the Mayors' Institute of City Design (MICD), and the Citizens' Institute on Rural Design (CIRD) to bridge the arts and the community development sector and amplify its influence through the community development sector. Removing these organizations from the network, the advocacy and service organizations in the arts sector and the development sector will fall apart. In contrast, other service organizations in both sectors do not put special effort into getting out of their silos.
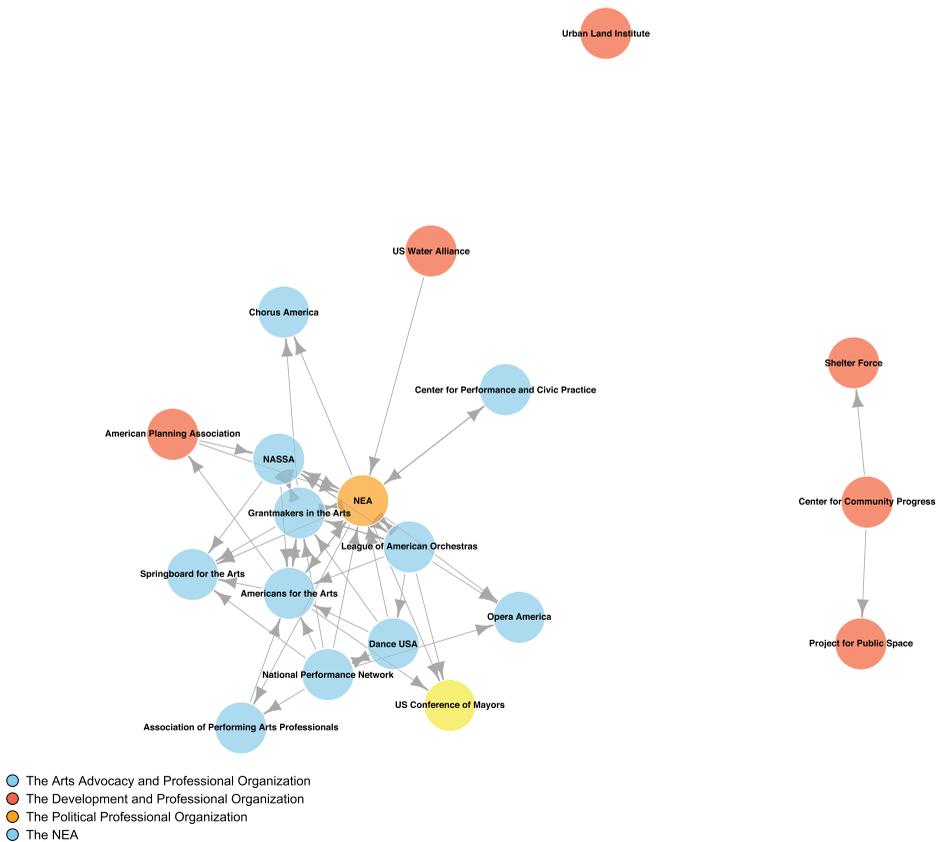

Figure 6. Advocacy and service organization subgraph without brokers.

During 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 (Wyszomirski, 1995). The NEA established MICD in 1986. As a counterpart of the MICD, the CIRD was founded in 1991, during the most controversial period for the NEA, with the support of the USDA. Long before the inception of the CPM policy, the two organizations had started building a policy issue network around arts and places among public officials, community development, and the design leadership resources of the NEA. The CPM whitepaper was commissioned by the MICD in 2010.

The two organizations remained relatively independent of the NEA. While the NEA was under widespread attack regarding its funding legitimacy and standards, the MICD and CIRD developed a national network with urban and rural community leaders and professionals in the development and planning field with a focus on community design. The two entities rebranded the arts sector as a professional field providing viable services and solutions to tangible and urgent public issues.

