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Spinning Straw into Gold: A Study of Resource Creation, Flow, and Conversion in a Nonprofit Collaboration

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SPINNING STRAW INTO GOLD: A STUDY OF RESOURCE CREATION,
FLOW, AND CONVERSION IN A NONPROFIT COLLABORATION

By

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Abstract

Throughout history people have joined together to improve their individual lives. In the modern era, organizations often work cooperatively to enhance their efficiency and effectiveness. Collaborating organizations in the nonprofit sector are increasingly expected to produce system-level change as well. This collective impact approach is under-theorized and therefore not consistently actionable. A central puzzle is how formal nonprofit collaborations acquire resource inputs and transform them into outputs, outcomes, and impact while producing financial returns to sustain the backbone organization. Resource dependence theory is sometimes proposed as an explanatory framework, yet it does not explain the generation of a double bottom line (simultaneous production of social and financial returns).

To address this gap in the literature, this study examined the role that resources play in a 501(c)3 collaboration of 29 arts and culture organizations in California. Using an informed grounded theory design with mixed methods of data collection and analysis, the investigation researched the anomaly of how a formal collaboration established in 2001 has been able to survive and grow when many similar organizations struggle financially. Through process tracing, the study identified resource inputs and documented their flow and transformation to discern the mechanisms of their mobilization and conversion. Process tracing was also used to assess seven rival hypotheses to explain the successful anomaly.

Findings indicate the collaboration deploys multiple forms of capital (financial, physical, human, relational, symbolic, and structural) and generates some of these forms itself. The mechanisms for this endogenous genesis are catalytic processes (especially

communicating, leading, connecting, learning, and investing) that activate and transform
the latent potential of tangible and intangible resources into productive forms to help
sustain the collaboration. Six of the rival hypotheses were found to be either partially or
not supported. The seventh, termed *resource interdependence theory*, was supported.
Six affiliated propositions are presented. Beyond these theoretical contributions, the
study systematically maps the currency of civil society, creating an actionable typology
to serve as a framework to guide the design of collective impact strategies and
philanthropic decision-making. The study suggests that the construct of capacity
building may be more usefully thought of as capital building.

Keywords: *collaboration, collective impact, resources, multiple capitals, philanthropy*

Dedication

To my sons, Mike and Brian.

Your love and thoughtful conversation inspire me.

To my mother, Gladys Hay (aka Nana).

Your guidance and love nurture me.

To my friend, Rory Ruppert.

Your brilliance continues to energize Balboa Park and my life.

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- The design of this research also benefited from the input of senior scholars from the Association for Research on Nonprofit Organizations and Voluntary Action (ARNOVA), the Academy of Management's Public and Nonprofit and Social Issues in Management divisions, and the West Coast Nonprofit Data Conference. I owe deep thanks to these organizations for creating formal and informal structures to support the development of emerging scholars.

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CHAPTER 1—OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

If you want to go fast, go alone.   If you want to go far, go together.
                                                                -- African proverb

For thousands of years people have joined together as a strategy to improve their individual lives. Whether through hunting parties, trade unions, or philanthropic giving circles, people have long understood that ambitious goals are more likely to be achieved when approached collectively. Joining tendencies are not limited to individuals. In the nonprofit sector, collaboration is increasingly encouraged as a means for organizations to increase their efficiency and effectiveness (Sowa, 2009). While businesses incentivize participation through economic rewards and government agencies have legal authority to compel action, nonprofit organizations rely on principles of voluntary participation and egalitarianism to attract involvement (Tschirhart & Gazley, 2014). Nonprofit organizations participate in collaborations to create mutual benefit that also frequently yield larger public benefits (Jenkins, 2006).

However, the mechanisms to explain the production of these synergistic benefits are not yet well understood (Guo & Acar, 2005; Knoke, 1986). This study explores such mechanisms, seeking to illuminate how resource investments in cooperative behavior produce public benefit outcomes that also benefit the participating organizations. In addition to making theoretical contributions, this investigation seeks to produce practical insights as to how financial sustainability of formal collaborations can be enhanced.

To provide context for the study, I briefly describe the case study and the phenomenon of interest (resource mobilization and conversion). Next, I outline the construct of nonprofit collaboration and some basic questions that remain unanswered in

the literature. I then describe the purpose of the study and the research questions this investigation seeks to answer. After a brief overview of the study's methodology, I discuss its significance and limitations. Key terms are operationalized throughout this paper. The chapter concludes with an introduction to chapters two and three, the literature review.

Background to the Study

This investigation develops a case study to describe how a formal nonprofit collaboration transformed resource inputs into outputs, outcomes, and collective impact. The case organization is the Balboa Park Cultural Partnership (BPCP), a formal collaboration of 29 arts and culture organizations in San Diego, California. BPCP has given permission to be named in this study. BPCP was established in 2001 to explore potential collaboration opportunities among geographically proximate nonprofit arts and culture organizations.

BPCP is governed by a board of directors consisting of the President/CEO or Executive Director of each of its 29 member organizations. Over the past 15 years, BPCP's budget has grown from $75,000 to $5 million. Initially, its operating inputs included member dues of approximately $125,000 annually, the structural capital of its formal collaboration, and operating grants of about $75,000 each year. BPCP has parlayed these inputs into $14.2 million in new funding (including the development of an earned income stream of $2.7 million annually); 8.9 million Kilowatt hours of energy and 6,631 metric tons of greenhouse gas emissions (GHGs) saved annually, generating $1.4 million in annual energy savings for BPCP's member organizations; $420,000 in annual group purchasing savings; 28,000 hours of learning for over 7,000 arts and culture

professionals, volunteers, and community members; and national visibility in the fields of museum studies, collaboration, and environmental sustainability. This study describes these processes of production, consumption, and exchange. Figure 1 illustrates the inputs and outputs under investigation

Figure 1. *The Phenomenon of Interest—Balboa Park Cultural Partnership's Transformation of Resource Inputs into Outcomes and Impact*
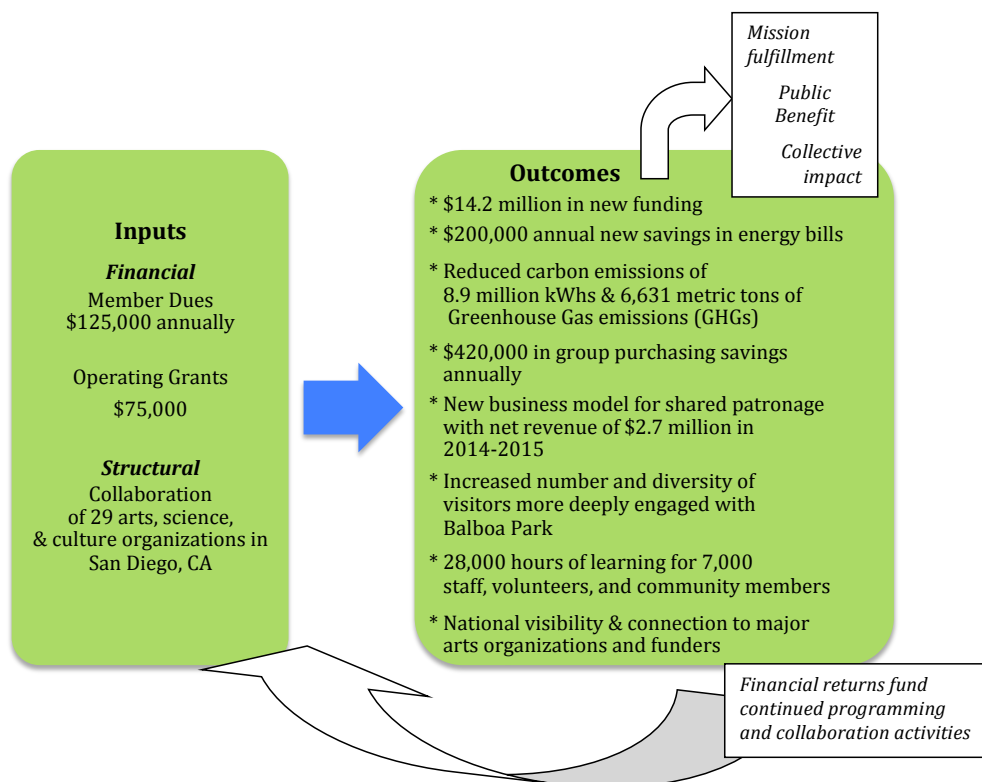
Figure 1. Illustration of the phenomenon under study, the transformation of resource inputs into outputs, outcomes, and impact in a formal nonprofit collaboration, 2001-2015.

Collaboration can be defined as ". . . the cooperative way that two or more entities work together toward a shared goal" (Frey, Lohmeier, Lee, & Tollefson, 2006, p. 384). *Nonprofit collaboration* is ". . . what occurs when different nonprofit organizations work together to address problems through joint effort, resources, and decision making and share ownership of the final product or service" (Guo & Acar, 2005, pp. 342-343).

Collaboration occurs in all sectors (public, private, nonprofit) and across sectors (e.g., private/public, public/nonprofit). Collaboration can take various forms, often characterized in terms of a continuum based on the degree of independence/ autonomy (Zajac & D'Aunno, 1993) or integration/formalization (Todeva & Knoke, 2005). For example, in one model the spectrum of potential interaction types spans from networking/ communication to cooperation, coordination, coalitions, collaboration, and coadunation (growing together, Frey et al., 2006). Murray's continuum (1998) ranges from sharing of information to joint program delivery, partnership, and merger. Chapter two describes these types of continua in greater detail, along with other synonyms sometimes used to describe collaboration (e.g., strategic alliance).

Problem Statement

Resource dependence theory (Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978) suggests that organizations will be successful to the extent they obtain and control resources from the external environment. This study responds to resource dependence theory and uses alliance/management literature to argue that looking at external resource acquisition alone is insufficient. Through process tracing I investigate how the formal collaboration created resources endogenously by activating latent forms of capital into productive forms. While previous research on the development and sustenance of strategic alliances has typically viewed collaborative resource deployment through a single conceptual perspective (particularly resource dependence, e.g., Arya & Lin, 2007), this study suggests that multiple theoretical viewpoints are needed. It considers resource dependence, transaction cost, institutionalism, and resource mobilization theories to examine the anomaly of a successful nonprofit strategic alliance.

Study Design, Methods, and Rationale

I propose that sustainable resource deployment in a collaborative context involves four aspects: (a) deployment of multiple forms of capital that represent that heterogeneous, embedded sources of potential value creation; (b) endogenous resource creation through activation and conversion of latent forms of capital; (c) mobilization, conversion, and recirculation of these various forms of capital, some which are monetized and recycled back to help sustain the organization; and (d) creation and return of positive externalities (e.g., public goods) that support replenishment of the organization's fitness landscape, the source of its exogenously secured capital resources.

As described in chapters two and three, there is no widely accepted theoretical framework to explain the process of resource flows in formal collaboration and how these resource transformations relate to the generation of collective impact. For example, how are philanthropic investments transformed into programs that produce mission fulfillment, financial returns to sustain both the backbone and member organizations, and collective impact (e.g., policy change, community wellbeing)? This study is designed to develop a description of those processes and transformations.

The design of this study is rooted in Informed Grounded Theory (Thornberg, 2012). Grounded theory is an inductive methodology employed in the social sciences to generate theory from systematic data collection and analysis. In contrast to the positivist tradition of analyzing data to test an existing theoretical framework, grounded theory seeks to build new theory by making sense of empirical data through the development of codes, concepts, and categories that emerge and form patterns from the data analysis process (Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

In the traditional understanding of grounded theory, a literature review is not conducted until data have been collected and analyzed to help the researcher keep an open-mind during the coding process (Glaser, 1992). In contrast, Informed Grounded Theory enables the researcher to benefit from a literature knowledge base while maintaining theoretical pluralism. Benefits associated with this methodology include ecological validity (the data and subsequent theory are tightly coupled to the context that produced them, Brewer, 2000), and the ability to develop sensitizing concepts from the literature to guide coding (Strauss & Corbin, 2014). Informed grounded theory also tends to produce novel, parsimonious insights that have practical application (Charmaz, 2003).

Research Questions

The study has been designed to answer three research questions:

1. How did a formal nonprofit collaboration of arts and culture organizations in San Diego, California find long-term success when most formal collaborations do not?

2. What types of resources are used in a formal 501(c)3 collaboration?

3. How, if at all, are these resources transformed into outputs, outcomes, collective impact, and financial returns to sustain the collaboration?

This study seeks to explain the anomaly of how a formal collaboration in existence for over a decade has been able to remain viable when many similar collaborative organizations struggle financially.

Study Methods

As explained in Chapter four, this study employs purposeful intensity sampling to select and analyze a case where the phenomenon of interest (resource mobilization and

conversion in a formal nonprofit collaboration) can be studied in a setting with high likelihood that the phenomenon will be found (Patton, 2002). Yin (2009) suggests that a case study approach is ideally suited for exploratory studies seeking to understand "how and why" questions of phenomena not well understood. In contrast to a holistic case study approach where the entire organization is examined, this research employs an embedded case study design that focuses on two units of analysis: (1) the organization and (2) the resources it deploys. Chapter four explains the rationale for this embedded study approach.

Design Rationale

This investigation empirically documents the phenomenon of resource mobilization and transformation in a formal collaboration (BPCP) and its 29 member organizations, examining both tangible and intangible resources. It seeks to advance both theoretical understanding (e.g., mechanisms of resource mobilization and conversion) and practical understanding (insights into potential strategies to enhance the effectiveness and sustainability of formal nonprofit collaborations). A mixed-methods approach was selected to obtain multiple sources of data that establish a chain of evidence to support findings (Yin, 1998). Because of the exploratory nature of the investigation (e.g., little is known about the phenomenon of resource deployment and conversion in a formal collaboration), qualitative research is an appropriate methodology (Patton, 2002).

Qualitative data collection includes 16 interviews with a variety of stakeholders (including BPCP staff, board members, philanthropic funders, and government and corporate partners) and analysis of documents, archival records, and physical artifacts. The study also examined financial records such as 990 tax returns to develop a

quantitative description of BPCP's activities. The combined use of quantitative and qualitative data sources produced a robust depiction of resources in the collaboration along with processes that mobilize these resources. Chapter four provides more detailed information about the study's methodology, including analysis and coding methods. The selection of a case study approach and the three research questions position this study to produce the following answers:

Question one. The first question, *how did a formal nonprofit collaboration of arts and culture organizations in San Diego, California find long-term success,* will explain an apparent anomaly. As described in chapters two and three, formal collaboration is difficult to sustain, often because of resource insufficiency (Guo & Acar, 2005). This study sheds light on the resource processes that affect financial sustainability and mission fulfillment in a formally incorporated 501(c)3 collaboration.

Question two. The second question, *what types of resources are used by a 501(c)3 collaboration*, will provide a systematic documentation of the various types of resources, both tangible and intangible, used by a formal nonprofit collaboration in its operations and mission production. The literature currently focuses on financial resources as the primary drivers of financial sustainability. This study broadens that scope to consider other types of resources that contribute to the long-term success of a collaboration. Resources are the primary focus of this investigation. They include both tangible (land, money, physical plant) and intangible forms (relationships, reputation, knowledge, and organizational culture). Chapter three provides a detailed review of the various types of resources being investigated.

Question three. The third question, *how, if at all, are these resources transformed into outputs, outcomes, collective impact, and financial returns that help sustain the collaboration*, will help identify key points in the resource flow process within the collaboration. The use of process tracing documents these resources' acquisition, exchange, expenditure, and fungibility, in the spirit of Bourdieu (1985) who argued that capital comes in multiple types that can change forms to produce systemic effects.

Significance

This study provides empirical evidence that an organization can create new resources endogenously. This calls into question the assumptions of resource dependence theory, suggesting instead economic capacity for resource regeneration and recirculation. Second, it answers the puzzle of how an organization can simultaneously achieve market returns and social returns (described in detail in chapter eight). This study also offers practical insights as to how multiple types of capitals can be mobilized and converted to generate outputs, outcomes, and monetization that helps sustain the collaboration, suggesting novel approaches to explain and enact capitalization of nonprofit organizations. By interviewing leaders, the study also generates insights about the role that leadership plays in enhancing financial sustainability in formal collaborations. From a practitioner standpoint, the study suggests that reframing capacity building as capital building may be fruitful.

Limitations

Because of its small size, exploratory nature, regional focus, and purposeful sampling from a single subsector (arts and culture), the external validity and

generalizability of this investigation are limited. Even so, some of the findings can generalize to theory (Donmoyer, 1990; Yin, 2014). Among the greatest limitations of this study is that the data were collected retrospectively, relying on archival documents, BPCP record-keeping, and the memories and perceptions of interview participants. Thus the data is subject to selectivity bias (conscious or unconscious), memory lapses, and other cognitive errors associated with retrospection. Conducting a follow up study with a similar case using participant observation methods could provide evidentiary support for (or not) the generalizability of the findings.

Additionally, while I use the term typology to describe the conceptual framework of multiple capitals, I recognize that a true typology meets rigorous criteria outlined by Doty & Glick (1994). It is my hope that the systematic classification of capital I drafted in this study can evolve into a formal typology in the future, from which constructs and their components can be developed for subsequent modeling and prediction. Finally, the largest limitation is a double-edged sword: my positionality. As a former employee at the organization under study there certainly exists a potential for bias. I tried to mitigate this potential through a variety of strategies including the use of mixed methods, member checking, interviewing people who did not agree with some of BPCP's actions, and triangulating data from a number of sources and theoretical perspectives. I encourage the reader to consider the potential for bias when reading the next few chapters. At the same time, my positionality gave me access to perspectives and documents that other researchers would have been unlikely to get.

Delimitations

Due to time and budget constraints, I made distinct choices to narrow the scope of this investigation. First, I studied only a single formal collaboration in one city. Future studies should look at other locales and subsectors, perhaps employing a cross-case design that includes multiple locations. I also did not look at large-scale collective impact initiatives that involved stakeholders from multiple sectors (public, private, and nonprofit). Additionally, this study did not engage board members or other volunteers of BPCP's member organizations. This is an important set of stakeholder perspectives that merits future investigation. That data collection might include a survey or social network analysis mapping among other methods. I also delimited the study by focusing the literature review on studies conducted in the United States rather than third sector organizations in other countries. While operating environments abroad are somewhat different due to dissimilar government funding models for arts and culture organizations, future studies would make a great contribution by incorporating this literature into their investigations.

Summary

Collaboration is increasingly encouraged in the nonprofit sector, yet resource insufficiency and other factors makes it challenging for organizations to sustain formal collaboration. This case study systematically investigates a formal collaboration that has been in existence for 15 years, examining how resources are mobilized and converted in a formal 501(c)3 collaboration of nonprofit arts and culture organizations in the southwestern United States. Its purpose is to advance understanding of the role that resources play in financial sustainability in a formal collaboration, explaining factors and

processes that make this collaboration viable when so many others have struggled. Using mixed methods data collection, process tracing, and informed grounded theory to make sense of the data, the study seeks to describe the mechanisms of resource mobilization and sustainability in a nonprofit collaborative context. The next two chapters provide an overview of this context, reviewing the literature on collective action, nonprofit collaboration, the various types of resources used by organizations, and qualities of these tangible and intangible resources.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW: THE LANDSCAPE OF COLLECTIVE ACTION

This chapter reviews the literature on nonprofit collaboration, particularly

theoretical underpinnings and conceptual models operationalized in practice. Its goal is

to provide context and generate insights that inform the design of this study. The chapter

is divided into three sections. First, I briefly review the literature on collective action (a

theoretical perspective that undergirds much of the literature on collaboration) and

collective impact (an emerging approach to collaboration increasingly embraced by

philanthropists and nonprofit practitioners). I then review the literature on collaboration,

focusing on studies that have produced empirical data on the prevalence and various

forms of collaboration and the benefits and challenges of collaboration. The chapter

concludes with a summary that sets the stage for chapter three, a literature review of the

types of resources used by collaborating organizations.

Collective Action and Collective Impact

Because the topic of collective action has been written about extensively, this

review focuses on seminal literature that serves as the foundation for most subsequent

studies, as well as literature that outlines current puzzles around collective action and

impact.

Collective Action

The study of collective action gained widespread visibility with the 1965

publication of Mancur Olson's *The Logic of Collective Action*. This study uses the

definition of *collective action* as the combined efforts of two or more individuals or

agents (e.g., organizations) to accomplish a desired outcome that a single entity could

not produce on its own (Olson, 2002; Sandler, 2015). Over the years, scholars have taken

diverse approaches to defining and investigating this phenomenon, including a political

economy, social identity, and relational perspective.

    Political economy perspective. Olson's political economy approach sought to

explain why individuals join together to produce public goods through cooperation. He

noted that while individuals can achieve ambitious goals collectively by pooling their

resources, these achievements often come at the expense of personal autonomy and

control of resources (Coleman, 1973). Olson's research (2002) asserts that individual

rationality is not sufficient to produce collective rationality because individual agents

may pursue self-interested actions that do not advance the collective interest of the group

(Sandler, 2015). This can create a *free rider* problem where people benefit from the

collective effort but do not contribute their resources to support its achievement (Olson,

2002). Olson's arguments sharply contrast with Adam Smith's proposition of the

invisible hand (1776) which asserts the pursuit of individual self-interest in competitive

markets will lead to the production of collective well-being (Sandler, 2015).

    Olson's work focuses on the production of public goods, the commons, and

externalities (Sandler, 2015). *Public goods* are goods where individual consumption

leaves no less for others' consumption (Samuelson, 1954). *The commons* are depletable

(subtractable) resources held by all members of a society rather than being privately

owned (Ostrom, 1990). *Externalities* are situations where the production or consumption

of goods or services imposes costs or benefits onto others but are not reflected in the

prices charged (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2007).

These three situations can be viewed as instances of market-failure (Sandler, 2015). *Market failure* results when individual pursuit of self-interested material gains prevents efficient or sufficient production. Because the positive externalities of public goods (e.g., national defense, safe neighborhoods) are not remunerated, private organizations have no incentive to produce these goods voluntarily (Samuelson, 1954). Further, public goods are nonrivalrous and nonexcludable. *Nonrivalry* occurs when the consumption of a good does not leave less for others. An example is a ship benefiting from a lighthouse—its use does not leave less light for other ships. *Nonexcludability* results when sellers are unable to exclude non-buyers from using their products. An example is public television. People can enjoy shows on these stations even if they have not helped fund their broadcast. Nonrivalrous and nonexcludable qualities make it difficult to offer public goods in a market context because all participants automatically benefit whether or not they contribute resources toward the costs of production.

Olson (2002) identified three primary variables as affecting the effective production of collective action: the size of the group, the composition of the group, and institutional factors. He asserts that smaller groups have an easier time producing collective action than larger groups, that smaller groups are less subject to the problem of free riding, and that larger groups suffer more from inefficiency. Group composition, particularly in terms of resources and similarities/differences, is also an important variable. Olson argues that individuals with more resources will be forced to contribute more toward the production of collective action than the poorer members who will try to engage in free riding due to their limited resources (2002). Additionally, homogeneous groups will be more likely to form than heterogeneous groups, but the latter are more

likely to achieve some degree of collective action. Finally, institutional factors also affect the production of collective action. These include offering incentives that foster individual gains and selecting appropriate institutional designs, e.g., federated structures such as a national office with local chapters (Olson, 2002; Sandler, 2015).

Subsequent studies have sought to explain why a person would voluntarily give up control of their personal resources to contribute toward provision of a collective good. Knoke and Prensky (1984) suggest that while firms in the private sector employ market incentives to induce cooperation and government agencies compel cooperation through taxation and regulation, social movements rely on voluntary association and contribution of resource inputs from a large base of supporters to achieve desired collective action that would be beyond the capacity of a single person to produce alone.

These resource inputs can take many forms, including money, in-kind services, time, and emotional commitment (Knoke & Prensky, 1984). An organization allocates these acquired resources for three types of collective action strategies: (1) to provide direct tangible services to benefit its members; (2) to legitimize itself through communications and publicity; and (3) to advocate through political efforts to impact public policy (Knoke 1985, 1986). The benefits produced by these actions then become motivations for continued involvement by the participants (Knoke, 1988).

Knoke's empirical investigation (1988) used data from the National Association Study of the political economies of American collective-action organizations and employed a three-stage sampling procedure, including a stratified sample of U.S. national mass membership organizations randomly selected from a master list, telephone interviews of organizational leaders, and mailing questionnaires to samples of each

association's members. His analysis found that members' decisions about their ongoing involvement in collective action organizations were based on incentives. Incentives result in more highly committed members who contribute more time and money, but the incentives must be closely related to the members' particular type of interest in the organization. He found these interests broadly fall into six categories including interpersonal/social benefits, the ability to influence public policy, and prestige/enhanced status (Knoke, 1988).

Criticisms of the political economy perspective. Knoke's findings call into question Olson's assumption of rational choice and self-interest as the primary motivations for the production of collective action. Knoke's analysis found that benefits that accrued primarily only to the member (e.g., prestige) tended to attract more apathetic members, while normative inducements (e.g., a sense of equity, fairness, and altruism) generated more engaged participants. He concludes that "In this study, members of all types of associations seem willing to engage in 'sacrificial' actions whose results may well benefit others more than themselves . . . a large majority of members who participated in lobbying efforts also acknowledged that 'contributing one's share to the organization is the fair and equitable thing to do'" (Knoke, 1988, p. 326). In sum, his investigation found that values and norms were powerful forces that guided the collective action decisions of individuals.

In a similar vein, Ostrom's *Governing the Commons: The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action* (1990) challenged assumptions of the superiority of the market as a mechanism to resolve problems associated with shared resources like pastures and aquifers. Such problems are not purely a public goods dilemma because common pool

resources are subtractable (as opposed to nonrivalrous). They face problems of congestion and overuse because one user's use affects the other users. Ostrom's work was a rebuttal to arguments popularly known as the Tragedy of the Commons (Lloyd, 1833; Hardin, 1968). Those authors argued that a shared resource enjoyed by individual users acting independently and rationally to advance their own self-interests would eventually be depleted, producing a result contrary to the common good of all users (including their own). Hardin saw only two potential resolutions to this dilemma: either the privatization of common pool resources or government regulation.

However, Ostrom's empirical studies (1990) at sites around the world (e.g., Switzerland, Kenya, Guatemala, Nepal, Turkey, and the United States) countered Hardin's argument. Her data showed that many communities successfully manage their common pool resources without resorting to privatization or government intervention. She identified eight principles shared by each of these success stories, including: (1) clearly defined boundaries as to what constitutes the common resource and who holds rights to use the resource; (2) rules that govern the use of the resource are attuned to local conditions and norms; (3) participatory decision making—those affected by the rules have a say in decisions made about the resource; (4) local rules are respected by outside authorities; (5) locally accountable community members effectively monitor the resource; (6) the use of graduated sanctions to reign in rule violators; (7) inexpensive and convenient mechanisms for resolving disputes; and (8) for larger, connected systems of common pool resources, a governance structure using nested layers that prioritizes the base level of smaller local resources.

Alternatives to the political economy perspective. While the political economy approach to studying collective action dominates discussions in the literature, other approaches exist. Two of these include the social identity and relational models.

Social identity theory. This theory asserts that actors seek to produce and nurture positive social identities through their group associations (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). When a group has low status, this theory suggests three variables will affect the ability of the group to produce collective action to improve their conditions: porousness of group boundaries, legitimacy, and stability of relationships (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Van Zomeren, Postmes, and Spears' (2008) conducted three meta-analyses to examine perceived effects of the socio-psychological constructs of *injustice*, *efficacy*, and *identity* on collective action. Their results showed that all three variables had medium-sized and causal effects. Further, the variables showed capacity to predict collective action. Findings suggest that (a) a sense of affective (vs. non-affective) injustice and politicized identity produced stronger effects; (b) *identity* predicted collective action against incidental and structural disadvantages, while *injustice* and *efficacy* predicted collective action against incidental disadvantages; and (c) *identity* served as a bridge between the *injustice* and *efficacy* explanations of collective action.

However, three other studies (Thomas, Maver, & McGarty, 2011) posit reverse or bidirectional causation, i.e., that the production of collective action informs perceived injustice, efficacy, and identity. Their analyses of three samples (n = 305) used multi-group structural equation modeling to analyze social identity processes in a collective action context. Their results suggest that social identity is bi-directional: it can both cause, and be caused by, these multiple variables.

Relational perspectives. This model examines collective action through the lens of network embeddedness, positing that specific relational contexts are conducive to participation in, and effectiveness of, collective action (Diani, 2003). Much of the literature on collaboration discusses joint action in terms of *collaborative networks* (organizations embedded in social networks, Granovetter, 1985). This perspective sees social movements as rich sources of cultural innovation that can lead to new organizational forms and social transformation (Rao, Morrill, & Zald, 2000).

These authors present case examples from diverse fields such as healthcare HMOs, craft brewing, and nonprofit organizations. They argue that beyond technology advances or transaction cost explanations, a relational perspective is useful for explaining how organizational forms can be restructured; how normative influences like values and ideology influence this restructuring through political processes; and how participants in collective action help develop new practices and mobilize resources that sustain and legitimize these new organizational forms (Rao, Morrill, & Zald, 2000).

The above discussion provides an overview of three approaches to studying collective action. These approaches include a political economy perspective that focuses on resources and power, a social identity model focused on identity formation through self understanding and group membership, and a relational model focused on networks that lead to innovation and evolved organizational forms. Each model offers insights that advance understanding of how and why collective action occurs. However, for a practitioner, the problem centers on strategy and decision making: what should I (we) do to advance my (our) goals?

Strategizing for collective action. Game theory is a common approach used to explore the problem space of strategic rational choice (Dixit, Skeath, & Reiley, 2009). Holzinger (2003) employed game theory to create a typology of social dilemmas and identify the appropriate solution approach for each. Her findings extend the work of Zurn (1992) who identified four types of games that represent challenging situations for collective action. Holzinger develops a complete mapping using distinctions such as zero-sum/non-zero-sum games (von Neumann & Morgenstern, 1943); Nash equilibria (1951) where two or more players do not work cooperatively, know each others' strategies, and do not gain advantage by changing their own strategy; and prisoners' dilemmas. Factors that contribute to the complexity of problems include number of players, number of strategies, imperfect information, repeated interactions, and changing players mid-game.

The seven categories of dilemmas in Holzinger's typology are (1) *harmony*, where there is no conflict among players in valuing outcomes nor inequality of the payoffs; (2) *mere distribution problems* which do not present coordination, stability, and welfare dilemmas; (3) *pure conflict problems* that pose only problems of distribution because they inevitably entail inequality between the players; (4) *defection problems* that arise from a conflict between individual and collective rationality; (5) *coordination problems* that do not result in inequality but require players to coordinate strategies; (6) *disagreement problems* which do not pose collective welfare challenges but do pose coordination and distribution issues; and (7) *instability problems* that typically involve some degree of conflict as rational players seek to prevent the intersection of their strategies through intentional dis-coordination.

Of these seven types of problems, all pose collective action challenges except *harmony* and *pure conflict*. Holzinger (2003) identifies four categories of mechanisms to approach the remaining five types of collective action problems. These include (1) individual solutions based on actor motivations, e.g., norms such as altruism, equity, fairness, and *pacta sunt servanda* ("agreements must be kept", a fundamental principle of civil, international, and contract law); (2) individual solutions based on actors' rational expectations (e.g., the use of mixed strategies, social conventions, sequential play, and finite/infinite repetition); (3) collective solutions (decision making mechanisms, coordinated communication, bargaining, and voting); and (4) coercive solutions (enforcement mechanisms such as enforceable contracts, hierarchically established and enforced rules, monitoring, and sanctioning).

Based on her typology of dilemmas and four categories of mechanisms for solving collective action problems, Holzinger (2003) boils collective action problems down to two types. The first type represents problems of coordination. She claims these problems can be resolved by a variety of mechanisms at the individual level by employing rational expectations. When dealing with large groups, however, the use of political mechanisms may be more efficient. The second problem type involves conflict (e.g., disagreement, distribution, defection, and instability). These problems can best be addressed through collective and coercive mechanisms. In problems of disagreement it may be possible for groups to develop self-enforcing agreements, reminiscent of those discussed in Ostrom's studies. Holzinger notes that in small groups with high degrees of altruism or a strong sense of norm-guided action, coercion is often not necessary.

However, for the other three types of collective action problems, coercion is typically necessary through political mechanisms.

Collective Impact

While scholars have focused on developing theories to explain the phenomenon of collective action, and some, like Holzinger (2003), have employed scholarship to create decision making heuristics, practitioners have concentrated on developing actionable frameworks to guide them toward effective production of joint action. Among such frameworks, perhaps the best known is the collective impact model developed by the FSG consulting group. Kania & Kramer (2011) define *collective impact* as "the commitment of a group of important actors from different sectors to a common agenda for solving a specific social problem" (p. 36). They maintain that it involves more than collaboration. Rather, it is a systematic, cross-sector approach to solving large-scale social and environmental problems.

The framework was developed to overcome what Kania & Kramer (2011) describe as *isolated impact*, the tendency of social sector organizations to support individual projects that do not promote coordinated actions in complex situations with many interdependencies. The collective impact model has five core aspects: (1) the development of a formal organizational infrastructure (a backbone organization) that employs professional staff; (2) an intentional process to create a shared agenda; (3) common measurement processes; (4) regular communication, and (5) alignment of participants' activities to be mutually reinforcing (Kania & Kramer, 2011).

As an emerging model the collective impact approach has yet to be systematically and empirically tested (Kania & Kramer, 2011). Instead, evidence of its efficacy is

anecdotal, suggested through various case studies of sites that have either used this model intentionally or have intuitively employed its tenets (e.g., Bloch, 2012; Easterling, 2013; Jolin, Schmitz, & Seldon, 2012; Kania & Kramer, 2013; Peterson & Balluff, 2014; Ridini, Sprong, & Foley, 2013; Stewart, 2013). Cases of success are also documented in a variety of articles in the grey literature (e.g., Kania & Kramer, 2013; Hanleybrown, Kania, & Kramer, 2012; The White House Council for Community Solutions, n.d.) and popular press (Pittman, 2014; Blank, 2011).

The collective impact framework has gained significant traction in the philanthropic community despite the lack of an empirically tested base of evidence. A brief web search found a variety of grantmaking organizations discussing collective impact, including Grantmakers for Effective Organizations, Council of Michigan Foundations, Northern California Grantmakers, Southern California Grantmakers, North Carolina Grantmakers, and the Rockefeller Foundation (Grantmakers Collective Impact, 2016). The Aspen Institute and FSG also collaboratively host a Collective Impact Forum website to bring together funders and collective impact collaboratives around the United States. Seventeen collaboratives are featured in its initiatives directory (Collective Impact Forum, 2014).

Criticisms of the collective impact model have also been raised. *The Chronicle of Philanthropy* listed it as one of philanthropy's top 10 buzzwords in 2011 (Bernholz, 2011). Emmett Carson, CEO of the Silicon Valley Foundation, views the framework as problematic for several reasons, including that it calls for: (1) funders to invest without knowing the specific activities that might emerge from the group, potentially breeching their legal and fiduciary duties by supporting projects that may at some point run counter

to their missions and bylaws; (2) long-term financial commitments in a project that may ultimately go nowhere if the multiple stakeholder viewpoints cannot be reconciled into a shared vision; (3) commitment to a unified vision that may threaten diversity of voices and values; and (4) widespread adoption of the model without a strong base of evidence to support its efficacy (Carson, 2012a, 2012b).

As will be explained in chapter four, this study has been designed in part to potentially bridge this evidence gap. Its empirical data collection, analysis, and interpretation seek to weave grand theory (collective action), middle range theory (Ostrom's *Governing the Commons* model)*, practice (the collective impact framework), and scholarly literature on collaboration (discussed below) and resources (discussed in chapter three) into new insights that emerge from an informed grounded theory approach.

Collaboration in Nonprofit Organizations

This section discusses scholarship on the prevalence of collaboration in nonprofit organizations, the various forms of collaboration, benefits and challenges of collaboration, and critical factors for success in collaboration.

Prevalence of Collaboration in the Nonprofit Sector

Nonprofit collaboration is ". . . what occurs when different nonprofit organizations work together to address problems through joint effort, resources, and decision making and share ownership of the final product or service" (Guo & Acar, 2005, pp. 342-343). A review of the literature could find no definitive statistics (e.g., number or percentages) of nonprofits that participate in collaboration. The following studies are provided as snapshots of the scope of collaboration among nonprofit organizations in the United States.

In 2014, The Bridgespan Group and The Lodestar Foundation (Neuhoff, Milway, Kiernan, & Grehan, 2014) conducted a joint study of nonprofit CEOs and foundation program officers. This study found that among 237 nonprofit CEO respondents, 91 percent said they had experience working in one of four types of collaborative environments (associations, joint programs, shared support functions, or mergers). Regarding likelihood of future participation in collaborations, 93 percent stated they expected to collaborate even more in 2015. Of the 101 responding funders, 84 percent reported they support at least one collaboration among their grantees (Neuhoff, Milway, Kiernan, & Grehan, 2014). Limitations of this study include its convenience sampling methodology and low response rate. The researchers garnered 237 responses from requests sent out to more than 9,000 members of The Bridgespan Group's CEO LinkedIn group (a 2.6% response rate). Among foundation officers surveyed through Grantmakers for Effective Organizations' listserv of 4,000 organizations, 101 responses were received (about a 2.5% response rate). Despite these limitations, the survey is one of the few to provide quantified data about the scope of collaborative behavior in the nonprofit sector in the United States.

A second data source I consulted to assess the scope of collaboration of the nonprofit sector in the United States is the annual State of the Sector survey conducted by the Nonprofit Finance Fund. Out of 5,451 responding organizations, 51% (n=2,776) reported collaborating with other organizations in 2014 to improve or increase services they offer, with 53% reporting they plan to collaborate in 2015 (Nonprofit Finance Fund, 2015). The survey was developed and administered by the Nonprofit Finance Fund, seeking to engage senior leaders in all active U.S. 501(c) 3 organizations. Survey

promotion was conducted in partnership with other nonprofit organizations and included

outreach through emails to past respondents, notices sent to constituents by partner

organizations, and social media promotion. Of the 6,270 responses received, 819 were

deemed incomplete and not included in the analysis. Additionally, the data were self-

reported and may represent probable voluntary response bias since only organizations

that heard about the survey and took initiative to respond are represented. Because the

survey is not a random sample it may not accurately portray the state of the nonprofit

sector as a whole (Nonprofit Finance Fund, 2015).

In a study of cross-sector collaboration, Gazley & Brudney (2007) found that

among 311 city and county chief administrative officers in Georgia who responded to

their survey, 54.3% (n=163) stated they collaborate with at least one nonprofit

organization beyond mere contracting or grantmaking (2007). Among 285 Georgia

nonprofit executives who responded, 49.8% (n=119) reported they collaborate with local

government agencies. While difficult to ascertain the complete extent of collaboration

among nonprofit organizations in the United States, the data sources discussed above

suggest that collaboration is a prevalent and potentially growing practice. The next

sections explore why this might be, reviewing literature on types of collaboration and the

benefits and challenges of collaboration.

Types of Collaboration

The word collaboration is a common term in the nonprofit sector. However,

collaboration takes many forms and as such can mean different things to different people.

To avoid confusion scholars often describe collaboration as occurring along a continuum,

typically based on the degree of independence/autonomy (Zajac & D'Aunno, 1993) or

integration/formalization (Todeva & Knoke, 2005). The specific form chosen for a partnership's structure is usually based on the desire to realize greater control, increase operational flexibility, and optimize market potential (Todeva & Knoke, 2005).

Guo & Acar (2005) distinguish between two types of collaboration, informal and formal. Activities associated with informal collaboration include the sharing of information and office space, referral of clients, and sharing management service organizations. Formal collaboration can involve joint programming, joint ventures, mergers, and the formation of parent/subsidiary organizations. Their study of 376 randomly sampled 501(c)3 nonprofit organizations in Los Angeles looked at the impact that nine independent variables (resource sufficiency, diversity of government funding streams, organizational age, board size, board linkages, and four subsector/industry types—social and legal services, education and research, health services, and arts and culture) had on the dependent variable of *form of collaboration* (a binary variable of informal/formal).

Of the 376 surveys they sent out, 97 were returned, representing a 25.8% response rate. Information sharing was found to be the most common type of collaboration activity (84% of responding organizations reported having participated in this form of cooperation in the past three years). Client referral and joint programming tied for the second most common activity (57%). Data analysis found that organizations that are older, have a larger budget size, receive government funding, rely on fewer public funding streams, have more board linkages with other nonprofits, and are not operating in the education/research or social services industries are more likely to increase the formality of their collaborative activities (Guo & Acar, 2005).

Another model developed by Frey, Lohmeier, Lee, & Tollefson (2006) describes a spectrum of potential interaction types, moving from networking/ communication to cooperation, coordination, coalitions, collaboration, and coadunation (growing together). Additionally, Murray's continuum (1998) ranges from sharing of information to joint program delivery, partnership, and merger. Practitioners further discuss collaboration as existing along a continuum. La Piana Consulting (2016) created *The Collaborative Map* to illustrate the variety of ways that organizations can work together to achieve a shared goal. Portrayed graphically, its map resembles a bullseye with three rings. The outer ring reflects coordinated actions (e.g., joint advocacy, learning, and networking). These actions can happen either informally or formally and either on a short-term or long-term basis. The middle ring describes alliances, organizational forms with more structured and formalized partnerships. Alliances can be divided into two sub-types: operational (e.g., programming, administration, back office functions) and collective impact (working collectively to advance a shared social change agenda) through forms such as associations, consortia, coalitions, and affinity groups. The inner ring reflects strategic restructuring options (e.g., the formation of joint venture corporations, subsidiaries, and merger or acquisitions) that change or re-create governance and legal status (e.g., a new 501(c)3) (La Piana Consulting, 2016).

Cross-sector collaboration. Nonprofit organizations sometimes participate in cross-sector collaborations that include public agencies and/or private sector firms. In a public administration context, Bryson, Crosby, & Stone (2006) define *cross-sector collaboration* as ". . . the linking or sharing of information, resources, activities, and capabilities by organizations in two or more sectors to achieve jointly an outcome that

could not be achieved by organizations in one sector separately" (p. 44). They support

Moore's position (1995) that the purpose of public-nonprofit cross-sector collaboratives

is to generate *public value,* the creation of consensus about: (1) the rights and benefits to

which citizens should/should not be entitled; (2) the responsibilities that citizens have to

their society, state, and each other; and (3) the principles on which government and

policy should be based (Bozeman, 2007). Further, in contrast to earlier public

management philosophies that prioritized efficiency and effectiveness, cross-sector

collaboration should focus on the creation of public value to ensure that the public's

values and priorities are enacted to foster what is good for the public (Bryson, Crosby, &

Bloomberg, 2014).

For cross-sector partnerships between nonprofit organizations and businesses,

Austin (2000) and Austin & Seitanidi (2012a, 2012b) developed a four-stage

collaboration continuum based on the characteristics and functions they observed in their

studies of inter-organizational collaboration. The four stages in their model include (1)

philanthropic (a unilateral transfer of resources between a charitable corporate donor and

a nonprofit recipient); (2) *transactional* (reciprocal exchanges such as sponsorships and

cause-related marketing where both parties benefit); (3) *integrative* (the intertwining of

missions, values, personnel to co-create value), and (4) *transformational* (integration and

convergence that also produces social transformation).

The stages are differentiated by 14 forms of interaction and their intensity: (1)

level of engagement (from low to high); (2) *importance to mission* (peripheral to central);

(3) *magnitude of resources* (small to big); (4) *types of resources* (money to core

competencies); (5) *scope of activities* (narrow to broad); (6) *interaction level* (infrequent to intensive); (7) *trust* (modest to deep) (8) *internal exchange* (minimal to great); (9) *managerial complexity* (simple to complex); (10) *strategic value* (minor to major); (11) *co-creation of value* (sole to conjoined); (12) *synergistic value* (occasional to predominant); (13) *innovation* (seldom to frequent); and (14) *external system change* (rare to common). Austin & Seitanidi (2012a, 2012b) also see collaborative value as being produced on three levels: the micro (individual), meso (organizational), and macro (social).

As the literature described above suggests, collaboration takes many forms, raning from informal information sharing to complete integration through mergers. This study focuses on formal collaboration. The next section discusses what might lead an organization to invest resources in formalizing its cooperative relationships with other organizations.

Benefits and Challenges of Collaboration

Benefits. A review of the literature on collaboration in a public and nonprofit context (Clay, 2010) identified several benefits that organizations achieve through collaboration. These include: (a) addressing unmet needs and/or escalating community needs; (b) expanding the range of services and organizational reach; (c) improving the quality of services and programs; (d) developing a stronger and more effective "voice"; (e) improving programmatic outcomes; (f) serving more/different clients; (g) attracting and retaining high quality staff; (h) achieving administrative efficiencies; (i) maximizing financial resources; (j) reducing risk or achieving scale that enhances capacity to take on and manage risk; and (k) to leveraging complementary strengths and assets. These

benefits were similar to those listed by nonprofit organizations participating in the Nonprofit Collaboration Database (Foundation Center, 2016).