Develop discursive strategy and advance policy implementation through consulting and research organizations

Figures 7 and 8 display the sender-based and receiver-based subgraphs of the eleven research and consulting organizations involved in the national CPM policy network, respectively. The colour of the circles represents the field of the organization. The size of the circles refers to the number 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 to others in the network. These organizations in the development sector have more incoming ties than those in the arts sector. The development sector has been invested in CPM practices under other names long before the CPM discourse was formulated (Zitcer, 2020). Meanwhile, the participatory and collaborative approach stressed by the CPM policy (Schupbach & Ball, 2016) is intended to yield projects driven by community-based partnerships instead of the arts community (Zitcer, 2020). 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 the 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 official national CPM partners.

In general, 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 technical services related to community development. The arts sector is more active than the development sector in disseminating information regarding the role of artists and arts organizations in community development as well as the new opportunities presented to the arts community by the CPM policy.

The consulting and research organizations offer technical support for the NEA, ArtPlace America, and local CPM grant receivers. The expertise of the consulting and research
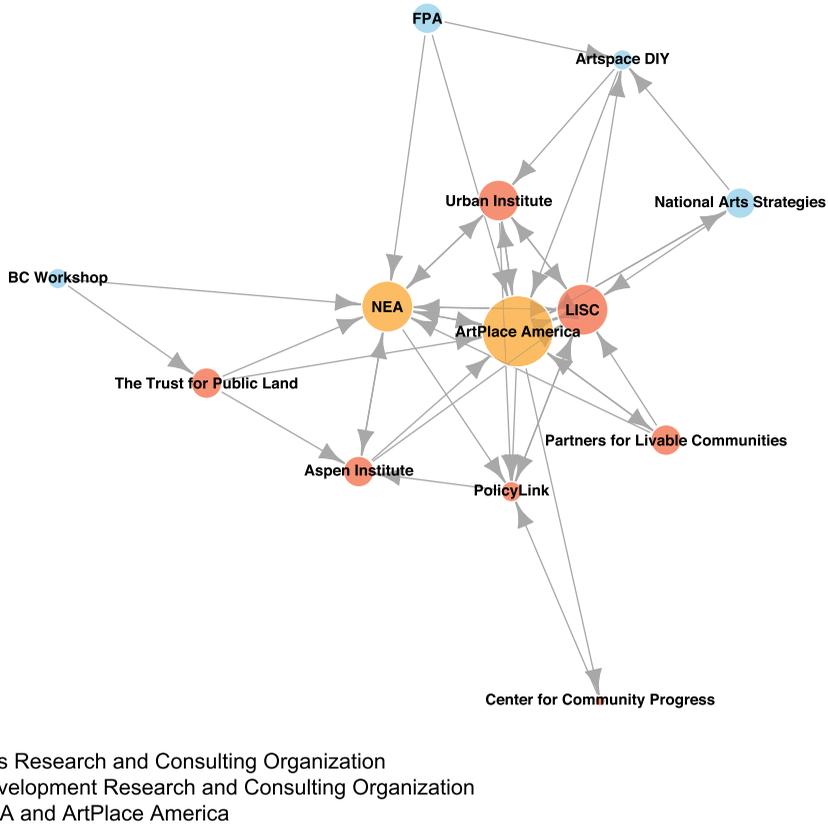
● The Arts Research and Consulting Organization
● The Development Research and Consulting Organization
● The NEA and ArtPlace America

Figure 7. The research/consulting organization subgraph (outdegree).

organizations allows them to frame and interpret the term "creative placemaking" in the process of producing and disseminating knowledge in addition to their stated functions of providing solutions, techniques, financial, and management insights around critical economic and social problems in community development, such as vacant property, poverty, public safety, sustainability, aging, transportation, food access, education, etc. In addition to the explicitly announced partnership activities, the NEA also utilizes policy actors in the community development sector to develop discourse and texts to affect the social construction process that underlies the conceptualization and materialization of the CPM policy (Battilana et al., 2009; Zitcer, 2020). This discursive strategy is to justify the superiority of the CPM as an emerging policy institution that benefits both the arts and community development (Leca et al., 2006; Schupbach & Ball, 2016).