In addition to realizing anticipated benefits, Gazley & Brudney's study (2007) suggests that unexpected benefits also result from public sector-nonprofit partnerships. Positive outcomes include improved levels and quality of service, greater citizen satisfaction and trust, and an enhanced ability to secure new resources. Similarly, Bryson, Crosby, & Stone (2006) posit that cross-sector collaborations create public value on multiple levels which they frame as first, second, and third order effects. A study conducted by Simo & Bies (2007) among nonprofit organizations in communities affected by hurricanes Katrina and Rita found production of such first, second, and third order effects. First order effects included the distribution and deployment of volunteers and philanthropy from individuals and private/public/nonprofit organizations, recruitment of more volunteers, and organizational learning about how to effectively manage and engage volunteers. Second order effects included replication of best practices, where the successes and lessons learned in those communities became models for other communities. Third order effects include reflective processes that enabled the lessons learned by the collaboration to inform and evolve its next stage and future agreements. In spite of these many benefits, research indicates that collaboration also poses potential challenges.

Challenges of collaboration. Several studies identify capacity (especially the lack of staff, resources, and time) as a fundamental challenge to collaboration. Gazley & Brudney's study (2007) found lack of capacity to participate in and manage the partnership was the primary challenge mentioned by organizations that did not

collaborate. Bryson, Crosby, & Stone (2006) suggest that the default expectation for cross-sector partnerships should be that success will be difficult, chiefly because so many factors must be addressed to produce positive outcomes. The challenges they identify as needing to be overcome include competing institutional logics, power imbalances, lack of organization-wide buy in by participating organizations, lack of trust among partners, lack of conflict-resolution mechanisms, lack of stakeholder voice in planning, ineffective governance, and lack of accountability system to track inputs, processes, and outcomes. Given the potential benefits and challenges of collaboration, what can be done to improve the chances for success? The next section outlines factors described in the literature as being critical to the success of nonprofit collaboration.

Critical factors for success. Scholars identify leadership as a pivotal factor for the achievement of successful collective impact (Bryson, Crosby, & Stone, 2006). Such leadership can come in the form of sponsors, facilitators, champions, and boundary spanners. Huxham & Vangen (2005) add that structures and processes are critical dimensions of leadership effectiveness—leaders must align initial conditions with processes, structures, governance, outcomes, and accountabilities in a sustained way that creates enabling conditions for ongoing public value creation. Ostrom (1998) further suggests that a process-oriented approach to collaboration is useful because it accommodates the nonlinear and evolutionary nature of collaboration. Game theory also supports the efficacy of a process-oriented framing of collaboration (Axelrod 1984, 1997; Ostrom 1990, 1998). Ostrom found through experimental and field research that individuals caught in a social-dilemma structure will likely invest resources to adapt, innovate, and transform the system itself to achieve better collective outcomes. This

evolution comes through learning via ongoing trial and error until the structure's rules evolve to the point that participants believe they will produce greater net benefits (Thomson & Perry, 2006).

The scholarly literature and practitioner works discussed above portray resources as playing an essential role in the production of collective action. These roles include being a motivational factor for joining a collaboration, an essential ingredient for producing successful joint action, and a desired outcome of a partnership. The next chapter examines five theories of resource utilization in collective action organizations and identifies the forms of resources available to them.

CHAPTER 3

LITERATURE REVIEW—A RESOURCE PALETTE

FOR COLLECTIVE ACTION

This chapter reviews scholarship on nonprofit collaboration, particularly the role that resources play in producing outcomes and enhancing financial sustainability. As discussed in the previous chapter, the literature on collective action, collective impact, and collaboration acknowledges the importance of resources in the successful production of joint action. What is less well described is the variety of resources available to collective action organizations and the mechanisms by which those resources fuel their ongoing viability. This study seeks to remedy that gap.

In this chapter I review the topic of resources to provide the theoretical context for subsequent sections of this study. Where available I use studies conducted in a collaborative context, supplementing these as necessary with literature on financial sustainability in nonprofit organizations (the legal status chosen by many formal collaborations) and other types of firms. First, I provide a brief overview of five theories that are frequently used to explain resource acquisition and management in a collective action context. These include resource dependence, transaction cost, institutionalism, network theory, and resource mobilization. Next, I provide an overview of the types of resources used by formal collaborations and nonprofit organizations, focusing on capital resources because of their productive and durable nature. I then discuss a portfolio approach to resources using a multiple capitals approach, describe the role of capital in value creation, and consider how an expanded understanding of capitalization might advance understanding of organizational sustainability in formal collaboration and

collective impact efforts. The chapter concludes with an outline of the knowledge gaps in the literature and how this investigation addresses some of these gaps.

Theories of Resources in Collective Action Settings

Resource dependence theory (Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978) and transaction cost theory (Williamson, 1975, 1985, 1992) have received some of the greatest attention by researchers who study collaboration. The former proposes that a collaborative strategy is the result of organizational efforts to manage external dependencies and uncertainties in their resource environment. The latter emphasizes collaboration as a mechanism to reduce the costs of exchange and maximize economic or psychological benefits (Foster & Meinhard, 2002; Sharfman, Gray, & Yan, 1991). Despite their explanatory power, these theoretical perspectives have been criticized for their insufficient attention to constraints on strategic choice that are embedded in an organization's institutional environment (Galaskiewicz, 1985; Oliver, 1990), its structural context (Baum & Dutton, 1996; Galaskiewicz, 1985), as well as other contextual and organizational process factors (Cigler, 1999).

Resource Dependence Theory

The theory developed by Pfeffer (1972) and Pfeffer and Salancik (1978) focuses attention on how an organization secures resources from its external environment. Guo & Acar (2005) state that most studies on nonprofit collaboration take a resource dependence perspective (e.g., Provan, 1984; Zinn et al., 1997; Zuckerman & D'Aunno, 1990). Resource dependence posits that collaboration emerges as a managerial response to complexity and uncertainty in an organization's operating environment (Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978). Since resources are often controlled by others (e.g., the government or

competing firms), this theory asserts that organizations will be successful to the extent they can secure resources from the operating environment (Cobb & Wry, 2014). Resource dependence theory broadly defines resources as raw materials, human capital, and financial capital. This theory suggests that access to and control of resources makes an organization powerful. As such, the potential to acquire resource should be a fundamental criteria for making decisions. A firm should assess how critical a resource is to its operations, consider its availability or scarcity, and make strategic decisions that maximize its acquisition (Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978).

According to resource dependence theory, smaller organizations might be expected to collaborate more because they hope to gain access to resources through association with more powerful organizations, thereby avoiding competition (Singer & Yankey, 1991). Guo & Acar (2005) maintain that collaboration can help a participating organization acquire essential resources and decrease uncertainty. However, they also note that relationship formation is not without costs, and that an organization's loss of operating autonomy might be the greatest cost of all (Provan, 1984). While formal types of collaboration might increase access to critical resources, such relationships are typically accompanied by a greater loss of autonomy for the organization and its managers (Zuckerman & D'Aunno, 1990). Guo & Acar (2005) further found that larger organizations with more resource sufficiency were in fact more likely to collaborate than were smaller organizations.

Arya and Lin (2007) conducted a study that empirically examined resource based theory from a cooperative (versus competitive advantage) perspective. Their study of 52 networked HIV/AIDS nonprofit service-related organizations in the Dallas, Texas

metropolitan statistical area found that resource acquisition motivated collaboration and enabled these organizations to develop capabilities and competencies at the individual, inter-organizational, and network level, a finding also suggested by Coleman (1988). Their study employed a mixed-methods approach. They created, piloted, and distributed a survey instrument to 58 organizations in the network. Fifty-two of the responding organizations were nonprofits. Through follow up phone calls they obtained a 98% response rate. The data collection was supplemented by gathering archival data on annual expenses, revenues, and other quantitative data available through the National Center for Charitable Statistics. The dependent variable used to test their eight hypotheses was the accrual of strategic benefits to the focal organization. This variable was measured as a composite of both monetary outcomes (i.e., funding gains) and nonmonetary outcomes such as growth in reputation, human capital, and capacity to serve clients (Arya & Lin, 2007). Independent variables included generalism, both in terms of the variety of services provided (e.g., a single service like meal delivery versus a continuum of care model) and funding sources (e.g., contributions, earned income, government contracts, special events); organizational status; service and funding overlap with other network members; and organizational centrality in the network.

Data analysis found that the status of an organization is an important variable for attracting financial and non-financial resources. Further, overlap of funding sources was found to negatively affect collaboration intensity, possibly suggesting that as organizations have more similar funders they will increasingly view each other as competitors. A conclusion of the study is that endogenous and exogenous resources enable some organizations to increase their organizational capacity by participating in

collaboration, which in turn can generate greater financial and non-financial outcomes. The authors also conclude that a resource dependence perspective alone is inadequate to explain these gains, proposing it should be augmented with social network theory (Arya & Lin, 2007).

These conclusions align with a 2006 study (Galaskiewicz, Bielefeld, & Dowell) that found networked nonprofits that relied heavily on contributed income and volunteer labor grew at a faster rate if they had high status, more numerous connections to urban elites, and greater centrality in the interorganizational network. However, nonprofits that depended more on earned income (e.g., fee for service or commercial sales) experienced faster growth grew if they had fewer ties to urban elites and other nonprofits. The study found that as nonprofits became more dependent on earned income their centrality in the resource exchange network decreased and they moved to the outer edges of the network. These findings suggest that collaboration may be more beneficial to nonprofits that are more dependent on contributed (versus earned) income (Galaskiewicz, Bielefeld, & Dowell, 2006).

Benefits of a resource dependence perspective include its recognition of the relationship between a firm and its environment. However, critics suggest that a focus on resource dependence has contributed to the marketization and rationalization of the nonprofit sector (Eikenberry & Kluver, 2004), and that the emphasis on gaining competitive advantage often overlooks the benefits and possibilities of cooperation (Drees & Heugens, 2013). As Arya and Lin (2007) and Galaskiewicz, Bielefeld, and Dowell (2006) postulate, the focus on resources alone neglects important relational and expressive dimensions of nonprofit collaborations.

Transaction Cost Theory

Transaction costs are resource expenditures incurred when making an economic exchange (Dahlman, 1979). Transaction costs tend to fall into three categories: *search and information costs* (e.g., assessing if a required good is available and where it can be purchased at the lowest price); *bargaining costs* (e.g., the resources spent to reach an agreement with the other party in the transaction and to formalize the agreement through a contract); and *policing and enforcement costs* (costs associated with ensuring the other person sticks to the agreement and pursuing remedies if they do not). Transaction cost economics focuses on dyadic contractual relations, the exchanges that occur between two parties. It views organizations as an interconnection of contracts (Williamson, 1992) with transactions as the basic unit of analysis (Williamson, 1981). Transaction cost theory is largely concerned with the governance of contractual relations because governance plays a central role in mediating the boundary between the individual and the institutional environments (Williamson, 1981). Its goal is to determine the best transaction/governance structure between a firm and another party (e.g., suppliers, workers, financers). In the collaboration literature, trust is a critical element of partnerships because it reduces transaction costs and uncertainty more quickly than other organizational forms (Chiles & McMackin, 1996; Ostrom, 1998).

Ghoshal & Moran (1996) offer several criticisms of transaction cost theory. The first is that it misdirects a manager's attention from a generative goal (creating value through business operations) to a defensive goal (guarding against potential opportunism). Such hyper vigilance may be an excessive expenditure of energy, limit future opportunities, and become a self-fulfilling prophecy. In a nonprofit context, the

quest to maximize efficiency can also lead to adoption of a transactional approach to serving clients and disconnection from the community (Alexander, Nank, & Stivers, 1999). Given the social embeddedness of nonprofit organizations (Granovetter, 1985), an efficiency approach essentially would require nonprofit organizations to forsake the indirect (non-dyadic) benefits of weak ties, as well as ignore their public value purpose that public administration scholars acknowledge is inherently messy and often inefficient (Bryson, Crosby, & Bloomberg, 2014).

Additionally, transaction cost theory fails to recognize time as an essential variable in a firm's decision making logic. As Schumpeter notes (1942), "A system—any system, economic or other, that at *every* given point of time fully utilizes its possibilities to the best advantage may yet in the long run be inferior to a system that does so at *no* given point in time, because the latter's failure to do so may be a condition for the level or speed of long-run performance" (p. 83, emphasis in original). Ghoshal & Moran (1996) describe this as a failure to differentiate between static (immediate) efficiency and dynamic (long-term) efficiency. Lastly, transaction cost theory has been embraced as universally applicable; however, its proven predictive capacity is limited to a small set of organizations in markets where opportunism was allowed to exist relatively unchecked (Ghoshal & Moran, 1996). Because nonprofit organizations exist to create public benefit, they cannot operate opportunistically as that would run counter to their public benefit purpose.

Institutionalism

In response to criticisms of resource dependence and transaction cost theories, institutional theory has yielded valuable insights to explain organizational behavior in a

collaborative context. Institutionalism asserts that organizations are successful to the extent they conform to the norms, rules, beliefs, and expectations of their operating environment. Through conformance, organizations gain legitimacy and thus enhance their competitive advantage (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991). However, over time this can lead to *isomorphism* (similarity in structure and processes among organizations), moderating competitive advantage. Norm conformance is motivated by three mechanisms: coercion, customs, and mimesis (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991).

Critics have argued that it is not sufficient to assume that norms exist a priori; they are, in fact, influenced by cognitive schemas and meanings that arise from interactions among people. These schemas are then enacted collectively through culture (Giddens, 1979). Similarly, institutions exist in context with other actors (e.g., the state, kinship systems, religion), creating a landscape of competing logics (Scott, 2008) that promotes change, evolution, and at times, the birth of new organizational forms such as alliances, partnerships, and collaboration (Padgett & Powell, 2012). Guo & Acar (2005) discuss institutional theory in the context of collaboration, noting that organizations sometimes establish partnerships or exchanges with other organizations to meet regulatory requirements or funder expectations. They explain that an organization is less likely to push back against institutional forces that limit its autonomy if it is heavily dependent on the source of those constraining forces (Oliver, 1990). Suarez's study (2010) found that professionalization and collaboration are associated with the receipt of government support, lending credence to the idea of institutional pressures influencing organizational conformance.

Network Theory

The theory of networks has become an increasingly popular way to explain

phenomena in the social sciences, particularly how individuals come together to create

social order (Borgatti, Mehra, Brass, & LaBianca, 2009). A *network* can be seen as a

web of relationships between people embedded in them (Kadushin, 2011). Similarly,

organizations can be networked through relationships as well. Durkheim (1951) saw

parallels with biological systems because of the interrelatedness and interdependence of

the member components ((Borgatti et al., 2009). Social networks are sometimes viewed

as self-organizing systems that produce complex yet coherent patterns from the

interactions of the constituent elements that compose the system (Wellman, 2008).

Network analysis is the study and visualization of networks to detect patterns and

understand the connections and interdependencies of the members. Network analysts

typically seek to identify who is involved in a system, the role these actors play, how they

are connected, and what patterns can be identified through these interactions (e.g.,

Shiffman, Quissell, Schmitz, et al., 2015)

A frequent starting point for this analysis is dyads, a relationship between two

actors (e.g., people, organizations). Borgatti et al. (2009) developed a typology of dyadic

relationships covering four categories: (1) *similarities,* including *location* (e.g., existing

in the same space and time), *membership* (e.g., belonging to the same clubs or attending

the same events), and *attributes* (identifying through affinity such as gender or attitude);

(2) *social relations,* including *kinship* (e.g., mother, sibling); *other roles* (e.g., friend,

supervisor, team member); *affective* (feelings toward the other, such as liking or

disliking); and *cognitive* (knows the person, knows of the person); (3) *interactions*, the

activities that transpire between the parties such as talking to, asking advice, helping,

harming; and (4) *flows,* the things that pass between the parties such as information,

beliefs, and resources.

While traditional sociology seeks to explain a person's outcomes in terms of their

agency (e.g., choices and actions) or a characteristic of the individual (e.g., economic

status as an outcome of one's gender or education), social network analysts look at the

structure of the person's environment, including influence processes (e.g., peer imitation)

and leveraging processes (e.g., accomplishing something through the resources or power

of others, Borgatti et al., 2009). On an organizational level, studies of collaboration using

social network theory have found that network structure influences the availability and

movement of financial resources, capacity, and prospects that become available to a

participating organization (Ahuja, 2000; Stuart, 1998).

Friendship ties and alliances appear to develop based on two factors: how likely it

is that two parties will come into contact (i.e., opportunity-based antecedents), and

benefit calculation (utility maximization or discomfort minimization, Borgatti et al.,

2009). *Network management* is the intentional guiding and facilitation of social

processes to achieve productive ends through co-production (Rethemeyer, 2005). For

example, the structure of the network and its connections, both direct (strong ties) and

indirect (weak ties) can affect access to and control of information and resource flows,

potentially creating a payoff to participants in collective endeavors. In cross-sector

collaborations, municipalities may lessen the constraints of state and federal systems in

which they are nested by connecting horizontally with other stakeholders to develop the

political support they need to strengthen their position (Rethemeyer, 2005).

Common criticisms of social network theory include that it downplays or ignores the role of individual agency, instead privileging structural explanations; is more methodological than theoretical; and does not account for dynamic processes as much as structural explanations (Scott, 2000).

Resource Mobilization Theory

Resource mobilization theory posits that social movements are a rational effort to contest power imbalances. Rather than being a rebellious response activated by feelings of anger and marginalization, participants select collective action through a logical cost/benefit calculation as the most effective way to achieve desired goals (Flynn, 2011). Mobilization is a process that requires the joining together of people through some form of organization and their acquisition of resources to grow and achieve their aims (McCarthy & Zald, 2001). Social movements cover a wide variety of topics, such as the environment, civil rights, gender equality, and animal rights. Norm-oriented movements try to make change within a social order, whereas values-oriented movements try to change the goals and fundamental nature of the social system (Morrison, 1971).

Resources play a central role in the strategy and success of these movements (Jenkins, 1983). Fundamental elements include the effective mobilization and conversion of resources in various forms, both tangible (e.g., people, money, facilities) and intangible (such as leadership, communication, legitimacy, publicity, and solidarity, Fuchs, 2006). Edwards & McCarthy (2004) describe five types of resources: moral, cultural, social-organizational, human, and material. The goal is to convert secured resources into political opportunities, more constituents, and transformed public perceptions to achieve the goals of the movement.

Resources can be secured both *endogenously* (within the movement) and *exogenously* (outside the movement, Flynn, 2011) through four mechanisms. Edwards & Gillham (2013) describe the four means as self-production, aggregation, co-optation/ appropriation, and patronage. Through self-production organizations produce resources they need by activating agency, for example, by encouraging constituents to socialize their children with movement values to develop its next generation of supporters. Aggregation refers to the joining of various individual resources into a collective, such as pooling single donations to purchase an advertising campaign. Co-optation reflects the use of resources from other organizations to achieve a shared purpose. Patronage typically involves financial support from a supporter who often expects some level of control or voice in the movement (Edwards & Gillham, 2013).

Resources are sometimes characterized by one of four purposes they serve in a movement: instrumental, infra-resources, power resources, and mobilizing (Jenkins, 1983). *Instrumental resources* are items that are valuable because they enhance capacity to influence and inspire participants. *Infra-resources* shape and sway the use of instrumental resources. *Power resources* provide the means to affect and control target stakeholders (i.e., particular individuals and organizations with the capacity to generate changes in policies or action, Moss, 2015). *Mobilizing resources* catalyze the activation of power resources (Jenkins, 1983).

Scholars have criticized resource mobilization theory for several reasons. Among the most notable is its failure to explain how poorly resourced groups are able to bring about social transformation. Critics further argue it does not sufficiently recognize the role that grievances and identity play in the establishment and success of movements

(Buechler, 1993). Other criticisms include that its focus on centralized movements fails to account for decentralized initiatives, and that it ignores micro-processes such as personal motivation and psycho-social processes such as cultural influences (Flynn, 2011).

This section presented several theories commonly employed to explain the role of resources in organizations, particularly in collective action contexts. These include resource dependence, transaction cost, institutionalism, network theory, and resource mobilization. We now look at the types of resources deployed by nonprofit organizations.

Types of Resources Deployed in Organizations

While the above theories and empirical studies differ on their perspectives of what role resources play in a cooperative context, they share a common recognition that resources come in a variety of forms, both tangible and intangible. The following section briefly describes various types of resources used in organizations, focusing on capital resources.

Why Capital?

This investigation focuses on the construct of capital, which historically has been recognized as valuable due to its generative qualities. Lin (2008) describes capital as both a concept and a theory. Conceptually it represents investment in resources that create value for society. Theoretically it ". . . describes the process by which capital is captured and reproduced for returns" (Lin, 2001, p. 3). The study uses the operational definition of *capital* as resources that endure and can produce more resources. While capital has long been appreciated for its productive qualities, the framing has been almost entirely in terms of financial and physical capital (e.g., Calabrese, 2011; Curtis, Nelson &

Engel, 2010; Miller, 2003; Ryan 2001; Yetman, 2010). However, in recent years the

private sector has come to recognize *intangible capital* (invisible resources such as

intellectual property and reputational capital) as a primary driver of value creation and

profitability (Goldfinger, 1997; International Integrated Reporting Council, 2013a;

Jarboe, 2015; Omil, Lorenzo, & Liste, 2011), in part due to its qualities of being

nonrivalrous, nonexcludable, and capacity for regeneration and cascade effects (Lev,

2005).

What follows is a brief overview of various forms of capitals (both tangible and

intangible) found in the literature. The criteria for inclusion in this review required that

the resource demonstrate two essential characteristics of capital: durability and

productivity (e.g., creating future value in some form, not necessarily financial).

Types of Capital

The literature review identified six major categories of capitals: financial,

physical, human, relational, symbolic, and structural. Each category includes between

two and five sub-types of capitals, described below. While there are many descriptions

within the literature, the following terms are used as working definitions for this study.

Table 1 provides a complete listing of the six categories and 20 sub-types of capital

identified.

1. Financial capital. This category of capital includes the pool of funds

available to an organization for investment spending (International Integrated Reporting

Council, 2013a). Three subtypes found in the literature include money, debt, and equity

(Yetman, 2010).

Money is any asset that can easily be used to purchase goods and services.

Examples include currency and checks. Money serves as ". . . a medium of exchange that releases its value through conversion into other forms of capital" (International Integrated Reporting Council, 2013a, p. 6). Money also serves as a store of value and a measure for setting prices and making economic calculations (Krugman & Wells, 2009). The accumulation of money, such as through budget surpluses, can be an important source of capitalization in nonprofit organizations (Yetman, 2010).