The arts sector is more active than the development sector in disseminating information regarding CPM. Although ArtPlace America initially attempted to "put the artists and arts at the centre of planning, execution and activity" (Reconnecting to Our Waterways, 2012), the NEA sought to expand the perceived role of artists and arts organizations in different societal sectors and professional fields (Frenette, 2017). The CPM initiative connected the arts to a diversity of community development stakeholders as a viable service or solution for various complex community issues (Nicodemus, 2013). The actions and resources of consulting and research organizations in the development
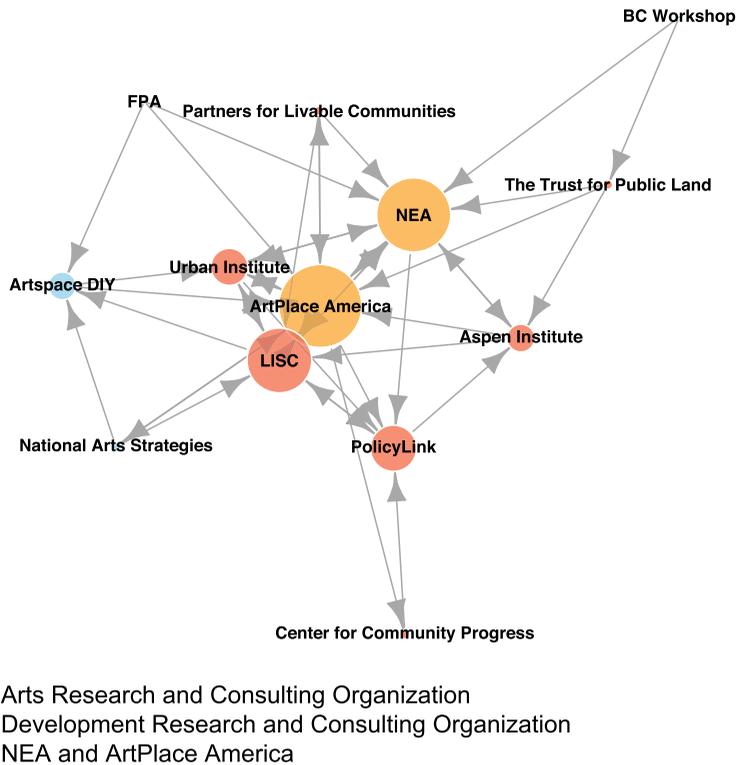
Figure 8. The research/consulting organization subgraph (indegree).

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 the resources they need to influence communities more efficiently.

Diversify financial support by reaching out to banks and foundations

Banks and foundations are financial agencies offering financial assistance to the CPM practices and research. Figures 9 and 10 visualize the subgraph of banks and foundations in the national CPM policy network based on outgoing ties and incoming ties of policy actors, respectively. The figures show that ArtPlace America and the NEA frequently refer to foundations and banks as their national CPM partners. As a foundation consortium offshoot of the NEA and its gateway to the private sector, ArtPlace America has more frequent interactions with foundations. The foundations are more engaged in online social activities of the CPM policy than the banks, while the banks rarely initiate but only receive a few ties in the subgraph. To banks, the CPM is just another business. They tend to maintain the public image of being politically neutral with policy issues that are not essential to the financial industry (Johansen, 2017). Being an exception, the Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco (FRBSF), as a federal financial and regulatory
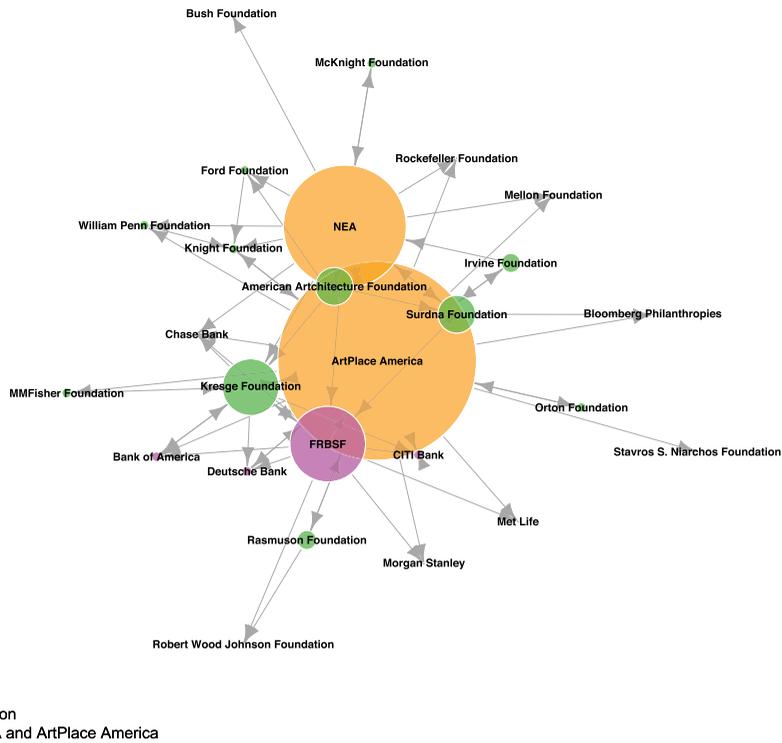
Figure 9. Foundations and banks subgraph of CPM national policy network (outdegree).