Debt is defined as assets that require a fixed payment to the holder, usually with interest (Federal Reserve Bank, 2005). Examples of debt instruments include bonds (government or corporate) and mortgages. According to Yetman (2010), in nonprofit organizations debt is the most common form of externally obtained capital.

Equity is stocks and securities that are a claim on the earnings and assets of a corporation (Mishkin, 1998). Because earnings are reinvested back into nonprofit organizations as a condition to maintain their tax-exempt status, equity is not typically associated with public charities. However, program-related investments and other equity equivalents are increasingly seen as sources of capital in the nonprofit sector (Yetman, 2010).

2. Physical capital. This category of capital includes natural and manufactured resources such as building and machines (Krugman &Wells, 2009). Its two subtypes are built capital and natural capital. *Built capital* includes buildings, infrastructure, and other fixed human constructed formations (Batten, 1991). *Natural capital* is comprised of assets that abide in a location, including resources, amenities and natural beauty (Emery & Flora, 2006). Natural capital can be divided into two types: non-renewable resources (e.g., coal, oil) and renewable resources (e.g., ecosystems, Jansson et al., 1994).

3. Human capital. Smith (1838/1776, p. 113) described this type of capital as "the acquired and useful abilities of all the inhabitants or members of the society." Human capital is a primary source of resource generation capacity in organizations (Goldin, 2015). Sub-types of human capital found in the literature include the physiological, intellectual, psychological, creative, and moral capacities of people. *Physiological capital* is the physical capacity of the human body (Frezza, 2011). *Intellectual capital* is knowledge, information, and experience that can be put to use to create wealth (Stewart, 2007; Malhotra, 2000). *Psychological capital* includes emotional resilience and a sense of wellbeing, such as a sense of safety, trust, and hope (Luthans & Youssef, 2004; Boulding, 1966). *Creative capital* is the ability to imagine and generate new ideas (Wolf & Holochwost, 2009). *Moral capital* is the concern for goodness and the welfare of others (Hirschman, 1984). In for-profit firms moral capital has been found to serve as a protective factor against social sanctions (Dyer & Whetten, 2006). In the nonprofit sector it is often ascribed as a donor motivation for philanthropic behavior (Bekkers & Wiepking, 2011).

4. Relational capital. This category of capital can be described as how an organization connects with stakeholders internally and externally, and the value that is placed on this relationship (Capello & Faggian, 2005). Its three subtypes include social capital, political capital, and spiritual capital.

Social capital is perhaps the most well known form of non-financial capital in nonprofit organizations. It is broadly defined as resources accumulated through the relationships among people (Coleman, 1988; Schneider, 2009). Lin (2008) describes it as ". . . resources embedded in one's social networks, resources that can be accessed or

mobilized through ties in the networks" (p. 51). Thus, social capital has both a *potential*

form (access) and an *activated* form (mobilized, Lin, 2008). Further, its effects occur at

the micro (individual), meso (organizational), and macro (societal) levels. For example, a

person's location in a network may, through relationships, provide access to other

people's resources (e.g., power or reputation), generating some benefit or return to the

person (Lin, 2008). Among organizations, participation in networks can generate

corporate social capital that promotes prestige, status, reputation, and brand (Todeva &

Knoke, 2005). At the societal level social capital has also been linked to a variety of

positive outcomes such as better public health, lower crime rates, and more efficient

financial markets (Adler & Kwon, 2002).

Political capital can be thought of as the empowerment, influence, and identity of

people conferred through their associations (Sorensen & Torfing, 2003; Emery & Flora,

2006). *Spiritual capital* is the value of personal, social, or cultural beliefs and meanings

that stimulate creativity, encourage moral behavior, and motivate individuals (Zohar &

Marshall, 2004). It typically involves a relationship to something beyond oneself, such as

values, ancestors, the Earth, or a higher power (Berger & Redding, 2010).

5. Symbolic capital. Bourdieu (1983) describes this form of capital as the

wealth and productive capacity that an individual or group has accumulated in a

figurative or representational form. The four sub-types found in the literature include

cultural, reputational, temporal, and spatial capital.

Cultural capital can be thought of as the way people "know the world" and how

to act within it (Bourdieu, 1983; Emery & Flora, 2006; Throsby, 1999). Organizations

also have cultures (e.g., shared beliefs and assumptions shared by organizational

members) that affect strategy, performance, and decision making (Nahavandi &
Malekzadeh, 1988). *Reputational capital* can be defined as value derived from the public
perception of a firm as a responsible domestic and global corporate citizen (Petrick et al.,
1999). For example, nonprofit organizations often gain credibility and visibility when
selected for funding by high status organizations (Galaskiewicz & Wasserman, 1989).
Conversely, when selecting partners, nonprofits ought to consider the risk of becoming
tainted by negative association if a partner's reputation should become damaged
(Galaskiewicz & Sinclair Colman, 2006). *Temporal capital* is the value-creating capacity
of time (Wang, 2013). An example is the capacity for invested money to increase in
value over time through the generation of interest, also known as the time-value of
money (Fama, 1977). *Spatial capital* is the geophysical matrix in which biophysical and
social systems are embedded (Tan, Song, Akhmat, & Hussain, 2014). Goodchild (n.d.)
describes it as the combination of space (geographic location) and place (the experiences
and meanings people associate with a space) that transforms into heritage and increased
understanding through experience and analysis. The study of spatial capital involves
concepts such as geographic proximity, access, and mobility (Marcus, 2010) using tools
like Geographic Information Systems (GIS), spatial mapping, and modeling to identify
patterns and generate policy options for a variety of fields such as ecology, urban
planning, and disaster preparedness (Goodchild & Janelle, 2010).

      6. Structural capital. Giddens (1984) describes this type of capital as the
formative properties that allow for the binding of time-space in social systems. This
category includes three sub-types: organizational structures, rule of law (e.g., property
rights), and processes (De Soto, 2000).

Organizational capital is the networks and structures through which the contributions of individuals are mobilized and coordinated (Ekins, Simon, Deutsch, Folke, & De Groot, 2003). *Rule of law capital* is the ability to design, influence, and enforce standards, rules, regulations, and laws (De Soto, 2000). *Process capital* is defined as procedures, practices, and activities that promote the delivery of value creation (Galbraith, 2002).

Table 1

Typology of Capitals

Categories & Types	Definitions
Financial Capital:	Funds available for investment spending (Krugman & Wells, 2009)
Money	Any asset that can easily be used to purchase goods and services. Examples include currency and checks. Money serves as a medium of exchange, a store of value, and a measure for setting prices and making economic calculations (Krugman & Wells, 2009)
Debt	Assets that require a fixed payment to the holder, usually with interest. Examples of debt instruments include bonds (government or corporate) and mortgages (Federal Reserve Bank, 2005)
Equity	Claims on the earnings and assets of a corporation (Yetman, 2010)
Physical Capital:	Natural and manufactured resources such as building and machines (Krugman & Wells, 2009)
Built	Buildings, infrastructure, and other fixed human constructed formations (Batten, 1991)
Natural	Assets that abide in a location, including resources, amenities and natural beauty (Emery & Flora, 2006). Includes non-renewable resources (e.g., coal, oil) and renewable resources (e.g., ecosystems, Jansson et al., 1994)
Human Capital:	The acquired and useful abilities of all the inhabitants or members of the society (Smith, 1776)
Physiological	The physical capacity of the human body (Frezza, 2011)
Intellectual	Knowledge, information, and experience that can be put to use to create wealth (Stewart, 2007)
Psychological	Sense of mental well-being. Attributes include self-efficacy, hope, optimism, and resiliency (Boulding, 1966; Luthans & Youssef, 2004)
Creative	The ability to imagine and generate new ideas (Wolf & Holochwost, 2009)
Moral	Concern for goodness and the welfare of others (Hirschman, 1984)
Relational Capital:	How a person or organization connects with stakeholders internally and externally, and the value that is placed on this relationship (Capello & Faggian, 2005)
Social	The resources accumulated through the relationships among people (Coleman, 1988)

Political	The empowerment, influence, and identity of people conferred through their associations (Sorensen & Torfing, 2003)
Spiritual	The value of personal, social, or cultural beliefs and meanings that stimulate creativity, encourage moral behavior, and motivate individuals (Zohar & Marshall, 2004)
Symbolic Capital:	The wealth and productive capacity which an individual or group has accumulated in a figurative or representational form (Bourdieu, 1983)
Cultural	The way people "know the world" and how to act within it (Emery and Flora, 2006)
Reputational	Value that can be attributed to the perception of a firm as a responsible domestic and global corporate citizen (Petrick et al., 1999)
Temporal	Using time as a method of imposing order on events and concepts, typically from the past to the present to the future (Wang, 2013)
Spatial	The geophysical matrix in which biophysical and social systems are embedded (Tan, Song, Akhmat, & Hussain, 2014).
Structural Capital:	Formative properties allowing the 'binding' of time-space in social systems (Giddens, 1984)
Organizational	The networks and structures through which the contributions of individuals are mobilized and coordinated (Ekins, 2008)
Rule of Law	The ability to design, influence, and enforce standards, rules, regulations and laws (De Soto, 2000)
Process	Procedures, practices, and activities that promote the delivery of value creation (Galbraith, 2002)

A Portfolio Approach

While each of the forms of capital is valuable in and of itself, a number of studies and conceptual frameworks suggest that value creation capacity is enhanced considerably by activating and deploying multiple forms of capital through a portfolio approach. For example, Chait, Ryan, & Taylor (2011) claim that high functioning nonprofit boards use their intellectual, political, reputational, and social capital to invest in community relationships that generate returns of increased value to both the organization and the community. Fowler (2004) developed a framework for deploying multiple types of capital as a developmental response to the global HIV/AIDS epidemic. The framework is rooted in multiple types of capital identified by the United Nations Millennium project as being essential to a thriving economy. These include human capital (e.g., health and

education); business capital (e.g., factories and equipment used in the private sector); infrastructure (e.g., roads, airports, and waste treatment centers); knowledge capital (e.g., science and technical know-how); natural capital (e.g., ecosystems, fisheries, horticulture); social capital (e.g., trust among community members); and public institutional capital (e.g., the making and enforcement of laws). To this list he adds financial capital (money, assets, investments); political capital (free elections, transparent decision making); and human competencies to activate the capitals (e.g., values and motivation). He sees the advantage of this capital-based framework as its practical focus on growing, transferring, and making more productive these various resources (Fowler, 2004).

In a similar vein, Emery & Flora (2006) developed a model of seven community capitals: financial, political, social, human, cultural, natural, and built. These capital types were identified through their empirical research on innovative and sustainable communities. Their analysis found that investing in one type of capital generated a "spiraling up" (p. 19) that set off a cascade of positive feedback that activated other types of capital. They posit that it is the relationship and interaction between the various forms that produce synergistic, cascade effects. Ekins (2008) further espouses a four-capital method for creating sustainable development, describing capital as a "stock of assets that provides a *flow* of goods and services which contribute to human well-being" (p. 65, emphasis in original). The four capitals he identifies are manufactured, natural, human, and social. His model presents evaluation criteria to assess the effectiveness of capital-based development activities. Gilman (1992) presents capital in terms of five forms of wealth: environmental (including natural plus the systems and processes in nature, e.g.,

atmosphere, energy exchange); human (health, labor, knowledge and skills, motivation); social and organizational; manufactured (including consumer durable goods), and credit capital (debt and the ability to borrow money). Both authors assert that these resources create positive feedback loops that enable the production of more wealth.

In the private sector the International Integrated Reporting Council is "an international coalition of regulators, investors, companies, standard setters, accounting professionals and NGOs . . . that promote communication about value creation as the next step in the evolution of corporate reporting" (International Integrated Reporting Council, n.d., p. 1). Its multiple capitals framework for sustainable value creation includes six forms of capital (financial, manufactured, intellectual, human, social/relationship, and natural). These capitals serve as inputs into an organization's business model. Through a firm's value creation process the various capitals are transformed, becoming outputs and outcomes that are returned to the external environment, among which are financial returns to shareholders and increased capacity that recycles back to the firm (International Integrated Reporting Council, 2013b).

Mechanisms for Value Creation

Exchange and Roundaboutness

The IIRC model leverages capital's *fungible* (convertible) nature, similar to De Soto's explanation (2000) of how capital of one type (e.g., social) can be developed and combined with other types (e.g., intellectual) to create new types (e.g., reputational and financial). He notes that capital cannot produce financial returns directly, but must first work with another resource to create an intermediary form that can then be exchanged for money. Bohm-Bawerk (2006/1888) refers to this conversion process as *roundaboutness,*

presenting the example of raw materials being combined with human labor and ingenuity in a factory to produce a finished product that can then be sold in the market.

In the nonprofit sector, volunteer service is an example of this convertible nature of capital. Volunteers donate their human capital, which increases the productive capacity of the organization to deliver services and fulfill its mission. Brudney & Meijs (2009) suggest that volunteer efforts can be thought of as energy that can be grown and recycled, creating a renewable resource for organizations. They differentiate between two philosophies toward volunteer management. The instrumental (traditional) approach focuses on the needs of the organization, does not invest in or reinvigorate its volunteers, and looks at immediate needs. The regenerative approach also seeks to create value for others, striving to provide the volunteer with a sense of accomplishment and meaning in a way that strengthens civic engagement and addresses long-term systemic needs in the community, essentially creating a renewable resource.

In a similar vein, in seeking to explain a community's carrying capacity to support nonprofit organizations, Paarlberg and Varda (2009) dispute traditional explanations that rely on a linear storyline. Instead they propose a network theory explanation that views carrying capacity as dependent on the interchange of resources between organizations. Because inter-organizational exchange can be costly and risky, they argue that carrying capacity is increased only under certain conditions. These include: (a) activating reciprocal exchange of resources among the organizations; (b) developing sufficient capabilities to create and maintain relationships that enable exchange among the participants; (c) fostering an exchange process that enhances connectivity among agents (e.g., number of interactions) and quality of those connections (e.g., increased trust and

strength of ties); and (d) developing and maintaining a structure that coordinates and governs these exchange relationships. They concur with Cummings and Kiesler's observation (2005) that establishing and maintaining such inter-organizational relationships requires significant resource investments of time, energy, and coordination that are seldom included in organizational or program budgets (Paarlberg & Varda, 2009).

The Elements of Sustainable Value Creation

Bowman (2010) contends "The theory of nonprofit finance with respect to asset ownership and management is underdeveloped in several key areas. The first is how a nonprofit's capital structure is related to its business model . . . there is (also) the perplexing question of how to reconcile conflicts between two components of the so-called 'double bottom line'—financial returns and social returns" (p. 74). The research of Paarlberg and Varda (2009) suggests a relational approach to exchange and value creation may be one way to reconcile the apparently conflicting goals of achieving simultaneous social and financial returns. While the process of value creation is elusive, a working group of the International Integrated Reporting Council (IIRC, 2013c) developed the following guiding principles: (a) value derives from private and public/common resources (both tangible and intangible); (b) value takes place in a context of connectivity that joins processes and stakeholders (both internal and external); (c) the building blocks of value creation are multiple capitals, not just financial; (d) value creation requires continuous innovation and as the creation process changes, the process for measuring must adapt as well; (e) all outcomes should create value; and (f) an organization's value choices influence how and what type of value it creates.

Summary

The literature suggests that growing multiple types of capital, creating value through organizational operations and interorganizational exchange, and converting capital outputs and outcomes in a way that benefits that external environment while recycling financial returns back to the organization may be a way to simultaneously generate value and promote long-term viability. This study investigates such dynamics in a collaborative context. Besides the practical benefits of this research (e.g., improved understanding of effective collaboration practices), the study addresses the lack of a theoretical framework to explain the process of resource flows in formal collaboration and how these resource transformations relate to the generation of collective impact.   For example, how are philanthropic investments transformed into programs that produce mission fulfillment, financial returns to sustain both the backbone organization and the member organizations, and collective impact (e.g., policy change, community wellbeing)? The next chapter details how this study has been designed to answer such questions.

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY

The previous chapters outlined some scholarly puzzles about the role of resources in a collective action context. This study is designed to address a few of these puzzles. It employs an embedded case study approach to investigate empirically the phenomenon of resource mobilization in a 501(c)3 collaboration. The chapter contains four sections. First, I briefly discuss the design rationale of this research and how it supports theory building. I then explain the research design of this investigation. Next, I describe data sources that inform the study. I conclude with a description of the processes used to analyze the data, setting the stage for chapters five and six (study results).

Design Rationale for this Study

Purpose of the Study

This study seeks to simultaneously advance practice and theory regarding resource mobilization and conversion in a nonprofit collective action context. The anomaly this study seeks to explain is how a formal collaboration in existence for 15 years has remained viable when many similar collaborative organizations struggle financially. The dependent variable is long-term success of a formal nonprofit collaboration. The three research questions (RQs) this study seeks to answer are:

1. How did a formal nonprofit collaboration of arts and culture organizations in San Diego, California find long-term success when most formal collaborations do not?

2. What types of resources are used in this formal 501(c)3 collaboration of arts and culture organizations?

3. How, if at all, are these resources transformed into outputs, outcomes, collective

    impact, and financial returns to sustain the collaboration?

Below I lay out the logic of why these questions have been selected and how they relate

to theory building.

Elements of Theory Building

    Theory can be thought of as set of related, testable propositions that attempt to

explain reality and predict events (Hoover, 1976). Theory building includes five aspects:

description (identifying, categorizing, and defining things); *explanation* (illuminating the

mechanisms of how, why, and when things happen); *prediction* (forecasting what is

likely to happen in the future); *evaluation* (identifying and specifying event conditions

and possible alternatives/consequences); and *prescription* (suggesting preferable future

ends and means, O'Shaughnessy, 1973). This study focuses on the first aspect,

description.

    Rationale for RQs #1 and 2. Each of the five aspects of theory building must be

developed for theory to effectively guide practice, particularly policy and decision

making (O'Shaughnessy, 1973). However, progress in theory building is often stymied

because of initial failure to construct adequate definitions and descriptions (Langton,

1987). Therefore, this study is formulated to address a descriptive gap in the literature:

the lack of a comprehensive and systematic identification of the multiple types of capital

resources used in nonprofit collaboration. Answering the first question will illuminate

concepts that might help describe the reasons for the success of the collaboration.

Answering the second questions will generate empirical data to develop a descriptive

typology of capital resources. This systematic classification can then provide a

conceptual foundation to better understand the various forms of capital resources used in a collective action context. Knowing the full array of resources is also needed to answer the next question.

Rationale for RQ#3. In addition to researchers' traditional role of sense*making* (e.g., the creation of theoretical order out of conceptual chaos), Corley & Gioia (2011) urge scholars to take up the role of preliminary sense*givers*. They encourage academics to "shape the conceptual conversation by influencing the premises on which the conversation is predicated" (Corley & Gioia, 2011, p. 28; Simon, 1959, 1991). They see a fundamental step of theory building as the identification and framing of problems so as to create promising pathways that enable more rapid progress toward solution of society's most vexing conceptual and practical puzzles.

This study posits that an underlying challenge of nonprofit sustainability in a collaborative context is the favoring of a single form of capital (financial), leading to underinvestment in other resources essential for sustainable value creation (Lecy & Searing, 2015; Paarlberg & Varda, 2009). The framing approach I have selected to tackle this problem is to investigate the interactions of the various forms of capital in a networked, collective action environment. Collecting data to answer the third research question will generate insights into the mechanisms by which multiple types of capital resources change forms and (perhaps) produce collective impact and organizational sustainability.

Inductive, Informed Grounded Theory Approach

Originality and utility are two other hallmarks of good theory building (Corley & Gioia, 2011). In their quest for rigor researchers frequently design studies that begin with

the development of *constructs* (specific notions narrowed and operationalized so as to be measurable). However, because of this focus on measurability, originality can be unintentionally limited if researchers fail to attend to the more basic issue of *concept* development (broad ideas and mental models that are not always measurable, Gioia, Corley, & Hamilton, 2012). Because "concepts are precursors to constructs" (p.   16), good theory building should begin with the discovery of pertinent concepts needed to steer and undergird subsequent theoretical constructs, regardless of the concepts' initial prospects for measurability, (Gioia, Corley, & Hamilton, 2012).

Induction is the development of broader generalizations, models, and theories from specific observations through a process of logical reasoning (Creswell, 2014). Because organizations and their organizing processes are socially constructed, researchers must first understand people's thinking, behavior, and interactions if they are to truly understand organizations (Gioia, Corley, & Hamilton, 2012). A grounded theory approach enables researchers to observe and document specific instances of these thoughts, behaviors, and interactions. Through inductive reasoning researchers can then identify patterns and themes from this data to form a conceptual basis for subsequent development of constructs, measures, and theory (Gioia, Corley, & Hamilton, 2012).

The benefit of this approach is that it fosters concept and construct development in a way that is tightly coupled with the socially constructed milieu from which the data emerged. A grounded theory research design also prevents interpretive constraints and potential biases associated with the use of a pre-selected theoretical lens (Gioia, Corley, & Hamilton, 2012). To maintain theoretical pluralism this study uses an informed grounded theory approach that includes an initial review of the literature. A central

reason for using informed (versus traditional) grounded theory is the study's use of process tracing. As will be explained later in this chapter, this analytical methodology requires familiarity with a several theories that can serve as hypotheses to infer and select causal mechanisms of the resource flows being studied.

Rationale for Case Study Methodology

I considered several potential research methods for the design of this investigation. In consulting with senior scholars I was advised that a five-year ethnography collecting data through participant observation would be an ideal method to understand the process of resource flows and conversion over time. However, due to budget and time constraints this method was not feasible. I also considered surveys, statistical analysis, experiments, quasi-experiments, and economic and statistical modeling. However, since the phenomenon under investigation is not yet well understood, these methods were also deemed unsuitable because they require an established theoretical framework to generate testable propositions. Therefore, a methodology suitable for a more exploratory approach was required.

Bowman (2010) recommends case study research as a way to improve understanding of finance issues in the nonprofit sector, stating that "Descriptive studies and development of new empirical tools will expand the search horizon and go far toward identifying and framing the salient theoretical questions . . . [such as] how are capital structure and business model related? How do specific assets contribute to productivity? How is asset acquisition financed? (p. 79). This study employs a case study approach to address such questions through systematic investigation, exploring the relationships and

interactions of resources and their synergistic effects that may produce *increasing returns* (the tendency of gains to produce more gains, Arthur, 1996; Krugman, 1979).