agency, sends and receives ties more frequently, suggesting it is more politically active among all financial institutions. Instead of directly providing funding to any CPM programmes, the FRBSF used its journal *Community Development Innovative Review* as a policy forum to publish a series of studies themed on "Creative Placemaking" (Callanan, 2014). This can also be viewed as a discursive strategy that strengthens and legitimizes the discourse on the contribution of arts and culture to the economic and social aspects of community development.

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 supported 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. 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 community development projects across the country as investors or lenders of affordable housing projects and small creative business establishments.

The foundations send a much clearer message to the public regarding their support and investment in the CPM. In addition to funding CPM roadmaps and grants through ArtPlace America, a few leading foundations also create their own CPM strategies and grants for national or regional CPM projects and conduct research projects to showcase the
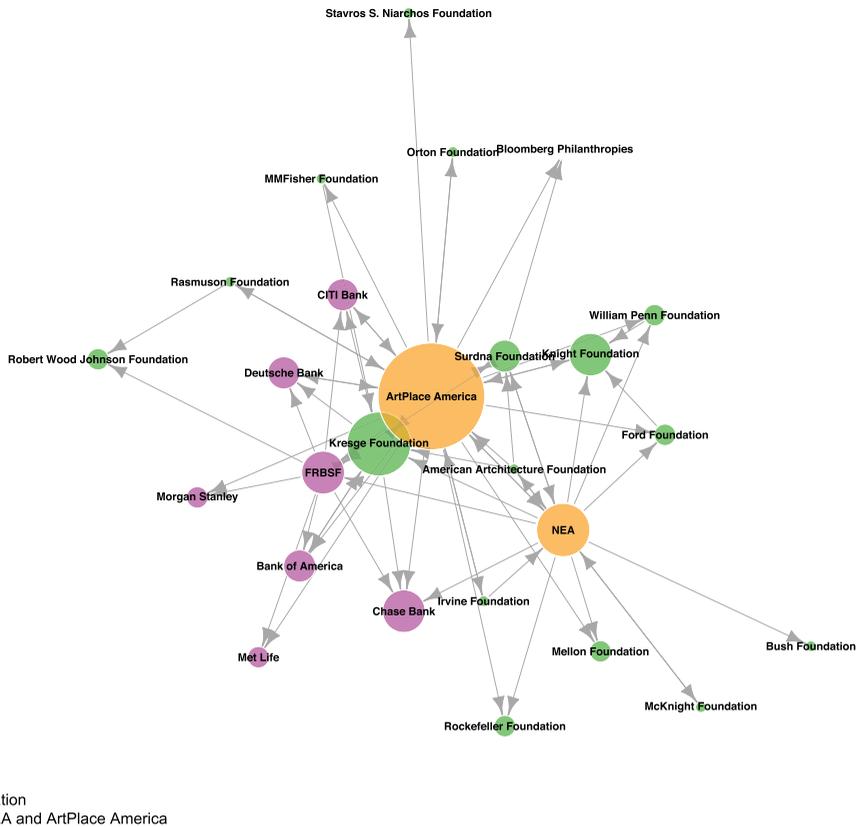
Figure 10. Foundations and banks subgraph of CPM national policy network (indegree).

contribution of the arts in community development. For instance, the Kresge Foundation is a leading foundation that developed the concept of the CPM with the NEA and ArtPlace America. It supports the CPM policy with funding programmes for local CPM projects and research projects on CPM best practices. The blogs of the Knight Foundation and the Surdna Foundation report updates and share knowledge in the field of 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 programmes and CPM programmes in rural areas.

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 not been 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 recently. As early as 2013, Kresge's Social Investment Practice and Arts & Culture teams began working together to explore the possibility of using impact investment to systemically integrate arts and culture into community revitalization (Kresge, 2019). In 2015, New Jersey Community Capital (NJCC) received a $300,000 grant and a $2.5 million programme-related investment (PRI) from Kresge to launch its Creative Placemaking Fund. Within two years of receiving the Kresge grant, NJCC had attracted $5 of capital for every $1 of seed money invested, a full year ahead of projection.

Including the biggest banks and foundations as coalition members, the NEA intended to encourage the private sector and the philanthropic world to make impact investments 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 and community development corporations. Their grants and programmes 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 programmes and technical assistance for their business and housing needs.

Conclusion: transforming triple-bottom-line framework via the governance strategies of institutional entrepreneurship

The national CPM policy network unfolds the entrepreneurial activities of the NEA as "a temporally constructed engagement by actors of different structural environments" (Garud et al., 2007, p. 961). The cross-sectoral and multi-level governance strategies are empirically manifested by the horizontal policy network constructed and managed by the NEA at the national level. The four network governance strategies of the NEA are integrated in the institutional entrepreneurship process, demonstrating how the NEA adapts to the complex political environment (Axelrod et al., 2000) and develops resources, power, and influence for a federal agency constantly challenged by funding cuts and public controversies. This analysis also showcases how the reframing of artistic vitality, recognized public value, and financial sustainability as a value system shared by the arts policy institutions of the U.S. drives the formulation of the NEA's network governance strategies to achieve institutional entrepreneurship centred around the CPM policy (Wyszomirski, 2013). The NEA's focus on artistic vitality evolved from ensuring arts excellence and expanding cultural diversity to increasing local access (Wyszomirski, 2013).

As a peripheral player at the federal level, the NEA connects the functioning of different sets of institutions (DiMaggio, 1988), creating a new system where it can push for changes in arts advocacy, arts funding, and public perception of the arts. Effective collective actions in the U.S. are often challenged by fragmented governmental authorities (Scholz et al., 2008). The new organizational forms created by the NEA, including ArtPlace America, the CIRD, and the MICD, are an inevitable part of an institutionalization project (DiMaggio, 1988). They function as brokers between the arts advocacy organizations and the various professional fields in the community development sector. This boundary-spanning action includes partners in the professional fields of community development as new constituencies of the U.S. cultural policy beyond the federal level. Among the new organizations, ArtPlace America played a crucial role in translating the federal CPM policy to local-level actions by connecting the arts to consulting/research organizations and financial institutions. The NEA's Endowment Grant programmes and Challenge Grant programme were developed to subsidize the income gap of arts organizations and stabilize their financial capacity (Wyszomirski, 2013). Because of its "reduced financial resources, decreased political support, and a diminished capacity to set field norms" (Wyszomirski, 2013, p. 159), the NEA lost its power of addressing macro-level cultural policy. Thus, it had to push arts organizations to find their way to financial sustainability. Through CPM policy and ArtPlace America, the NEA restored the connections with

foundations and banks for local arts organizations. With the support of the expanded arts coalition, the NEA then strengthened the agency's political legitimacy and public funding appropriation for the arts.