Ultimately I chose case study methodology as a good methodological fit for four reasons. First, a case study approach provides the ability to examine in detail a phenomenon as it manifests in its everyday context (Yin, 2006). Secondly, a case study approach enables the study of phenomena that are inter-connected and occur over time (Yin, 2014). Third, case study methodology provides a mechanism to develop an analytical explanation while producing new ways of comprehending complex phenomena (Miles, 2015), thereby fostering conceptual development in a way that supports originality and utility. Finally, Bowman's recommendation for case study to better understand capitalization in nonprofit organizations (2010) also strongly supported this design choice.

A case study is ". . . an empirical inquiry that investigates an empirical phenomenon (the 'case') in depth and within its real-world context, especially when the boundaries between the phenomenon and context may not be clearly evident" (Yin, 2014, p. 16). It is well suited for studying complex phenomenon. Through a systematic process it seeks multiple sources of evidence, triangulating these various data points to determine where the data converge and align (Yin, 2014). This methodical process enables rigor and the production of a chain of evidence to support conclusions that can sometimes be generalizable to theoretical propositions (Yin, 2014).

Some studies use a multiple case design to study and compare a phenomenon as it occurs in a variety of settings. However, I elected to use a single case study for two reasons. First, as explained below, I am investigating a situation that is not typical—

organizational success in collaboration. Therefore, it could be difficult to find similar

cases. It would also be difficult to obtain the same level of access to data as I have in this

case (discussed further in the positionality section of this chapter). Second, the

networked context in which this case is embedded is complex and expansive. As such,

the data collection requirements are onerous. Time and resource constraints make it

impractical to develop multiple cases simultaneously.

Research Design

Research design can be viewed as ". . . a logical plan of getting from here to

there" (Yin, 2014, p. 28). For this study the two research questions serve as the "here";

the conclusions in chapter eight reflect the "there". Below I discuss the

operationalization and execution of the design for this journey, including descriptions of

the population/sample; the mixed methods approach used to collect the data necessary to

answer the research questions; the analytical methods employed to assess and interpret

the data; and implications for the validity and reliability of the study's results.

Population, Sample and Units of Analysis

This study uses an embedded, single case design that employed *purposeful*

intensity sampling (an information-rich sample of convenience, where the phenomenon

being investigated is expected to be found to a great degree, Patton, 1990). Intensity

sampling is a heuristic research approach that studies an unusual or exceptional sample

(Yin, 2014). It is well suited to samples drawn from the personal experiences of the

researcher (Patton, 1990). As will be described in the positionality section I chose the

organization for this case based on my experience working there. Through my doctoral

studies I became familiar with the literature on collaboration and wondered if this formal

collaboration may be able to provide data points that could help answer some scholarly puzzles.

In designing case study research it is important to specify the boundaries of the case. This typically includes what group will be studied in what geographic area, what time period the data will cover, and what types of evidence will be collected (Yin, 2014). Such binding of the case avoids overtaxing the researcher's capacity. Binding the case also decreases the chance of gathering too much information that will muddy rather than increase understanding of the phenomenon of interest. For this case the boundaries are the organization (the Balboa Park Cultural Partnership in San Diego, California) from the time of its founding until March 2016. Data selected for collection will be described in detail below.

In a single case study the population and sample are the same. For this investigation the population/sample is the Balboa Park Cultural Partnership. BPCP is a 501(c)3 membership association of 29 arts, science, and culture organizations in Southern California. BPCP was organized and began meeting in October 2001. It was formally incorporated as a 501(c)3 corporation in 2003. More details about BPCP are provided in the next three chapters.

Unit of analysis. Because this study seeks to understand phenomena that occur at multiple levels (e.g., individual, organizational, programs, process) it uses an embedded case study design. Embedded cases are an approach that allows for data collection in specific areas of interest within a case. This approach is useful when finer levels of detail are required than what could be gleaned from looking at only the entire context of the case (Yin, 2014). This investigation uses two units of analysis: (a) the

organization (BPCP) and (b) the resources used by BPCP and its programs. This

approach enables data analysis within each subunit (i.e., *within case* analysis), between

the subunits (*between case* analysis), and across the subunits (*cross-case* analysis, Baxter

& Jack, 2008). However, an embedded approach runs the risk of generating disjointed

and seemingly disconnected data if the researcher does not take care to tie the data

together during her analysis.

Data Sources and Analysis

This study employs mixed methods of data collection to garner a more robust array

of data than could be generated from either qualitative or quantitative methods alone.

Data were collected in two ways, through stakeholder interviews and document analysis.

Interviews. To gain an understanding of stakeholders involved with BPCP I

interviewed 16 people as key informants to obtain both retrospective and current accounts

of their experiences. Participants were informed of their rights as research participants.

Each person voluntarily participated, gave permission to be interviewed, and was

promised anonymity. The 16 participants were selected because, through their various

forms of involvement with BPCP, they have knowledge about the phenomenon being

investigated. This purposive, non-probability sampling is especially well-suited to the

process tracing method (discussed below), since the aim is not to generalize to a wider

population from a smaller sample (Tansey, 2007). The participants included six current

or former employees of BPCP; four board members who are also the CEOs of

organizations that belong to BPCP; three funders (one each from a private foundation,

corporation, and a federal agency); and two representatives of the municipality in which

Balboa Park is located.

These multiple types of participants were chosen to provide a multi-dimensional perspective of the partnership, its programs, its resources, and how these resources change through interactions among the various stakeholders. Similar to the way a cubist painting seeks to depict numerous perspectives of the same object simultaneously, the use of multiple key informants was chosen to incorporate a variety of standpoints. Through this diversity of viewpoints a richer data set could be developed. It also served as a way to triangulate the data, discussed below.

The participants in this study represent a sample of convenience. They include people I am acquainted with, was introduced to through a mutual acquaintance, or know by reputation through previous interactions with their organizations. To promote diverse viewpoints I also sought out three people who were known in the community as critics of BPCP. I also looked for and achieved gender diversity of the respondents (50% male, 50% female). I tried to achieve ethnic diversity but was less successful there. This shortcoming of the study is discussed in the limitations section below.

Data collection procedures. The interviews lasted between 35 and 90 minutes. Of the 16 interviews, 15 were recorded and transcribed. One was not due to a technical problem; its data were summarized immediately after the interview once I realized the malfunction had occurred. Field notes were taken at all interviews and analytic memos were written for each interview afterward. This data set generated 842 minutes of recorded interviews and 190 pages of transcriptions. The interviews relied on an interview guide (see sample in Appendix A) to guide the conversation between the participants and the researcher. The interview guides were developed to generate answers to the research questions. The interview guide strategy was selected for this

study because it provides sufficient structure to ensure the responses would produce the data needed to answer the research questions, yet allow room for exploration as unexpected ideas and comments arose. Four different types of guides were developed, reflecting the four different categories of participants interviewed (BPCP employee, BPCP board member, funder of BPCP, municipal representative).

The interview guide questions were designed to elicit the respondents' knowledge and opinions about BPCP and their perception of its goals, strategies, outcomes, processes, and use of resources. Wording was designed to be non-guiding (e.g., using "resources" instead of "intangible capital"). Questions were deliberately open-ended to allow respondents to choose their own vocabulary. The open-endedness also provided space for emergent thoughts, discussed in more detail in the coding section below.

Document review. I also conducted a document review to obtain other perspectives about BPCP's collaborative and organizational goals, strategies, outcomes, and impact. The document analysis consisted of a review of internally and externally generated documents. Examples of internal documents reviewed include BPCP's website, program evaluations, and program reporting. Examples of externally generated documents reviewed include press coverage, minutes from municipal meetings, and research reports. Quantitative data sources I examined include BPCP's federal 990 tax returns, organizational audits, project budgets, and funding allocations from government sources. In addition to providing a rich source of information to help answer the research questions, the document analysis also functioned as a source of triangulation for the interview data. The process of *triangulation* seeks to collect data via multiple methods from multiple sources for comparison. Convergence of data from multiple sources

promotes consistency of the findings (Mathison, 1988; Yin, 2014). Further triangulation occurred through member checking, discussed in detail below.

Data Analysis. With its use of informed grounded theory this study does not employ a predetermined theoretical framework to analyze the data. Instead, the goal is to maintain theoretical pluralism while being guided by potentially relevant conceptualizations generated from the literature (Thornberg, 2012; Yin, 2014). However, the literature review did guide some of the coding as discussed below.

Analysis of both the document review data and the interview responses employed the constant comparative method of qualitative analysis (Glaser, 1965), a type of inductive analysis that attempts to discover patterns by looking at specific examples to find commonalities and repeated themes which may then point to larger generalizability. Content analysis included identifying, coding, categorizing, classifying, and labeling the primary patterns in the data. A software program (AtlasTI) was used to manage this analytical process. To balance the researcher's perspective with informant perspectives and prevent the data from being "cherry picked" (Gioia, Corley, & Hamilton, 2012, p. 18) a combination of open and selective coding was used, generating 186 codes.

Open coding. Open data coding was used to categorize emerging themes and pick up patterns that became apparent from this process. Codes were developed for each key point identified in the interview transcripts and documents. The coding sought to inventory and define key phrases, terms, and practices. The main two types of coding used here were *in vivo* coding and process coding. *In vivo* coding represents the exact words of the participants (i.e., descriptions and categories that the people being interviewed use to make sense of their world). Using *in vivo* coding was a strategic

design decision to give voice to the participants, convey their insights in their own words, and provide first-person analysis that served as a way to balance potential researcher bias (Gioia, Corley, & Hamilton, 2012).   Process coding was used to label actions.   The use of process codes helps a study capture changes over time (Saldaña, 2009).

   Selective (Theoretical) Coding. Selective coding was used to document concepts identified from the literature. These included sensitizing concepts and analyst constructed codes. Sensitizing concepts are categories imposed by the researcher drawn from social science theories and the literature. Analyst constructed codes were based on the typology of the 20 capitals identified through the literature review (Table 2). That typology had been empirically assessed and refined in an earlier pilot study of three small private grantmaking foundations (Castillo, 2014). It was designed in part to answer the question about capital I was asked by one advisor, "how will you know it when you see it?"

Table 2

Coding scheme for capitals

Code	Capital Type	*Definitions /* Examples	Source
A	**Financial Capital**	***Pool of funds available for investment spending***	IIRC, 2013a
A1	Money	Fiat currency, checks, cash	IIRC, 2013a
A2	Debt	Bonds, loans, mortgages	Yetman, 2010
A3	Equity	Stocks, securities, program related investments	Yetman, 2010
B	**Physical Capital**	***Manufactured and natural resources***	Krugman & Wells, 2009
B4	Built	Buildings, infrastructure, equipment	Batten, 1991
B5	Natural	Water, air, sunlight, energy, earth, plants, animals, nature, ecosystem services	Emery & Flora, 2006
C	**Human Capital**	***Abilities of people***	Smith, 1776
C6	Physiological	Health, strength, vitality, bodily needs	Frezza, 2011
C7	Psychological	Emotional resilience, sense of wellbeing/safety, happiness, sadness, anger	Luthans, & Youssef, 2004
C8	Intellectual	Knowledge, rationality, intelligence	Malhotra, 2000
C9	Creative	Imagination, innovation, artistic expression	Wolf & Holochwost, 2009
C10	Moral	Values, ethics, sense of equity, altruism	Hirschman, 1984
D	**Relational**	***Connection to stakeholders internally and externally***	Capello & Faggian, 2005
D11	Social	Relationships, clubs, convenings, professional networks, trust	Coleman, 1988; Lin, 2008
D12	Political	Power, formal authority, legislative authority	Sorensen & Torfing, 2003
D13	Spiritual	Religion, meaning, a higher power, devotion to ancestors	Zohar & Marshall, 2004
E	**Symbolic**	***Wealth and capacity accumulated in representational form***	Bourdieu, 1983
E14	Cultural	Norms, expectations, worldviews, shared mental models	Bourdieu, 1983; Throsby, 1999
E15	Reputational	Brand, public perception, status, prestige	Petrick et al., 1999
E16	Temporal	Time, now, yesterday, tomorrow, future decades	Wang, 2013
E17	Spatial	Space, location, geographic proximity	Tan et al., 2014; Marcus, 2010
F	**Structural Capital**	***Formative properties that promote binding of space-time***	Giddens, 1984
F18	Organizational	Networks, hierarchies, holocracies	Ekins et al., 2003
F19	Rule of Law	Governance, policymaking, rulemaking	DeSoto, 2000
F20	Process	Communicating, leading, organizing, sharing	Galbraith, 2002

Analysis of qualitative data took place over multiple cycles. As part of the coding preparation process a codebook was developed with all terms operationalized. The code book included the source of the code (e.g., Olson for *collective action*) and key words that would indicate the presence of these aspects. In round one, open coding was used to develop key points gleaned from the interviews and documents. In round two selective coding was used to examine the data. In round three these codes were grouped into overarching categories that generated 28 themes. Additionally, I wrote and coded seven analytic memos to describe my perceptions of the interview conversations, seeking to make explicit my relationship to the social world I was studying (Saldaña, 2013).

Process tracing. Process tracing is ". . . the use of evidence from within a historical case to make inferences about causal explanations of that case" (Bennett & Checkel, 2015, p. 4). By examining various events that occurred in the case over time the researcher seeks to infer how the process of interest took place and what might have caused it. Process tracing is increasingly used as an analytic tool in political science, particularly in the qualitative analysis of within-case studies (i.e., using evidence from within the space/time/topic boundaries of the case, Collier, 2011).

To infer causality is a multi-step process. First, individual instances at specific points in time must be robustly described. These stand-alone descriptions are then joined together to develop a trajectory that links over the time period studied. Various hypotheses, analytically formulated based on prior knowledge of conceptual frameworks and recurring empirical regularities, are then considered. For one hypothesis to be selected over the others requires assessment of its being unique (necessary) and certain (sufficient, Bennett & Checkel, 2015).

The process this study seeks to trace over time is the creation of BPCP's Parkwide Pass shared business model program, described in the next chapter. Chapters five through seven weave together narrative snapshots of a series of specific events over time that led to the creation and operation of this program. By analyzing data collected from the document analysis and interviews I developed a narrative flow of these events. Chapter seven seeks to infer potential causation through analysis of changes that occurred over time. For this case the process tracing analysis considers seven plausible rival explanations:

1. Null hypothesis (*the Parkwide pass program developed as a result of chance circumstance*).

2. Resource dependence hypothesis (*the Parkwide pass program developed as a way to secure exogenous resources from BPCP's operating environment*).

3. Institutional hypothesis A (*the Parkwide pass program developed to mimic the practices of other arts and culture organizations*).

4. Institutional hypothesis B (*the Parkwide pass program developed in response to pressure from funders*).

5. Transaction cost hypothesis (*the Parkwide pass program developed as a way for BPCP's member organizations to reduce their costs and/or achieve scale.*)

6. Resource mobilization hypothesis (*the Parkwide pass program developed to increase public access to Balboa Park's cultural institutions).*

7. Informed Grounded Theory hypothesis (*the Parkwide pass program developed both to secure exogenous resources from, and return endogenously-created resources to, BPCP's operating environment*).

Internal Validity, External Validity, and Reliability. *Internal validity* is the ability to have confidence in the cause/effect claims made by a study (Yin, 2014). The choice of informed grounded theory for this study was guided in part as a way to establish a sound conceptual foundation for hypothesis creation. I also sought to increase internal validity by consulting with senior scholars from several universities (e.g., Arizona, DePaul, Johns Hopkins, North Carolina at Wilmington, San Diego, Stanford) about the research design. Their suggestions included decreasing the number of research questions (originally five); making them more specific (focus on resources); and using process tracing to explain the phenomenon under study (how BPCP transforms capital resources into outputs, outcomes, collective impact, and financial sustainability).

Triangulation and member checking. To further increase the internal validity of this study I employ *triangulation*, the use of confirmatory evidence from two or more sources (Yin, 2014). For this study data triangulation included using multiple sources that included interviews and document review. Theory triangulation was obtained by considering multiple theoretical perspectives. Methodological triangulation was obtained through mixed methods data collection, e.g., qualitative (written and spoken words) and quantitative (budgets and 990 data).

I also employed member checking as a way to check for researcher bias and improve clarity of the findings. This was accomplished through review meetings with three research participants to discuss my findings and explore alternative interpretations. Each member has a graduate degree or has pursued graduate study. I also sent the draft findings to several of the interview participants for their review.

External validity and reliability. *External validity* speaks to the degree that the findings from this study can be considered generalizable to other domains (e.g., other nonprofit organizations, collective action associations). I discuss this issue in greater detail in chapter eight. *Reliability* reflects the repeatability and stability of the research procedures (Yin, 2014). In a case study investigation reliability is suggested when: a) the research questions are clear the study design is congruent with them; and b) the researcher provides evidence that the study has been conducted with thoughtfulness, intentionality, and diligence (Riege, 2003). The previous pages outline the care that has been taken to produce a reliable study. We now turn our attention to the findings, beginning with an overview of the Balboa Park Cultural Partnership and its operating environment.

CHAPTER 5

CONTEXT: THE STAGE AND ITS PLAYERS

BPCP and Its Operating Environment

The purpose of this chapter is to provide information about the case organization, the Balboa Park Cultural Partnership, as well as the geo-political context in which it operates. The chapter's four sections present some of the descriptive findings from the data to describe the first unit of analysis, the case organization. First, I briefly describe Balboa Park, the location where BPCP operates. Next, I discuss BPCP and its formation, members, governance, mission, strategic planning, programs, and finances. In the third section I describe the political context in which BPCP operates, focusing on its relationships with key stakeholders such as the City of San Diego, core funders, and other constituents in Balboa Park and beyond. In section four, I summarize key themes from this data. This descriptive and analytical overview sets the stage for chapter six that will examine BPCP's core programs and resources, focusing on how BPCP converts its resource inputs into outputs, outcomes, and collective impact.

The Geospatial Context of Balboa Park

In 1835, a community leader in San Diego, California donated land near the downtown area for public recreational use. Three decades later (1868), a citizens committee recommended that 1,400 acres of this parcel be turned into a large municipal park for the city's 2,300 residents. Local elected officials agreed and approval was given by the California state legislature in1870 to create what became known as City Park (City of San Diego, n.d.a).

Municipal development of City Park began in 1902, building on a decade of previous work by private citizens who had planted trees throughout the park's canyons and mesas. In 1910 a public contest was held to officially name the park. *Balboa Park* was selected as the park's new name in honor of the Spanish explorer (City of San Diego, n.d.a). The hosting of two world's fairs (the Panama-California Exposition in 1915-16 and the California Pacific International Exposition in 1935-36) led to the development of the park's iconic Spanish colonial revival architecture. Many of these buildings were meant to be only temporary. They were therefore constructed out of wood and plaster, with their bas-relief ornamentation crafted from cardboard (Van Ow, n.d.). In 1936, the San Diego city council authorized noncommercial civic organizations to occupy these buildings through New Series Ordinance No. 1013 (Balboa Park Cultural Partnership, 2008). Figure 2 illustrates the geographic location of Balboa Park.

Figure 2.   Maps of San Diego County and Balboa Park
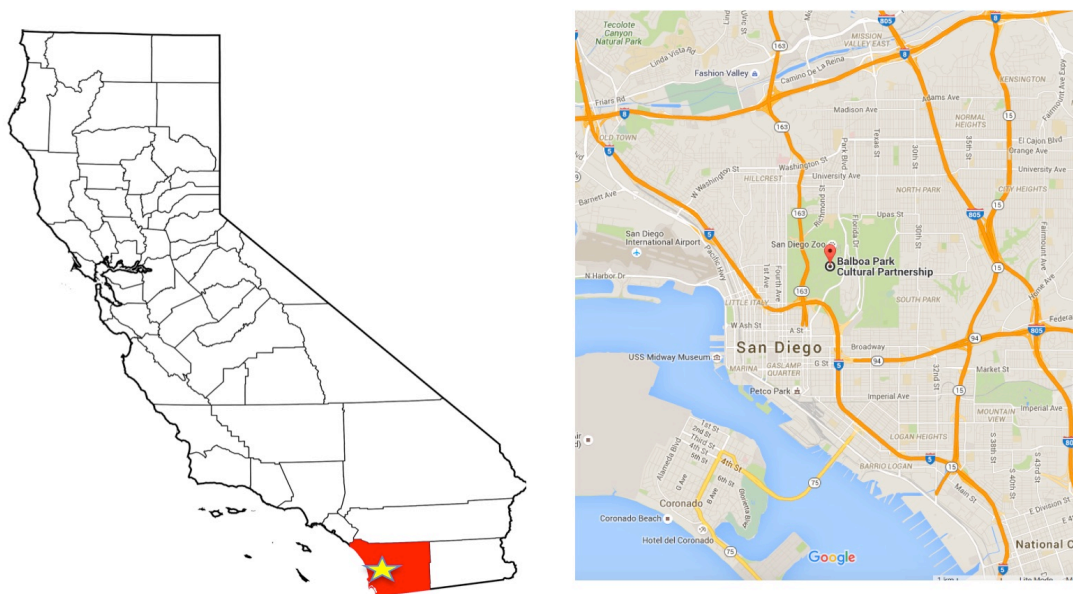
Figure 2. Map showing location of San Diego within the state of California (Benbennick, 2006) and the location of Balboa Park within San Diego (Google Maps, 2016).

In 1977, Balboa Park and its buildings were declared a National Historic Landmark District (City of San Diego, n.d.a). Today Balboa Park spans 1,200 acres and attracts more than 10 million visitors a year (Trust for Public Land, 2008). Figure 3 provides an aerial overview of Balboa Park.

Figure 3. Aerial View of Balboa Park

Figure 3. Aerial view of the Central Mesa area of Balboa Park (Mabel, 2015).

Balboa Park is the third most visited municipal park in the United States (City of San Diego, n.d.a). It houses 85 arts, culture, and recreation organizations (Trust for Public Land, 2008). Balboa Park is beloved by residents throughout the region and is often referred to as San Diego's "crown jewel" (City of San Diego, n.d.b). The 100-year anniversary of Balboa Park was celebrated in 2015 as the Balboa Park Centennial Celebration (Carone, 2015). Many books have been written about Balboa Park (e.g., Showley, 1999) and much more could be added to this overview. However, the purpose

here is not to be exhaustive but rather to provide context. We turn our attention now to the case organization.

The Case Organization: The Balboa Park Cultural Partnership

The Balboa Park Cultural Partnership is a 501(c)3 collaboration, organized in 2001 and formally incorporated in 2003 with 21 members (Balboa Park Cultural Partnership, 2008). According to its profile on the Foundation Center's Nonprofit Collaboration Database, BPCP lists itself as "an alliance or similar collaborative structure through which members retain structural autonomy and have defined roles and responsibilities to achieve specific social goals or purposes" (Foundation Center, 2016). Using Guo & Acar's categorizations (2005) it is a formal collaboration (versus informal).