The NEA continues contextualizing artistic vitality (Wyszomirski, 2013) by allowing arts programmes 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 set by authoritative entities. This situated approach to "artistic vitality" organically connects to the public value at the centre of the CPM. The NEA expands and reveals the public value of the arts in a broad array of social and economic development issues by breaking the silos between the arts and the community development sector. The expanded stakeholders of the arts and the inclusive notion of artistic value aimed at creating public value allow for diversified approaches to financing and funding the arts. Funders of different types then provide diverse feedback to artists and arts organizations which allows the NEA and the nonprofit arts sector to correspondingly adjust their approaches to public value and artistic vitality. Therefore, The NEA exercised its institutional entrepreneurship through the governance strategies analyzed above to not only rebalance the triple-bottom-line. The new policy institution built through the CPM attempts to replace the competing relationship of the three parallel bottom lines with a virtuous cycle where public value, financial sustainability, and artistic vitality potentially achieve mutual reinforcement.

Notes

1. ArtPlace America sunsetted at the end of 2020.
2. As the CPM was announced as a ten-year partnership between the NEA and its national partners, some hyperlinks or organizations may not be captured or no longer exist by the time this article is reviewed and published.
3. Since ArtPlace America is a spinoff organization of the NEA specializing in CPM, it is counted as both a federal arms-length agency and an arts service nonprofit organization.
4. The budgets of the NEA and the ACHP in 2018 were $152.849 million and $13.32 million, respectively. The total budget of ArtPlace America in the last decade of its operation was $150 million.
5. In 1971, the name of the Architecture, Planning and Design Program was changed to Architecture and Environmental Arts Program.
6. Dr. Maria Rosario Jackson serves as the current NEA chairperson.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

References

Arroyo, K. K. (2017). Creative policymaking: Taking the lessons of creative placemaking toScale. *Activate*, *6*(2), 58–72. https://doi.org/10.1353/artv.2017.0000.
Axelrod, R., Axelrod, R. M., & Cohen, M. D. (2000). *Harnessing Complexity*. Basic Books.
Battilana, J., Leca, B., & Boxenbaum, E. (2009). 2   How actors change institutions: Towards a theory of institutional entrepreneurship. *Academy of Management Annals*, *3*(1), 65–107. https://doi.org/10.5465/19416520903053598
Balfe, J. H., & Wyszomirski, M. J. (1985). *Art, ideology and politics*. Greenwood Pub.

Beckert, J. (1999). Agency, entrepreneurs, and institutional change. The role of strategic choice and institutionalized practices in organizations. *Organization Studies*, *20*(5), 777–799. https://doi.org/10.1177/0170840699205004

Berardo, R., & Scholz, J. T. (2010). Self-Organizing policy networks: Risk, partner selection, and cooperation in estuaries. *American Journal of Political Science*, *54*(3), 632–649. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-5907.2010.00451.x

Börzel, T. A. (2011). Networks: Reified metaphor or governance panacea? *Public Administration*, *89*(1), 49–63. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9299.2011.01916.x

Burt, R. S. (2002). Bridge decay. *Social Networks*, *24*(4), 333–363.

Callanan, L. (2014). Foreword to community development investment review. *Community Development Investment Review*, *10*(2), 05–06.

Davenport, E., & Cronin, B. (2000). Knowledge management: Semantic drift or conceptual shift? *Journal of Education for Library and Information Science*, *41*(3), 294–306. https://doi.org/10.2307/40324047

DiMaggio, P. (1988). Interest and agency in institutional theory. In L. G. Zucker (Ed.), *Institutional Patterns and Organizations: Culture and Environment* (pp. 3–21). MA: Ballinger.

Dorado, S. (2005). Institutional entrepreneurship, partaking, and convening. *Organization Studies*, *26*(3), 385–414. https://doi.org/10.1177/0170840605050873

Elgin, D. J. (2015). Utilizing hyperlink network analysis to examine climate change supporters and opponents. *Review of Policy Research*, *32*(2), 226–245.