Formation of BPCP

With so many organizations located in such close proximity, it seems natural that Balboa Park's arts and culture organizations would collaborate. However, this was not the case. Between 1936 and 2000, numerous museums and cultural institutions sprang up within Balboa Park but increasingly they worked in isolation.

> Over the years that followed the expositions, the spirit of cooperation . . . began to wane among the growing number of museums, cultural institutions and civic organizations that settled into the Park landscape. [They] became increasingly mired in the hectic, day-to-day needs and interests of their individual institutions. Disconnection grew, especially among the large and small institutions. Isolation and disconnect led to a number of issues, such a lack of ability for institutions to advocate and present themselves in one voice, an atmosphere of competition versus cooperation, limited infrastructure for communication and coordination, and no forum to learn from and support one another. (Balboa Park Cultural Partnership, 2008)

Although some groups (e.g., museum educators, the Central Balboa Park Assembly) had been meeting for many years (discussed more below), BPCP was the first major collaborative initiative in Balboa Park (Balboa Park Cultural Partnership, 2011).

What led to its creation? The executive directors of the various organizations in Balboa Park came together formally in 2001 to discuss and plan for urgent shared concerns, many of which involved the City of San Diego. These shared concerns included increased crime in the park, a proposed change from free to paid parking for visitors, proposed fee increases to be paid by the cultural institutions to the City, a proposed placement of a homeless encampment within Balboa Park, and an economic downturn that had reduced financial resources (Simpson, 2010).

> The impetus for forming our partnership was a crisis—in 1999-2000 the City of San Diego was considering alternate uses for Balboa Park. Several executive directors began talking to each other about the need to work together to educate the City. Due to the success of this initial joint effort, the executive directors decided to continue working together. Strategic planning was conducted from 2001-2003 and resulted in formal incorporation as a 501(c)3. (Foundation Center, 2016)

While the external pressures certainly motivated people to come together, there were other factors as well. Among these was "having the right people in the right place at the right time" (Simpson, 2010). Some executive directors who had opposed collaboration left their organizations between 1999 and 2000. In their place came new directors who embraced a more collaborative approach. They were therefore,

> . . . free from the history and politics that may have constrained others . . . this is one reason why the planning group ultimately created the Partnership as a 501(c)3 nonprofit. They wanted to prevent the collaboration from being susceptible to the agenda of one or a few strong personalities, especially during leadership transitions. (Simpson, 2010, p. 2)

A founding board member of BPCP recalled,

> . . . the reason BPCP was formed was to have a place where the executive directors could get to know each other. When a new executive director came no one welcomed them. No one talked to each other. We wanted to have a forum where there could be discussion and reflection.

In mid 1999, several of the executive directors of cultural organizations in Balboa Park began to meet for a series of informal discussions about the external pressures they were facing and what might be possible if they started working together on a variety of common operational and programming issues (Balboa Park Cultural Partnership, 2007). While park organizations had been meeting regularly to share information through the Central Balboa Park Assembly (CBPA), that organization served as an information sharing forum for mid-level managers to learn about special events in the Park that might impact their organizations. In March 2000, the Legler Benbough Foundation provided $10,000 in start-up money to fund initial research and analysis to determine if structured collaboration would be feasible and desirable. This effort became known as the Balboa Park Cultural Institutions Strategic Planning Initiative. When the directors began meeting, they had to use nametags because no one knew each other (Simpson, 2010; Balboa Park Cultural Partnership, 2007). One early participant recalled, "They needed nametags the very first meeting. By meeting two the name tags came off, and you could just see the trust building."

The House of Hospitality Association became the fiscal agent for this initiative in spring 2001. In June 2001 BPCP received a $150,000 grant, payable over two years, from the James Irvine Foundation, along with other support from the Parker Foundation ($50,000), BPCP member institutions ($10,500), and an additional $80,500 from the Legler Benbough Foundation between 2001 and 2002. More information about start up funding is discussed in the next chapter. For now, what is pivotal to know is that the receipt of this funding enabled the directors to focus completely on the strategic planning task than worry about how they were going to pay for it. As one participant recalls, "If

you don't have the funding, how are you going to be able to focus? It would have caused so much distraction. Having it (the funding) gave the directors the freedom to focus on the task at hand."

A full-time strategic planning director and an executive assistant were hired to staff this initiative in October 2001. Donated office space was secured, first in the House of Hospitality, then at an offsite office (Campbell Mithun) and later at the San Diego Natural History Museum (Balboa Park Cultural Partnership, 2007). A two-year strategic planning process began in November 2001, facilitated by Robert F. Smith of Strategies & Teams, Inc. This process involved extensive research, including a marketing and positioning study to help guide planning decisions.

On March 13, 2002, the strategic planning initiative was introduced to the trustees of the 22 participating institutions at a reception. Interviews with 23 Park stakeholders were conducted between April 3-19, 2002 to learn about people' perception of Balboa Park and their opinions about key issues and problems facing it. This process relied heavily on volunteers. One planning participant recollected that the San Diego Zoo had offered its volunteers to assist with data analysis and that "they were the ones who did the processing of the surveys and compiled it into reports. They were really skilled volunteers." Findings from the surveys concluded that:

- Marketing was not being done effectively, either to attract tourists or locals.
- Collaborative and coordinated programming was a lost opportunity. Cultural institutions were putting on exhibits and shows in isolation.

- Many of the problems in Balboa Park, such as parking, wayfinding signage, maintenance, deferred maintenance and safety, were controlled by the City of San Diego. Park institutions felt rather powerless to affect change with the city.

- Because of insufficient funding, the cultural institutions saw each other as competitors for the same visitors and donors (Strategies & Teams, 2002).

Based on this and the other market research, the BPCP strategic planning team on May 14, 2002 adopted six Key Result Areas (KRAs) developed through data analysis of the internal and external research that had been conducted. The six Key Results Areas were 1) governance, 2) parking, 3) Collective Business Operations, 4), marketing and PR, 5) education, and 6) sharing and communication (Balboa Park Cultural Partnership, 2007).

The BPCP initiative convened a group of civic, education, philanthropy, and business leaders (referred to as the Community Council) on August 12, 2002 to provide counsel to the collaboration's development (Balboa Park Cultural Partnership, 2007). BPCP's strategic planning also began attracting the interest of other aspiring regional cultural collaborations, including Parque Fundidora in Monterrey, Mexico (August 2002), Tijuana and Baja California (December, 2002), Houston (April 2003), Seattle (May 2003), and Kansas City, MO (May 2004; Balboa Park Cultural Partnership, 2007).

On November 20, 2002 the board members adopted a mission and values statement. They signed and submitted Articles of Incorporation to the State of California to register as a nonprofit public benefit corporation on December 11, 2002. The Balboa Park Cultural Partnership was officially incorporated on July 28, 2003. Bylaws, an

organizational structure, and the Officers and Directors were approved on August 27, 2003 (Balboa Park Cultural Partnership, 2007).

Early Strategic Planning and Programs

The Partnership's Key Results Areas from the initial planning process served as its first marching orders. However, external pressures intensified when the City of San Diego developed its Balboa Park Land Use, Circulation, and Parking Study in 2002-2003 (Jones & Jones, 2004). As such, the BPCP board voted to fast-track KRAs 2 (parking). More details about this turn of events are discussed in the Political Context section below. In addition to parking, several other programs were launched to advance the remaining five Key Results Areas. These include governance, Collective Business Operations, marketing and public relations, education, and sharing and communication.

As of March 2016 the Balboa Park Cultural Partnership has 29 member organizations, 25 of which are full members and four of which are associate members (discussed below). Member institutions include museums, gardens, performing and visual arts organizations, cultural centers, and the San Diego Zoo. The budgets of these organizations range from less than $25,000 to $274 million. Collectively these 29 organizations are supported by 7,000 volunteers, 500 trustees, and 3,500 staff. They serve more than 6.5 million visitors annually (Foundation Center, 2016). Table 3 contains a roster of BPCP's member organizations with their budget sizes and mission.

Table 3

Member Organizations of the Balboa Park Cultural Partnership

	Member Organization	Revenue	Est.	Mission
1.	Balboa Park Conservancy http://www.balboapark.org/conservancy	$3.1 million	2011	To keep Balboa Park magnificent by sustaining and enhancing its beauty and its historic, cultural, and recreational character for the enduring enjoyment of all.
2.	Balboa Park Online Collaborative http://www.balboapark.org/bpoc/about	$1.8 million	2005	To facilitate and execute a fundamental change in the way museums, cultural arts and science institutions in Balboa Park approach the use of online technology by making online technology an integral part of the way the institutions fulfill their missions, interact with patrons, and collaborate; to improve their technology capabilities while reducing costs by bringing organizations with similar needs together on mutually beneficial projects; and to allow smaller institutions the benefit of having technology systems of the same quality as larger organizations, who in turn benefit from streamlined expenditures.
3.	Centro Cultural de la Raza http://centroculturaldelaraza.com/	$110,000	1970	To preserve, promote, create, and educate about Mexican, Chicano, Indigenous and Latino art and culture.
4.	Friends of Balboa Park* http://friendsofbalboapark.org/	$395,000	1999	To preserve Balboa Park's legacy for future generations through park-wide projects.
5.	House of Pacific Relations* http://www.sdhpr.org/	$190,000	1935	A consortium of 'houses' representing 33 countries that promotes multicultural goodwill and understanding through educational and cultural programs.
6.	Japanese Friendship Garden http://www.niwa.org/	$2 million	1991	To educate, engage, and inspire present and future generations of diverse backgrounds about Japanese culture and community legacy through exhibits, programs, and the preservation of a Japanese garden
7.	Mingei International Museum http://www.mingei.org/	$3.2 million	1975	Dedicated to furthering the understanding of 'art of the people' (mingei) from all eras and cultures of the world. This art shares a direct simplicity and reflects a joy in making, by hand, useful objects of timeless beauty that are satisfying to the human spirit.
8.	Museum of Photographic Arts http://www.mopa.org/	$3.5 million	1983	To inspire, educate, and engage the broadest possible audience through the presentation, interpretation, collection, and preservation of photography, film, and video.
9.	Reuben H. Fleet Science Center http://www.rhfleet.org/	$6.5 million	1964	To inspire lifelong learning by furthering the public understanding and enjoyment of science and technology.
10.	San Diego Air & Space Museum http://sandiegoairandspace.org/	$6 million	1961	To preserve significant artifacts of air and space history and technology, inspire excellence in science, technology, engineering and mathematics; educate the public about the historical and social significance of air and space technology and engage its promise of the future; and celebrate aviation and flight history and technology.
11.	San Diego Art Institute: Museum of the Living Artist http://www.sandiego-art.org/	$620,000	1941	To develop artists and supporters of the visual arts through exhibition, education, and outreach. We achieve this mission by creating innovative programs that respond to the needs of our communities, by offering world-class facilities to exhibit artwork, and by forging partnerships on a local and global scale.

12.	San Diego Automotive Museum http://sdautomuseum.org/	$650,000	1987	To tell the story of the social and technological past, present, and future of motorized vehicles through collections, exhibitions, and educational programs.
13.	San Diego Botanical-Garden Foundation* http://bpcp.org/balboa-park-cultural-partnership-welcomes-san-diego-botanical-garden-foundation-new-member	$22,500	1962	With 7,000 members this organization supports more than 41 gardening groups.
14.	San Diego Civic Youth Ballet www.sdcyb.org	$625,000	1970	To provide the youth of San Diego with an opportunity to study, understand and appreciate, through education and participation, the art of ballet; and to enrich the cultural life of the community.
15.	San Diego Hall of Champions Sports Museum http://www.sdhoc.com/	$1.5 million	1962	To promote, recognize, and preserve athletic achievement for the purpose of inspiring individuals of all ages to reach their full potential.
16.	San Diego History Center http://www.sandiegohistory.org/	$2.5 million	1928	Tells the diverse story of our region – past, present and future – educating and enriching our community, preserving our history and fostering civic pride.
17.	San Diego Junior Theatre http://juniortheatre.com/	$2.4 million	1948	To provide engaging, innovative, high-quality theatre education and productions for children of all cultural heritages, ages, abilities and levels of interest.
18.	San Diego Model Railroad Museum http://www.sdmrm.org/	$638,000	1980	To preserve the heritage of railroading through a series of miniature representations of California railroads; research and preserve the history of model railroading; educate the public on the history and aspects of railroading; and actively engage people from every community and demographic, to delight and teach the art of model railroading and the history of railroads.
19.	San Diego Museum of Man http://www.museumofman.org/	$5.4 million	1915	Inspiring human connections by exploring the human experience.
20.	San Diego Natural History Museum www.sdnhm.org	$24.8 million	1874	To interpret the natural world through research, education and exhibits; to promote understanding of the evolution and diversity of southern California and the peninsula of Baja California; and to inspire in all a respect for nature and the environment.
21.	San Diego Youth Symphony & Conservatory http://www.sdys.org/	$1.48 million	1946	To instill excellence in the musical and personal development of students through rigorous and inspiring musical training experiences.
22.	Spanish Village Art Center http://spanishvillageart.com/	$85,000	1947	Visitors enjoy artwork of over 200 artisans and craftspeople showcasing work in about 37 colorful studios and galleries.
23.	Spreckels Organ Society* https://spreckelsorgan.org/	$368,000	1988	To preserve, program, and promote the Spreckels Organ as a world treasure for all people.
24.	The Old Globe https://theoldglobe.org/	$12.6 million	1937	To preserve, strengthen, and advance American theatre by: Creating theatrical experiences of the highest professional standards; Producing and presenting works of exceptional merit, designed to reach current and future audiences; Ensuring diversity and balance in programming; Providing an environment for the growth and education of theatre professionals, audiences and the community at large.
25.	San Diego Museum of Art http://www.sdmart.org/	$7.6 million	1935	To inspire, educate, and cultivate curiosity through great works of art.

26.	The Veterans Museum at Balboa Park http://www.veteranmuseum.org/	$325,000	1989	To honor the men and women who served their country in the U.S. Armed Forces and Wartime Merchant Marine by documenting their contributions and experiences and preserving their legacy for future generations through their individual stories.
27.	Timken Museum of Art http://www.timkenmuseum.org/about/about	$3.1 million	1965	To reserve the Putnam Collection of European and American art for the education and benefit of present and future generations of San Diego residents and visitors. The Museum celebrates the important role of art as a way of enriching lives and nurturing the creative spirit in us all.
28.	WorldBeat Center http://www.worldbeatcenter.org/	$225,000	1990	To unite diversity through education, music, art and community programs and promote and preserve the various African and indigenous cultures around the world.
29.	Zoological Society of San Diego http://zoo.sandiegozoo.org/	$274 million	1916	To save species worldwide by uniting our expertise in animal care and conservation science with our dedication to inspiring passion for nature.

* Associate member

The bylaws of the Balboa Park Cultural Partnership allow for three types of membership. The first is full membership that includes voting privileges. To be eligible for full membership, organizations must operate a facility in Balboa Park that is open to the public at least five days a week; be governed by board of trustees/directors; have a paid executive director; and provide cultural services to the public as a 501(c)3 organization (Balboa Park Cultural Partnership, 2008). Annual membership dues for full members are based on a sliding scale (from $1,000 to $25,000, pro-rated according to organizational budget size).

If an organization meets the above requirements and wants to join the partnership, it must join as a full member. For organizations that do not meet these requirements, two other membership categories are available: associate and supporting. Associate membership is open to organizations that conduct or support cultural activities in Balboa Park. Annual dues are $800. Benefits at this level include access to BPCP programs but not voting rights. Supporting membership is available to for-profit organizations that conduct business in or near Balboa Park (Balboa Park Cultural Partnership, 2008). Figure 4 shows a map of Balboa Park that includes locations of member organizations.

Figure 4.   Map of Balboa Park
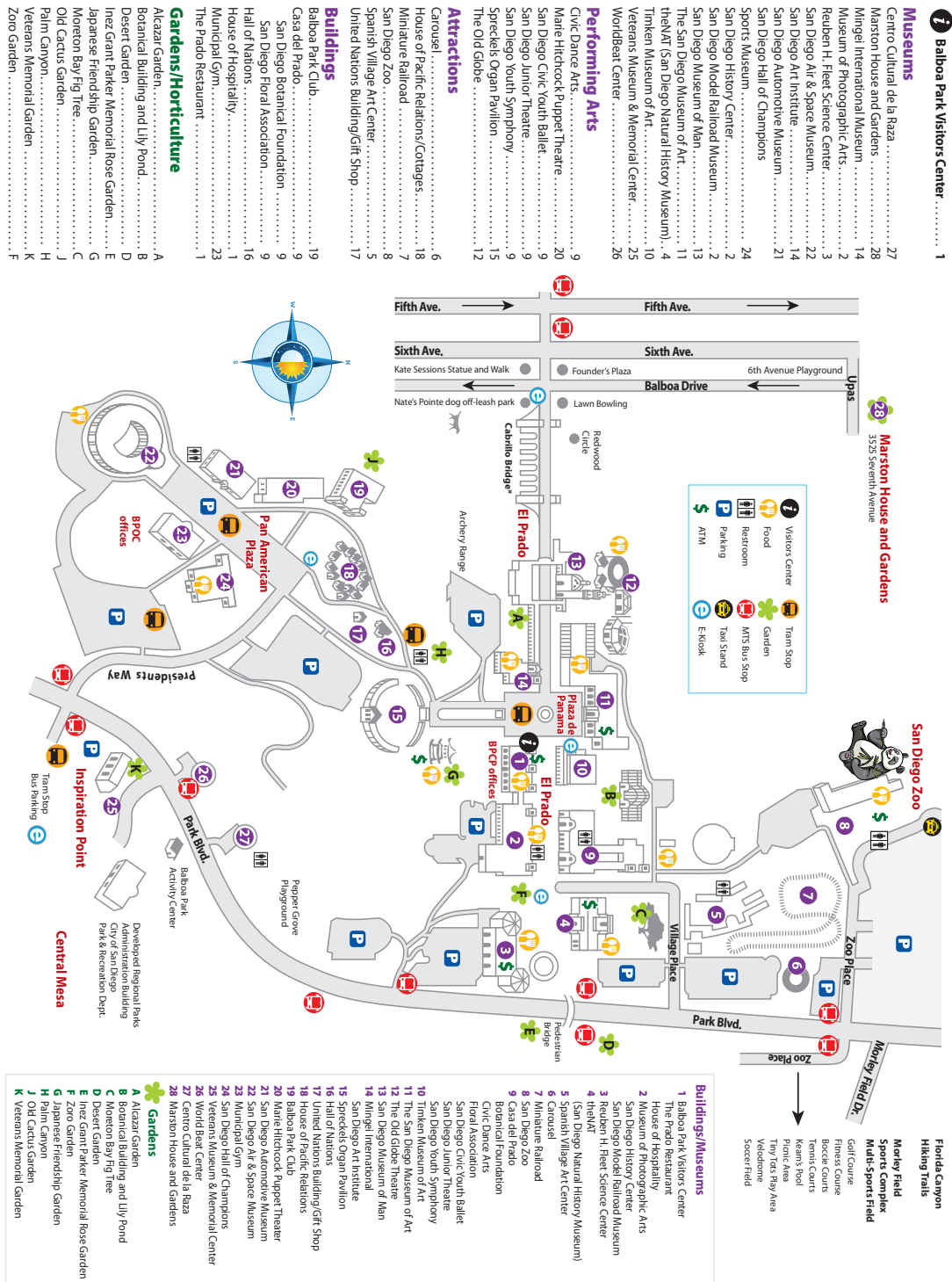
Figure 4. Map of Balboa Park with locations of its member institutions (Balboa Park, 2016a).

Mission, Vision, and Values

The mission of the Balboa Park Cultural Partnership is

. . . to enrich the cultural life in and beyond San Diego by facilitating collaboration among Balboa Park's cultural institutions and with the community; to enable the cultural institutions to achieve their full individual and collective potential; and, to preserve, enhance and make accessible the arts, science and cultural assets of Balboa Park for present and future generations. (Balboa Park Cultural Partnership, 2016)

BPCP's vision is ". . . for Balboa Park to serve as a national model for exceptional

collaboration, innovative education and transformative arts, science and cultural

experiences" (Balboa Park Cultural Partnership, 2016). BPCP's stated values are

collaboration, stewardship, learning and dissemination, innovation and agility,

connectivity, and excellence. Table 4 features the words BPCP uses to operationalize

these values.

Table 4

Values of the Balboa Park Cultural Partnership

Value	BPCP Definition
Collaboration	Working collaboratively is at the heart of all the Partnership does. We use our collective strengths and resources wherever possible to make us stronger together than we can be individually, through what we do as well as how we do it.
Stewardship	We respect and effectively build, utilize and preserve the cultural, human and financial resources of our community. We share and leverage these resources responsibly to make the experience of Balboa Park arts, science and cultural institutions continuously more accessible--physically, personally, and intellectually--in person and virtually.
Learning and Dissemination	We value opportunities to learn from years of collective wisdom in Balboa Park as well as to continually build new skills, seek greater insights and challenge convention. This helps us to problem-solve, foster innovation and encourage new thinking. Sharing our learning advances the vitality of our members, our community, and the arts, science and cultural fields.
Innovation and agility	The Partnership embraces the generative possibilities of collaboration. We strive to maintain an agile organizational structure that allows us to be open and strategically responsive to new opportunities, including ones in which we can be pioneers.

Connectivity	Partnership members and the community are strengthened through our external relationships. Serving as the "go to" organization between Balboa Park institutions as a whole and the community encourages sharing, coordination and collaboration on a broader scale.
Excellence	The Balboa Park Cultural Partnership seeks excellence in all that we do in order to serve as a vital asset for our members and the community. BPCP enhances our members' capacity to achieve the highest professional standards and deliver the greatest value to their communities.

(Balboa Park Cultural Partnership, 2016)

Governance

A board of directors governs the Balboa Park Cultural Partnership. Organizational bylaws require its directors to be the executive directors of the organizations that are full members of BPCP. Directors cannot send substitutes in their place to the monthly board meetings (Balboa Park Cultural Partnership, 2008). Upon appointment, each board member signs a Statement of Understanding and Commitment. This document asks that the directors to avoid or disclose any conflict of interest between their own organization and BPCP (Balboa Park Cultural Partnership, 2008), in addition to fulfilling the standard board duties of care, loyalty, and obedience (Midwest Center for Nonprofit Leadership, 2010). The statement also covers expectations about attendance and participation. Besides the monthly board meetings directors also participate in committee meetings. A board member typically serves on one or two committees such as he executive, finance, or development committee and standing committees that are convened around a specific topic (e.g., 2015 Centennial planning).

The initial aim of the governance committee was to "identify and develop a recognized governance structure for Balboa Park cultural institutions to interface with and influence the City of San Diego in the oversight and management of Balboa Park" (Burgess-Carland, Kanzawa, Piranio, & Tumolo, 2008, p. 3). As the bylaws were

developed various configurations and models for the collaboration were considered. The

board decided on a formal structure they felt would promote equity and stability. A key

consideration was how to reconcile power and capacity differences between the large and

small organizations. The use of scaled membership dues and equal representation (one

vote per institution regardless of size) were pivotal decisions:

> Two other critical design elements for creating the Partnership were scaled
> member dues and equal voting rights.   Members of the Partnership vary
> significantly in size . . . The founders of the Partnership felt that it was important
> for members to contribute financially to the collaboration to demonstrate an
> investment in (and a commitment to) their own collective future, as well as to
> avoid being sidetracked by potentially competing goals from outside funders.
> However, member dues are scaled to reflect the realities of differing resources for
> each institution. With regard to governance (all full members are represented on
> the board), the group decided that each institution should have one vote, and thus
> an equal voice in how the organization operates. This is intended to build trust
> and avoid any one institutions or group of institutions from dominating the
> Partnership's focus and activities.   (Simpson, 2010)

While no external stakeholders sit on the board of directors, the governance

structure does incorporate external perspectives in two ways. First, a Community

Council was convened to provide constituent perspectives into the Partnership. Also, the

board's standing and ad hoc committees allow for the inclusion of non-park stakeholders

with expertise and commitment to BPCP's mission. Committees are formed through a

chartering process that tasks each committee with developing its vision, mission/purpose,

values, norms, roles, goals, and processes for decision making and communications

(Balboa Park Cultural Partnership, 2008).

Collective Business Operations. Achieving economies of scale was one of the

earliest goals of the Partnership. BPCP's original strategic plan called for the creation of

"shared business programs that leverage the size of our collaborative to bring financial

savings, efficiency, and increased incentives to member institutions" (Balboa Park

Cultural Partnership, 2008). As the group purchasing program developed it spurred the

creation of offshoot programs, including the Balboa Park Environmental Sustainability

Program (a program to reduce the carbon footprint of Balboa Park through education,

training, and resource sharing, Balboa Park Cultural Partnership, 2008). The next chapter

includes a lengthier discussion of that program.

Marketing and PR. The market research done as part of the 2001-2003 strategic

planning process found "there was little unifying messaging that the public could

identify" (Balboa Park Cultural Partnership, 2008). As such, the Marketing and PR Key

Result Area was undertaken to stimulate awareness of Balboa Park as a cultural

destination rather than simply a plethora of stand-alone institutions. The goal of this

KRA was to "bolster marketing and public relations efforts for BPCP institutions,

individually and collectively" (Burgess-Carland, Kanzawa, Piranio, & Tumolo, 2008, p.

3).

The starting point for this marketing initiative was the development of a brand.

In April 2002, a graphic identity for BPCP was introduced that included a logo,

letterhead, and business cards developed by Campbell Mithun (Balboa Park Cultural

Partnership, 2007), a process funded by a grant from the San Diego Foundation's Arts &

Culture Community Grants program (Balboa Park Cultural Partnership, 2008). The

Partnership then began participating in marketing meetings with staff at its various

member institutions.

Education. Efforts undertaken for this KRA include research and development

for an Early Childhood Education program in Balboa Park; the Balboa Park Learning

Institute (a park-wide professional development program); and the Robert F. Smith

Symposium, a bi-annual convening of managers, board members, funders, and other

Balboa Park Stakeholders (Balboa Park Cultural Partnership, 2007 and 2008). Chapter

six discusses these programs in detail.

Sharing and communication. This KRA called for BPCP to "create a culture of

sharing and communication" (Burgess-Carland et al., 2008, p. 3), recognizing that one of

BPCP's most important roles is to serve as an information hub for its members and the

community. Before BPCP's website was fully developed its executive director prepared

and distributed monthly updates to its board members about park happenings for sharing

with their own boards and staff. A 2008 survey of BPCP board members found that 78%

of these directors reported BPCP's monthly meetings as being the most valuable benefit

of belonging to BPCP (Balboa Park Cultural Partnership, 2008). A members-only

website was also created to foster intra-organizational communication. For

communication with external stakeholders the Balboa Park Cultural Partnership became a

central hub where businesses, regional and national associations, and the press could

connect with all member organizations via one phone call to the BPCP office (Balboa

Park Cultural Partnership, 2008).

2009-12 Strategic Planning and Program Development

In 2008 the Balboa Park Cultural Partnership began another strategic planning

process. Led by a consultant, the process was informed by research conducted by a team

from the University of San Diego's graduate program in nonprofit leadership. That

research included stakeholder interviews and generated three key questions:

"1. What offerings and in what ways does BPCP want to position itself for the future?

2. What are the advocacy opportunities and priorities for BPCP? 3. How can BPCP board and management best work together to achieve BPCP's mission?" (Burgess-Carland et al., 2008, p. 4).

To answer these questions the research team conducted a SWOT analysis (Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, Threats). Strengths identified included sharing of resources, collaborative programming among member institutions, success in foundation fundraising, and creation of a budding model for collaboration. Identified weaknesses included lack of resources needed for growth, lack of role clarity between board and staff, uncertainty about best direction for future action, insufficient income stream, and competition among member institutions. Opportunities included the creation of the Balboa Park Learning Institute, partnership with local universities, creation of a new governance structure for Balboa Park, an influential board of trustees, local government funding support, and the power of a collective voice. Perceived threats included the uncertainty of a new park governance structure, regulatory actions of government agencies, the economic downturn, and reduced city funding for cultural organizations (Burgess-Carland et al., 2008).

Based on the above research as well as an internal assessment and market survey of five other collaborations (Arts and Culture Alliance of Greater Knoxville, Council of Community Clinics, Downtown San Diego Partnership, Napa Valley Coalition of Nonprofit Agencies, and the San Diego River Park Foundation), the strategic planning process selected four key strategic outcomes to be accomplished by 2012: "(1) develop the Partnership's organizational strength and capacity for success and become an employer, service provider, and investment of choice; (2) increase the economic and

environmental sustainability of our members and Balboa Park; (3) optimize the visitor

experience and opportunity for lifelong learning in Balboa Park; and (4) strengthen the

visibility, voice, and leadership of the Partnership.   Figure 5 provides an overview of

these goals.

Figure 5. Summary of Balboa Park Cultural Partnership 2009-12 Strategic Plan

Figure 5. 2009-12 Strategic Plan Summary, Balboa Park Cultural Partnership (Balboa Park Cultural Partnership, 2009).

To advance these goals, three programs that had been percolating became priorities: the

Balboa Park governance task force, 2015 centennial celebration, and Parkwide pass.

Balboa Park Governance Task Force. Like many cities, the City of San Diego

has not had sufficient resources to fulfill all the maintenance and service needs of its

parks. Balboa Park is even more problematic because of its historic status, the semi-

permanent construction methods of many structures, the popularity of the park, and city

fiscal problems resulting from underfunding of some pension obligations in previous

decades. In the early to mid 2000s, the City of San Diego began exploring a shift to a

shared governance model for the park. Three scenarios were put forth: a public-private

partnership similar to New York's Central Park, a joint powers agreement that would

create a partnership of regional government districts, and the creation of a new

government agency as was done for Atlanta's Centennial Olympic Park (Trust for Public

Land, 2008). Given this environment, members of the Partnership were eager to facilitate

the Partnership's participation in public dialogue about the future governance of Balboa

Park (Balboa Park Cultural Partnership, 2008). BPCP provided data for some of the

preliminary reports, discussed more in the next chapter.

2015 Centennial celebration planning. To celebrate the 100th anniversary of the

Panama-California Exposition, Balboa Park organizations and the City of San Diego set

their sights on creating a spectacular yearlong celebration for 2015 that would turn

Balboa Park into global attraction. The vision was also to create a legacy that future city

residents could look back on with pride. BPCP formed a standing committee to

contribute to this planning and represent BPCP and it members in formal planning

meetings (Balboa Park Cultural Partnership, 2009). As city-driven planning lagged,

BPCP became a driver of the process. After the city created its own entity that ultimately

fizzled, BPCP and its member organizations took responsibility for programming and

were seen by many as having ". . . saved the Centennial" (Chute, 2015).

Parkwide Pass. For decades the public had expressed a desire for a single pass

that would enable people to visit all museums and attractions in Balboa Park for one

annual price. Because the cultural institutions each operated their own membership

programs and these programs also functioned as a donor prospect development pipeline,

there was little motivation among the institutions to explore this opportunity. When the

economic downturn hit in 2008, the institutions became willing to consider a shared

membership program. Chapter eight will discuss this program, now known as the

Explorer Pass, in detail. Figure 6 provides a timeline of the formation and development

of BPCP and its programs. As noted by the three x's, not all programs BPCP envisioned

panned out. This will be discussed in chapter six.

Figure 6. Birth and Development of BPCP and Its Programs
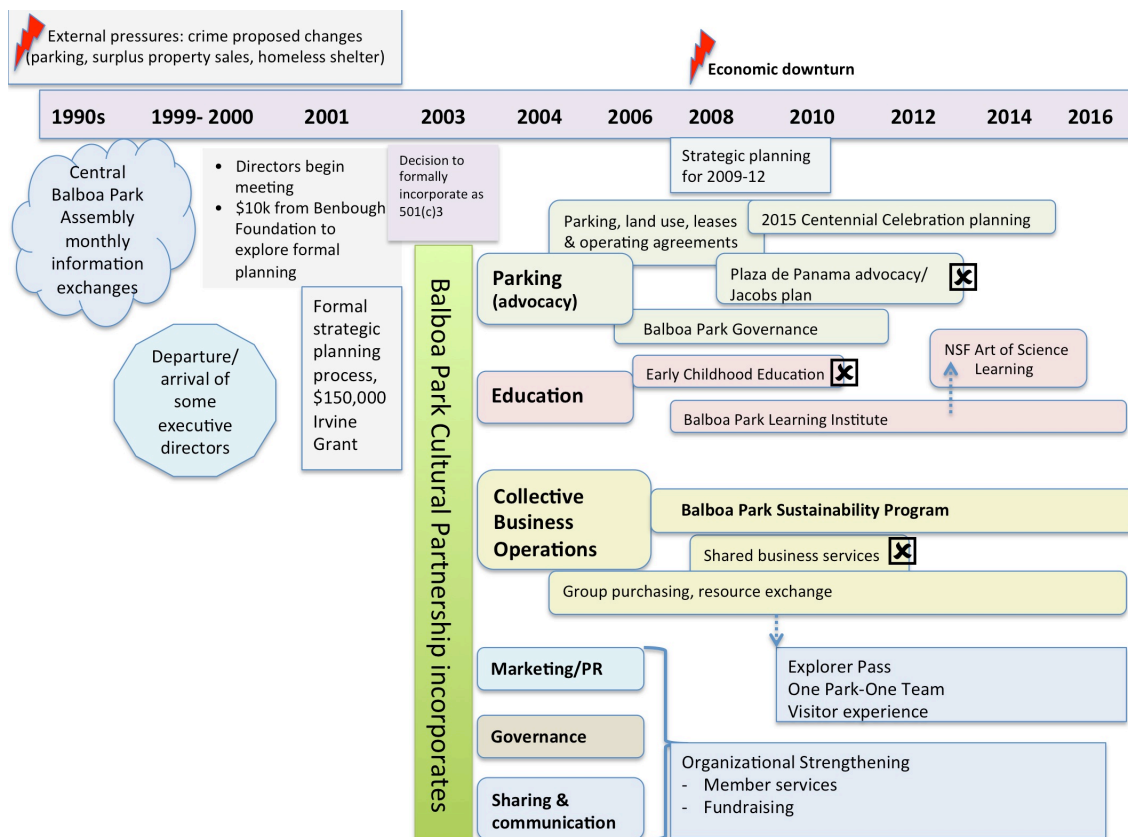
BPCP Finances

The Balboa Park Cultural Partnership's fiscal year runs from July 1 to June 30.
Table 5 provides an overview of changes in its financial from FY2005-06 through
FY2014-15.

Table 5

Financial overview of BPCP FY05-06 to FY14-15

BPCP Financial Data

		2005-06	2006-07	2007-08	2008-09*	2009-10	2010-11**	2011-12	2012-13	2013-14	2014-15
1	**Contributions**										
	Direct public support	$87,500	$100,000	$109,160	$127,450		$199,819	$344,626	$271,334	$557,730	$1,198,333
	Indirect public support								$3,068	$2,666	$1,598
	Government contributions						$320,613	$118,084	$819,556	$1,058,819	$1,285,767
	TOTAL Contributions	**$87,500**	**$100,000**	**$109,160**	**$127,450**	**$670,657**	**$520,432**	**$462,710**	**$1,093,958**	**$1,616,549**	**$2,485,698**
2	**Program service revenue**										
	Balboa Park Explorer									$1,700,874	$2,676,433
	Membership Dues and Assessments	$117,000	$131,483	$128,267	$129,500		$130,200	$131,200	$156,630	$161,782	$173,439
	SDGE-Sustainability							$128,145	$96,741	$122,067	$121,032	$174,813
	Tuition--BP Learning Institute						$7,366	$16,683	$13,935	$7,190	$2,921
	Other revenue			$54,065	$183,800			$109,907			
	TOTAL Program service revenue	**$117,000**	**$131,483**	**$182,332**	**$313,300**		**$265,711**	**$354,531**	**$292,632**	**$1,990,878**	**$3,027,606**
3	**Investment income**			-$3,900	$1,030		$10,579	$31	$44	$32	$392
4	**Other revenue**	$66,418	$4,828	-$1,260			$1,955	$323	$8,857	$14,610	$6,106
5	**TOTAL REVENUE**	**$475,418**	**$467,794**	**$286,332**	**$441,780**	**$835,532**	**$798,677**	**$817,595**	**$1,395,491**	**$3,622,069**	**$5,519,802**
6	**Expenses**										
	Salaries and compensation	$125,471	$156,524	183476	$241,406		$492,181	$351,372	$419,144	$673,823	$693,667
	Professional fees			$6,643	$162,602					$0	$0
	Other expenses	$54,998	$85,071	$70,894	$67,753		$453,560	$340,547	$920,070	$2,984,533	$4,127,569
7	**TOTAL Expenses**	**$180,469**	**$241,595**	**$261,013**	**$471,761**		**$945,741**	**$691,919**	**$1,339,214**	**$3,658,356**	**$4,821,236**
8	**Revenue less expenses**	**$90,449**	**-$5,284**	**$25,319**	**-$29,981**		**-$147,064**	**$125,676**	**$56,277**	**-$36,287**	**$698,566**
9	Other changes in fund balances	-$32,012	$22,000	$55,033	-$14,306						
10	Net assets/fund balances	$58,437	$75,153	$155,505	$111,218	$348,596	$150,686	$360,362	$475,074	$506,745	$1,248,454

* Organization filed 990EZ
** Membership dues were categorized as contributions; here it is placed under program revenue as in years past

(Compiled from National Center for Charitable Statistics data, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2011, 2012, 2013,
2014, and 2015).

As Table 5 shows, the Partnership's revenue has grown from $117,000 in 2005-06 to
over $5 million in 2014-15. Historically, most of its revenue has come from grant
funding and contracts that have increased over time. This growth will be discussed more
in the next chapter. Revenue from membership dues has remained fairly steady,
increasing over the last two years with the addition of four new members.

In addition to financial statements, financial performance and organizational health can be evaluated through analysis of financial ratios. Table 6 reviews two key indicators of financial health for nonprofit organizations. The first is current ratio, the percentage of current assets to current liabilities. This ratio indicates an organization's ability to meet short-term financial obligations (CBIZ Inc., 2015). Ideally organizations will have at least a 1 to 1 ratio or higher. This means that for every dollar of liabilities the organization should have at least $1 in assets. For all years 2005-06 when it began filing tax returns, BPCP's ratio has been greater than 1:1. The lowest has been $1.75:1 in 2013-14. The highest has been $12.94:1 in 2011-12.

Table 6

Financial Ratio Analysis for BPCP 2005-06 through 2013-14

	2005-06	2006-07	2007-08	2008-09	2009-10	2010-11	2011-12	2012-13	2013-14	2014-15
CURRENT RATIO										
Current Assets	73,269	122,467	174,834	139,947	348,596	281,883	390,538	582,543	1,185,074	2,070,592
Current Liabilities	14,832	47,314	19,329	28,947	50,846	131,197	30,176	107,469	678,329	822,138
At least 1:1, higher is better	$ 4.94	$ 2.59	$ 9.05	$ 4.83	$ 6.86	$ 2.15	$ 12.94	$ 5.42	$ 1.75	$ 2.52
			of current assets for every $1 of current liabilities							
DEBT RATIO										
Total Liabilities	14,832	47,314	19,329	28,729	50,846	131,197	30,176	107,469	678,329	822,138
Total Unrestricted Net Assets	58,437	75,153	70,517	92,831	118,416	63,296	92,538	83,081	434,847	642,972
Ratio of 2:1 is comfortable, higher ok if liability is for long-term capital purpose	$ 0.25	$ 0.63	$ 0.27	$ 0.31	$ 0.43	$ 2.07	$ 0.33	$ 1.29	$ 1.56	$ 1.28
			of liabilities for every $1 of unrestricted net assets							

	2005-06	2006-07	2007-08	2008-09*	2009-10	2010-11**	2011-12	2012-13	2013-14	2014-15
Total assets	$73,269	$122,467	$174,834	$139,947	$348,596	$281,883	$390,538	$582,543	$1,185,074	$2,070,592
Total liabilities	$14,832	$47,314	$19,329	$28,729	$50,846	$131,197	$30,176	$107,469	$678,329	$822,138
Net assets or fund balances	$58,437	$75,153	$155,505	$111,218	$297,750	$150,686	$360,362	$475,074	$506,745	$1,248,454
Net unrealized gains/losses on investments								$5,711	$9,183	$105
CASH/SAVINGS END OF YEAR	$58,961	$68,645	$63,476	$4,884	$103,713	$145,371	$264,455	$452,806	$839,518	$1,512,322

Note: Calculations were made using data from the National Center for Charitable Statistics (2006-2015).

A second important ratio is the debt ratio, also known as viability ratio. This ratio indicates a nonprofit organization's relative liquidity and/or ability to cover its debt (CBIZ Inc., 2015). This ratio is calculated by dividing the organization's total liabilities by its total unrestricted net assets. Ideally an organization has at least $2 in unrestricted

assets for every $1 of liabilities. BPCP's best ratio was in 2005-06 when I had $.25 in

liabilities for each dollar in unrestricted net assets. Its worst ratio was in 2007-08 when it

had $2.07 in liabilities for each $1 in assets. Over the most recent two fiscal years for

which data is available, the ratios have been $1.56 to $1 (2013-14) and $1.28 to $1

(2014-15). This increase may be related to capitalization of the Parkwide (Explorer)

Pass, discussed in chapter seven.

<div align="center">**Political Context**</div>

City of San Diego

As a city park, Balboa Park is owned by the City of San Diego. However, there

are many layers of oversight, including elected officials, a citizens committee, and

departments within the city that oversee various aspects of its operations. At the highest

level, the San Diego City Council weighs in through its three-member Natural Resources

and Culture committee that meets as needed (City of San Diego, 2016e). Land use for

the central portion of Balboa Park must adhere to the Central Mesa Precise Plan, adopted

by the City Council in 1992 to guide development and public use of Balboa Park (Jones

& Jones, 2004). The City's Real Estate Asset Management Division negotiates, develops

and administers operating and lease agreements and permits for use of City-owned

property including Balboa Park (City of San Diego, 2016f). The Parks and Recreation

department's Developed Regional Parks division oversees grounds maintenance, building

maintenance, park rangers, and special events (City of San Diego, 2016c). The Historical

Resources Board reviews development projects that involve Balboa Park's historical

resources (City of San Diego, 2016d). The City's Commission for Arts and Culture

provides major funding for many of BPCP's member institutions and project funding to BPCP (City of San Diego, 2016b).

Citizen oversight dates back to at least October 1991 with the city council's establishment of a 49 member Balboa Park Citizens Action Committee through resolution No. R-278868 (City of San Diego, 1991). The Balboa Park Committee is a citizens' advisory committee that advises the City Council and Mayor on policy issues regarding development, maintenance, and operation of Balboa Park (City of San Diego, 2016a). In September 2001, San Diego's City Manager recommended to the city council that the Balboa Park Committee be reconfigured "to serve as the centralized advisory authority under the Park and Recreation Board for matters pertaining to Balboa Park [and] . . . that a team of City employees be assigned to staff the Balboa Park Committee" (p. 1). This change was also implemented to give "a significant voice for the various institutions/constituencies in Balboa Park" (p. 2) by adding another member from Balboa Park's cultural institutions to the committee. Appendix B summarizes a review of archival records from the City of San Diego that mention the Balboa Park Cultural Partnership.

Given these many layers of oversight, it is not surprising that park stakeholders sometimes find it arduous to deal with the City of San Diego. In 2001 the City of San Diego noted that:

> San Diego has a unique approach to the structure and financing of the type of cultural institutions located in Balboa Park. Whereas most cities/governmental agencies own and operate (albeit with sometimes very significant support groups) museums, botanical gardens, zoological exhibits etc., San Diego has chosen a more community based model where the City owns physical structures housing the institutions, and provides some direct financial support. The non-profit governing agencies are responsible for overall finance, administration and personnel required to provide the program.

In the model common throughout most of the United States a city employee would be the administrative head of the institution and City Council would retain budgetary authority, with clear lines of responsibility and authority and integration through the governmental agency structure. In Balboa Park however there are a variety of independent organizations providing outstanding programs without the unifying structure of a single agency. The result is greater challenge in creating and enforcing coordination as well as ensuring that all institutions feel that they are equitably treated in financial support, scheduling, capital investment and maintenance of facilities. (City of San Diego Manager's Report, 2001)

Perhaps the Balboa Park Conservancy's website says it best:

The current Park management and governance structure has a complex decision making process without any entity that is ultimately responsible for project determination or management. The easiest way to understand this is to look at the unofficial organization chart for the Park . . . this can lead to both Park management and Park stakeholders lacking clarity about project goals and process until a project is so far along that it is often too late to make changes. This has lead to distrust, anger, animosity and often failure of the project. (Balboa Park Conservancy, 2016)

Figure 7 displays the organizational chart mentioned above.