Environmental Protection Agency. (2021,: June 21). Statement by administrator regan on the president's FY 2022 budget. EPA. Retrieved May 29, 2022, from https://www.epa.gov/newsreleases/statement-administrator-regan-presidents-fy-2022-budget

Emirbayer, M., & Mische, A. (1998). What is agency? *American Journal of Sociology*, *103*(4), 962–1023. https://doi.org/10.1086/231294

Erickson, D., & Andrews, N. (2011). Partnerships among community development, public health, and health care could improve the well-being of low-income people. *Health Affairs*, *30*(11), 2056–2063. https://doi.org/10.1377/hlthaff.2011.0896

Flax-Clark, A. (2014, October 31). *Creative Placemaking: What it is and why It's Important for Communities*. The Aspen Institute. https://www.aspeninstitute.org/blog-posts/creative-placemaking-what-it-why-its-important-communities/

Frenette, A. (2017). The rise of creative placemaking: Cross-sector collaboration as cultural policy in the United States. *The Journal of Arts Management, Law, and Society*, *47*(5), 333–345. https://doi.org/10.1080/10632921.2017.1391727

Garud, R., Hardy, C., & Maguire, S. (2007). Institutional entrepreneurship as embedded agency: An introduction to the special issue. *Organization Studies*, *28*(7), 957–969. https://doi.org/10.1177/0170840607078958

Granovetter, M. S. (1973). The strength of weak ties. *American Journal of Sociology*, *78*(6), 1360–1380.

Guo, W. (2015). A Policy-change Perspective on "Creative Placemaking": The Role of the NEA in the American Arts and Culture-based Urban Revitalization from 1965 to 1995 [Master's thesis, Ohio State University]. Ohio: Electronic Theses and Dissertations Center. http://rave.ohiolink.edu/etdc/view?acc_num=osu1420480424.

Hanneman, R. A., & Riddle, M. (2005). *Introduction to Social Network Methods*. University of California.

Häussler, T. (2018). Heating up the debate? Measuring fragmentation and polarisation in a German climate change hyperlink network. *Social Networks*, *54*, 303–313.

Helco, H. (1978). Issue networks and the executive establishment. In A. King (Ed.), *The new American Political System* (pp. 87–124). American Enterprise Institute.

Hughes, G. (1989). Measuring the economic value of the arts. *Policy Studies*, *9*(3), 33–45. https://doi.org/10.1080/01442878908423524

Johansen, W. (2017). Understanding and practicing crisis consulting. *Journal of Communication Management*, *21*(2), 106–123. https://doi.org/10.1108/JCOM-12-2016-0104

Kresge Foundation. (2019). Mission, Money & Markets: Transforming communities through Creative Placemaking in diverse New Jersey cities. Kresge Foundation. Retrieved from https://kresge.org/

news-views/mission-money-markets-transformingcommunities-through-creative-placemaking-in-diverse-new-jersey-cities/.

Kitchener, M., Ng, T., Miller, N., & Harrington, C. (2005). Medicaid home and community-based services: National program trends. *Health Affairs*, *24*(1), 206–212. https://doi.org/10.1377/hlthaff.24.1.206

Kleinberg, J. M. (1999). Hubs, authorities, and communities. *ACM Computing Surveys*, *31*(4es), 5. https://doi.org/10.1145/345966.345982

Klijn, E. H., & Koppenjan, J. (2015). *Governance Networks in The Public Sector*. Routledge.

Lang, C. (2008). Civil rights versus "civic progress:" The St. Louis NAACP and the city charter fight, 1956-1957. *Journal of Urban History*, *34*(4), 609–638. https://doi.org/10.1177/0096144207313674

Leca, B., Gond, J. P., Déjean, F., & Huault, I. (2006, June). Institutional entrepreneurs as competing translators: a comparative study in an emerging activity. In *XVème Conférence Internationale de Management Stratégique (AIMS), Annecy/Genève* (pp. 13–16).

Maguire, S., Hardy, C., & Lawrence, T. B. (2004). Institutional entrepreneurship in emerging fields: HIV/AIDS treatment advocacy in Canada. *Academy of Management Journal*, *47*(5), 657–679. https://doi.org/10.5465/20159610

Markusen, A., & Gadwa, A. (2010). *Creative Placemaking*. National Endowment for the Arts.

McNutt, K. (2006). Research note: Do virtual policy networks matter? Tracing network structure online. *Canadian Journal of Political Science/Revue canadienne de science politique*, *39*(2), 391-405.

National Endowment for the Arts and National Council on the Arts. (1972). 1971 *annual report*. https://www.arts.gov/sites/default/files/NEA-Annual-Report-1971.pdf

National Endowment for the Arts and National Council on the Arts. (1972). 1972 *annual report*. https://www.arts.gov/about/publications/1972-annual-report

National Endowment for the Arts and National Council on the Arts. (1973). 1973 *annual report*. https://www.arts.gov/sites/default/files/NEA-Annual-Report-1973.pdf

Nicodemus, A. G. (2013). Fuzzy vibrancy: Creative placemaking as ascendant US cultural policy. *Cultural Trends*, *22*(3-4), 213–222. https://doi.org/10.1080/09548963.2013.817653

Palmer, J. W., Bailey, J. P., & Faraj, S. (2000). The role of intermediaries in the development of trust on the WWW: The use and prominence of trusted third parties and privacy statements. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, *5*(3). https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1083-6101.2000.tb00342.x.

Park, H. W. (2003). Hyperlink network analysis: A new method for the study of social structure on the web. *Connections*, *25*(1), 49–61. https://assets.noviams.com/novi-file-uploads/insna/Connections_Archive/2003__Volume_25__Issue_1.pdf

Reconnecting to Our Waterways. (n.d.). What is "creative placemaking"?. Americans for the Art. Retrieved May 30, 2022, from https://www.americansforthearts.org/sites/default/files/ROW-Creative-Placemaking-handout.doc.pdf

Redaelli, E. (2016). Creative placemaking and the NEA: Unpacking a multi-level governance. *Policy Studies*, *37*(4), 387–402. https://doi.org/10.1080/01442872.2016.1157857

Rhodes, R. A. (1997). *Understanding Governance: Policy Networks, Governance, Reflexivity and Accountability*. Open University.

Rogers, R., & Ben-David, A. (2010). Coming to terms: A conflict analysis of the usage, in official and unofficial sources, of 'security fence', 'apartheid wall', and other terms for the structure between Israel and the Palestinian territories. *Media, War & Conflict*, *3*(2), 202–229. https://doi.org/10.1177/1750635210363924

Scholz, J. T., Berardo, R., & Kile, B. (2008). Do networks solve collective action problems? Credibility, search, and collaboration. *The Journal of Politics*, *70*(2), 393–406. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022381608080389

Schupbach, J., & Ball, D. (2016). *How to do Creative Placemaking: An Action-Oriented Guide to Arts in Community Development*. National Endowment for the Arts.

Silveira, S. J. (2001). The American environmental movement: Surviving through diversity. *Boston College Environmental Affairs Law Review*, *28*(2), 497–532. https://lawdigitalcommons.bc.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1194&context=ealr

Taylor, F., & Barresi, A. L. (1984). Opening up the new frontier. In *The Arts at a New Frontier* (pp. 201–225). Boston, MA: Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4613-2731-8_5

Thatcher, M. (1998). The development of policy network analyses. *Journal of Theoretical Politics*, *10*(4), 389–416. https://doi.org/10.1177/0951692898010004002

Wyszomirski, M. J. (1995). Federal cultural support: Toward a new paradigm? *The Journal of Arts Management, Law, and Society*, *25*(1), 69–83. https://doi.org/10.1080/10632921.1995.9941788

Wyszomirski, M. J. (2008). Field building: The road to cultural policy studies in the United States. In J. M. Cherbo, R. A. Stewart, & M. J. Wyszomirski (Eds.), *Understanding the Arts and Creative Sector in the United States* (pp. 39–58). Rutgers University Press.

Wyszomirski, M. J. (2013). Shaping a triple-bottom line for nonprofit arts organizations: Micro-, macro-, and meta-policy influences. *Cultural Trends*, *22*(3-4), 156–166. https://doi.org/10.1080/09548963.2013.817645

Yi, H., & Scholz, J. T. (2016). Policy networks in complex governance subsystems: Observing and comparing hyperlink, media, and partnership networks. *Policy Studies Journal*, *44*(3), 248–279. https://doi.org/10.1111/psj.12141

Zitcer, A. (2020). Making up creative placemaking. *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, *40*(3), 278–288. doi:10.1177/0739456X18773424