Figure 7. Unofficial Organizational Chart of Balboa Park.
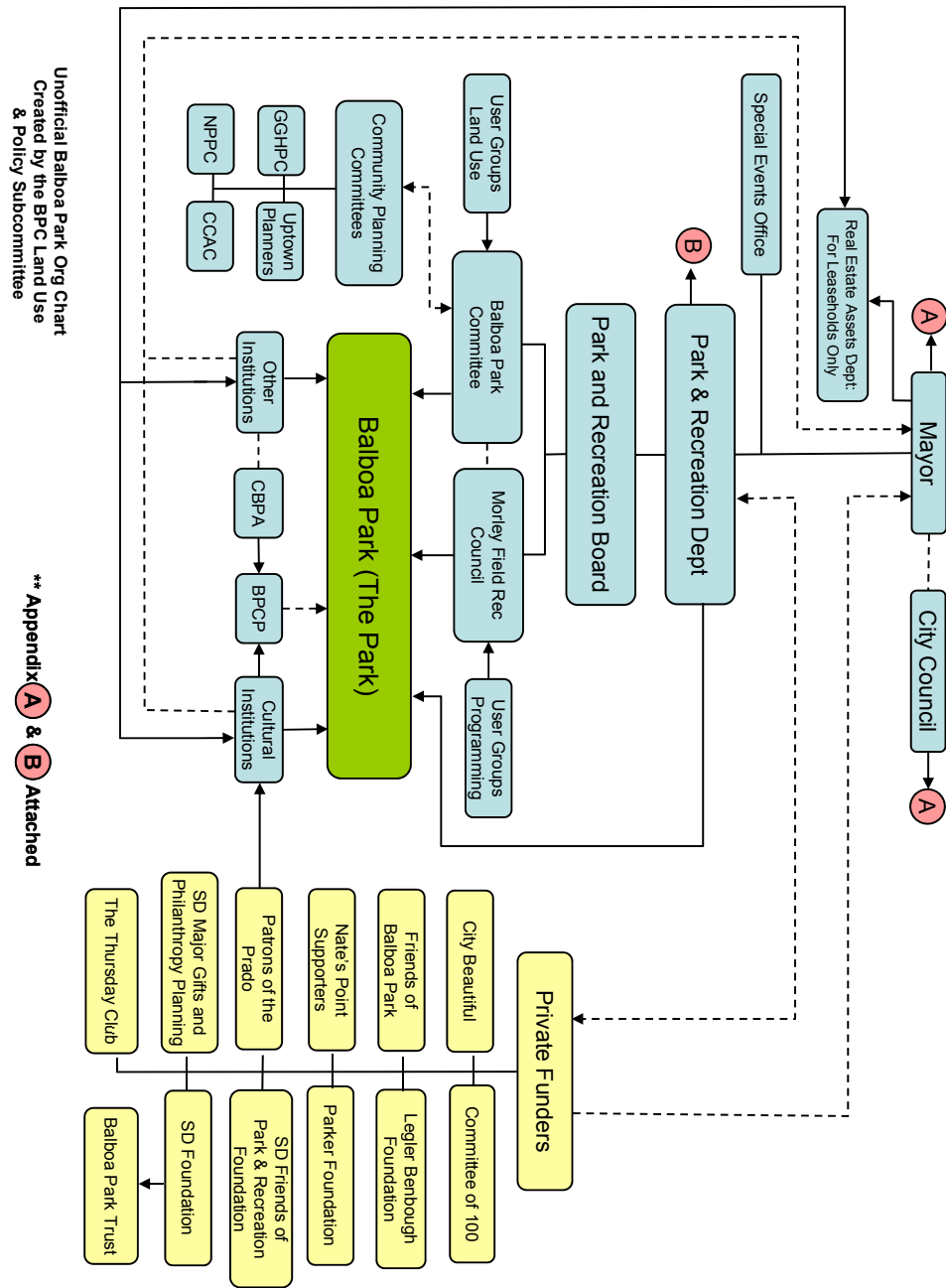
Figure 7. Unofficial organizational chart of Balboa Park, prepared by the City of San Diego (Balboa Park Conservancy, 2016).

As described previously, it was in part the cultural institutions' increasing

frustration with issues such as parking, maintenance, and safety that spurred the

formation of the Balboa Park Cultural Partnership in 2001. As the City of San Diego

began development in 2003 of its Balboa Park Land Use, Circulation, and Parking Study

(Jones & Jones, 2003) the need to act with one voice became of growing importance. As

one BPCP board member notes, "We were able to have a voice with the City of San

Diego. Our relationship with the city steadily improved."

Other Balboa Park Organizations

To understand BPCP's operating environment it is also important to know about a

number of other groups that help support the buildings, grounds, cultural programming,

and marketing of Balboa Park. For the purpose of this study, the most relevant group is

probably the Balboa Park Online Collaborative (BPOC). This organization was founded

as an operating program of the Legler Benbough Foundation (described below) to serve

17 organizations in Balboa Park. Its goal is to help organizations make cost-effective,

sustainable technology decisions and "reach a level of technical sophistication on par

with cultural institutions with far greater financial resources" (Balboa Park, 2016b).

A significant portion of institutional planning for the work of BPOC was done at

monthly board meetings of the Balboa Park Cultural Partnership in 2008 and 2009. For

example, at BPCP's September 10, 2008 meeting minutes reflect that a presentation was

made to BPCP directors to discuss the feasibility of what was originally called the Balboa

Park Web Project:

> Funding for an initial three-year project phase, as well as an endowment for on-
> going development and maintenance support, could be made possible by the
> Legler Benbough Foundation, [an organization] that . . . was receiving many
> requests from individual institutions to fund websites but does not have the

resources to provide for each in a sustainable way. Foundation directors began wondering how support could be given in a more cohesive manner that also gives the public better access, thus leading them to conceive of a Parkwide Web project. They feel it naturally builds on the collaborative work of BPCP but do not want to mistakenly assume all institutions want to participate. Given the amount of funding and multi-year commitment required, the Foundation needs to know that BPCP supports this project and how many institutions would like to participate. (Balboa Park Cultural Partnership, 2008)

BPOC's main activities include providing IT support to member institutions, providing access to a high speed fiber optic network and internet, digitizing museum collections to expand public access, developing websites using open source software, and creating mobile websites and interactive tours and games for visitors to Balboa Park (Balboa Park, 2016b). BPOC became an independent 501(c)3 organization in fall 2012 (Internal Revenue Service, 2013, p. 19).

Other groups that have played an important role in Balboa Park include:

- *Balboa Park Central* (also known as the House of Hospitality). This organization formerly was its own 501(c)3. On July 1, 2014 it merged with the Balboa Park Conservancy to continue its operation of the Balboa Park Visitors Center and oversee park-wide marketing efforts such as www.balboapark.org (Balboa Park, 2016c).

- *Balboa Park Conservancy* was formed in 2011 as a 501(c)3 organization to raise funds and develop public-private partnerships to address preservation, sustainability and accessibility needs for all of Balboa Park (Balboa Park Conservancy, 2016). While BPCP does not have direct representation on the Conservancy's board of directors, the Conservancy is a member of BPCP. Additionally, several of the Conservancy's board members are current or former board members of BPCP member institutions.

- *Central Balboa Park Association (Assembly)* is a monthly convening of interested

  stakeholders to share information about upcoming special events and other issues

  that might affect operations of the various organizations and park stakeholders.

- *Friends of Balboa Park* is a grassroots 501(c)3 organization formed in 1999 to

  support preservation and access to Balboa Park. It is now an associate member of

  BPCP.

- *Committee of One Hundred* was founded in 1967 to preserve Balboa Park's Spanish

  Colonial Revival architecture.

These multiplicity of organizations comprise major components of the social, cultural,

and political ecosystem of Balboa Park. Each entity has a unique niche in terms of what it

is trying to accomplish and who it considers to be its primary stakeholders. Some of these

niches overlap. What aligns them is the common bond of caring deeply for Balboa Park,

each in its own way. While this caring often aligns interests among the organizations,

sometimes these interests bump up against each other. The Balboa Park Cultural

Partnership interacts with each of these organizations, trying to reconcile multiple

perspectives while continuing to advocate for and advance the interests of its member

institutions.

Funders

The informal organizational chart in Figure 7 calls attention to the strong

influence funders have in shaping Balboa Park. Here I describe five of the funders that

have made significant investments in the Balboa Park Cultural Partnership. The largest

corporate supporter of the Balboa Park Cultural Partnership has been San Diego Gas &

Electric (SDG&E). Through contracts, SDG&E has provided the lion's share of funding for the Balboa Park Sustainability Program.

The Legler Benbough Foundation, a private foundation established in 1985 with proceeds from the estate of its namesake, provided funding for BPCP's initial strategic planning and other operating support, and start up funding and incubated the Balboa Park Online Collaborative. Over the past 30 years the foundation contributed more than $40 million to San Diego nonprofit organizations that advance economic, cultural, and educational opportunities in three geographic locations: University of California San Diego, Balboa Park, and the Diamond Neighborhoods in southeastern San Diego (Legler Benbough Foundation, 2016). As its website states, "The Foundation was an initial funder of this organization (BPCP) that brings all of the Park institutions together to create advocacy for the institutions, to share services, and to improve their collective service to the community" (Legler Benbough Foundation, 2016).

Another important funder has been the James Irvine Foundation, founded in 1937 to expand opportunity for the people of California. Historically its focus areas have been youth, arts, and democracy. In its eight decades of operation it has contributed over $1.5 billion to 3,600 nonprofit organizations across the state (The James Irvine Foundation, n.d.). Since 2001 The James Irvine Foundation has invested $1.8 million in BPCP, most recently through a $1 million grant to bring Wi-Fi access to Balboa Park as part of its 2015 Centennial celebration (The James Irvine Foundation, n.d).

Government support for the Balboa Park Cultural Partnership has come primarily from two sources. Locally, the City of San Diego's Commission for Arts and Culture has provided operating support for the last several years. On a federal level, the Institute of

Museum and Library Services (IMLS) awarded a series of nationally competitive multi-year grants to BPCP to launch its Balboa Park Learning Institute program. The specifics of this funding are discussed in the next chapter. Both of these agencies are also important sources of funding for BPCP's member organizations.

The above data present a basic description of the case organization, seeking to balance concise storytelling with sufficient detail to give context for thematic analysis and additional description in the following chapters. Here I discuss some themes that connect to the collective action literature. These include common pool resources, motivation for collaboration, resource needs, and critical success factors. Connections to other literature will be discussed in later chapters.

Balboa Park as a Common Pool Resource

Congestion and competing uses are fundamental challenges to Balboa Park as the previously mentioned parking and land use issues suggest. Balboa Park can therefore be thought of as a common pool resource collectively owned and enjoyed by city residents, home to numerous cultural institutions and recreational clubs, and attracting millions of tourists. Management of such a resource is challenging. As one key informant noted, "It's been said that for every blade of grass in Balboa Park there's a voice advocating for something." While the City of San Diego has legal control over the park, it does not have sufficient resources to fund its maintenance and operation adequately. To solve this problem, the city engaged stakeholders to develop a shared governance model. Building on substantial research and community input it selected a conservancy model in 2011.

Motivation: Finding Power, Shaping the Environment

Through its advocacy efforts the Balboa Park Cultural Partnership took an active

role in shaping these proposed governance changes. Prior to 2001, the City of San Diego

managed its relationship with park institutions primarily through a tenant/landlord

approach. As the cultural institutions came together in the early 2000's in response to

their increasing dissatisfaction with operating conditions (e.g., crime, parking congestion,

and proposed alternate uses of the park), BPCP and its members took up an advocacy role

to have more say on issues that affected them. This BPCP case aligns with the assertion

that turbulent initial conditions can be a motivation for partnerships (Bryson, Crosby, &

Stone, 2006). The case of BPCP also supports Ostrom's assertion (1990, 1998) that

actors caught in a social dilemma will invest resources to adapt, innovate, and transform

the system to achieve more favorable collective outcomes.

Another assertion from the literature that seems to be supported by this case is the

idea of collaboration as a continuum. Prior to 2001, the cultural institutions were

informally collaborating through information sharing that occurred at the monthly Central

Balboa Park Assembly. In response to the turbulence, the executive directors of park

institutions mobilized to become more strongly connected. One founding director

remembers, "This ultimately led to the creation of a formal collaboration with its own

501(c)3 status and professional staff. This organization functions as a backbone

organization to mobilize and support collective action among the cultural institutions."

Figure 8 illustrates how the form of the Balboa Park Cultural Partnership's collaboration

evolved over time. Before the establishment of BPCP, park institutions engaged in

information exchange. As the executive directors started to meet regularly, BPCP shifted

to cooperation and coordination. In 2003 it became a formal collaboration with its incorporation as a 501(c)3. As its programs developed it shifted to an operational alliance. As those programs grew and became more ambitious in their scope, BPCP transitioned to a collective impact alliance that increased the capacity of its members and BPCP simultaneously (coadunation). With the launch of the Explorer Pass program, BPCP evolved further into a joint venture model with the business models of many of the institutions becoming intertwined. Chapters six and seven share the details on this growth and evolution.

Figure 8. The Evolution of the Balboa Park Cultural Partnership on the Collaboration Continuum
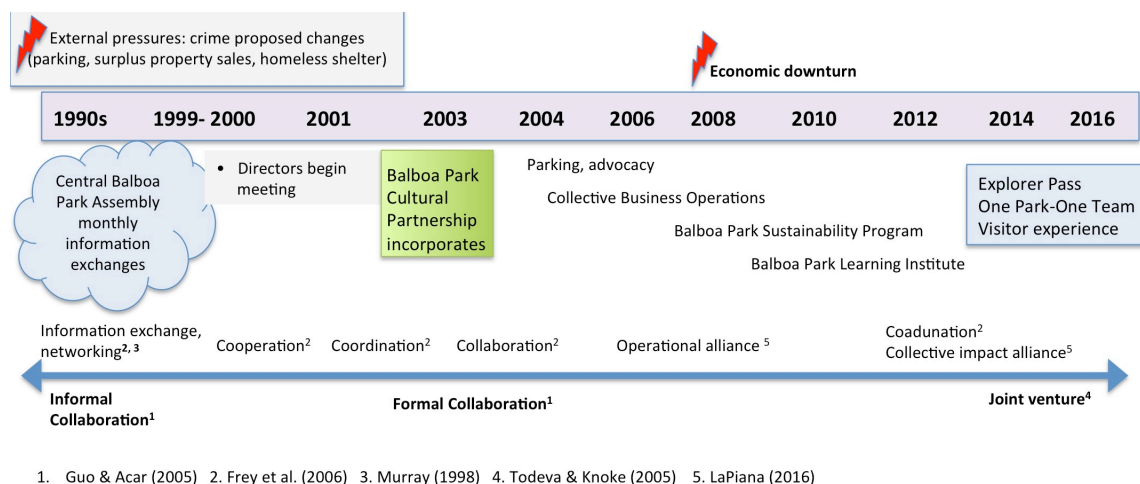
The Search for a Sustainable Business Model

As the financial summary in Table 5 showed, the Balboa Park Cultural Partnership has grown in size and financial resources since its formal incorporation in 2003. Much of this growth has come in the form of grant funding for expenses associated with initial start-up planning, strategic planning, and funding of programmatic initiatives such as the Balboa Park Sustainability Program, Balboa Park Learning

Institute, and Parkwide/Explorer Pass. These programs will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

For now what is important to note is that other than BPCP's member dues of about $130,000/year, it did not (until recently, with the creation of the Explorer Pass program) have its own significant funding mechanism to build reserves or cover cash flow issues associated with its reimbursement-based grants and contract payments. This dependency on externally generated funding may have contributed to its cash flow problem of 2009.

Beyond the Balance Sheet: Critical Success Factors

In addition to financial resources, the data suggest that several other elements have been important to the success and longevity of the Balboa Park Cultural Partnership. These include governance structure, the generation and use of data, leadership, and creating space for what might become possible.

Governance structure. Looking back over the years since its founding, a few factors stand out as especially important in the development of the Balboa Park Cultural Partnership. The first factor is the structural decisions that were made about BPCP's governance. In seeking to balance unequal power relations among the large and small institutions, the decision to give each member an equal vote helped to establish and maintain a culture of egalitarianism. Similarly, the requirement that only executive directors could serve on the board and represent her/his institution at BPCP's monthly board meetings ensured that the key decision makers needed to move action items forward were always present.

Data-driven decision making. A second factor important to BPCP's growth is its use of data-driven decision making. An important benefit noted by one director was that, "We became able to compare data such as visitation. Now we were able to see if we had a month of low visitation did other institutions see that same dip?" Beyond providing information to guide good decision making, the data also became a resource to others. For example, as the City of San Diego sought public input into land use and governance decisions about Balboa Park, BPCP invested resources to conducted employee and visitor surveys about parking. This information became a tool for the city to use in its own planning efforts, leading BPCP and its member institutions to be seen as partners rather than just tenants. At an institutional level one BPCP staff member also recalled that "the data from the (audience research project) gave the (member organization's) staff the ability to talk to their board."

Leadership. Leadership was a third critical factor. As mentioned previously, without leaders at the table prior to 2001, collective action did not occur (as evidenced by the Central Balboa Park Assembly's functioning as a vehicle for information sharing, not advocacy or joint programming). Only when leaders began to regularly convene did a shared agenda develop, leading to active engagement from member institutions. As executive directors became more involved, collaboration became a priority at the various member organizations. As one former employee noted,

> Opening up that process fully on an institutional level, that wouldn't have been possible without the (*Balboa Park Cultural*) Partnership, where directors were coming together and setting the tone that it's ok for our organizations to work together. I think that's the keystone that really made all the other things work.

Creating a space for the possible. Another factor critical to the success of collaboration was the building of a space where the not-yet-thought-of might be born. As one leader noted, "It's that switch from being a purely making just good financial sense organization . . . to one that is more generative . . . wondering what we can create that is bigger than the sum of its parts." A BPCP employee echoed this remark stating, "We started wondering wow, what could happen when more people know each other? It was an experiment."

Coupled with this space for emergence was the need to become comfortable with not knowing exactly what might happen. As one manager related,

> It's like a jazz piece. Because we never knew what the final piece of music was going to sound like in the end. You have to leave room for what it is you could never have imagined . . . there has got to be some space left over for unintended outcomes.

Summary

As described in this chapter, the Balboa Park Cultural Partnership formed when leaders of Balboa Park's cultural institutions banded together in response to dissatisfaction with their operating environment. The arrival of a few leaders who were more open to collaboration was a facilitating factor. The creation of a governance structure that promoted equity among dissimilar-sized organizations helped to prevent power imbalances in the formal collaboration. BPCP collected and used data to both inform its decision making. This data collection helped BPCP gain legitimacy with the City of San Diego and other external stakeholders. The partnership grew and evolved over time, both in terms of its revenue streams and the extent of its connectedness to its member organizations. The next chapter examines in more detail BPCP's core programs, focusing on the second unit of analysis, resources.

CHAPTER 6

CASE FINDINGS #1: THE PERFORMANCE

Inputs, Outputs, Outcomes, and Impact

The Balboa Park Cultural Partnership has grown significantly over the past fifteen

years as described in the previous chapter. Here we look at that growth through the lens

of BPCP's programs. First, I describe three of BPCP's main programs. Next I examine

the various resources involved with these programs. Through the use of process tracing

and process coding, I then examine how these resources are activated and converted into

various forms, including outputs, outcomes, and impact. The chapter concludes with a

summary of findings from the data to set the stage for chapter seven, an analysis of

BPCP's Explorer Pass program. As will be discussed in the following pages, the results

shared in this chapter provide answers to study's three research questions.

BPCP Programs

BPCP was initially guided by the results of its 2001-02 community and member

research as it decided which programs to offer. Data showed that advocacy was high on

the priority lists among its member organizations (Strategies & Teams, 2002). While the

Balboa Park Cultural Partnership has consistently engaged in advocacy on behalf of its

member cultural institutions over the past decade, particularly with the City of San

Diego, those outcomes are not always easy to measure. Therefore, the following sections

focus primarily on BPCP's three programs that have tracked their outcomes over time

both quantitatively and qualitatively: Collective Business Operations, Balboa Park

Sustainability Program, and Balboa Park Learning Institute.

Collective Business Operations

When starting a new program the Partnership's team members ask themselves three questions: "how can this program be best achieved through member collaboration, how can the program help our member institutions, and how can the lessons learned be shared throughout the museum community?" (Comiskey & Coutts, 2013, p. 3). One of the earliest answers to these questions was to create BPCP's Collective Business Operations (CBO) program. Initially CBO included three activities: group purchasing, information exchange, and sharing of excess capacity. Later it also gave birth to the Balboa Park Sustainability Program (discussed below).

In 2003, a committee comprised of Chief Financial Officers and Business Managers from BPCP's member institutions was formed to identify potential cost saving opportunities that could be realized by leveraging their collective size and scope of the member institutions (Balboa Park Cultural Partnership, n.d.a). The committee hoped to negotiate lower rates for products and services through "research, development, negotiation, and implementation of cost reduction programs for the member institutions" (Balboa Park Cultural Partnership, n.d.a). The committee met monthly on the second Tuesday of each month (Balboa Park Cultural Partnership, 2008).

The group purchasing program began in September 2003 with the roll out of an office supply discount program with Office Depot, providing up to 70% on office supplies for member organizations and their employees (Balboa Park Cultural Partnership, 2007). For its second project, the CBO committee chose the goal of reducing credit card transaction processing costs for BPCP members. BPCP staff conducted research and developed a Request for Proposal process (RFP) to negotiate a

collective merchant account agreement that was awarded to Chase Paymentech in January 2006. This contract generated $70,000 in savings annually for participating institutions (Balboa Park Cultural Partnership, 2007, 2008). Other vendor agreements were established for payroll services and waste recycling, audits, and disposal (Balboa Park Cultural Partnership, n.d.b). Many of these agreements included terms that provided rebates of 1-3% to the Balboa Park Cultural Partnership to help support administration of the program (Balboa Park Cultural Partnership, 2008).

Another goal was to establish an information exchange infrastructure for BPCP members to share resources and learn from each other. Through in-person monthly meetings and a resource page on its website BPCP's Collective Business Operations program shared information about rebates and incentives available from the region's energy provider (San Diego Gas & Electric), water conservation programs and incentives from the City of San Diego, E-waste support and pick up, AED equipment purchasing (automated external defibrillators), and discounted technology purchasing (Balboa Park Cultural Partnership, n.d.c).

A fourth goal was to inventory and "share resources including equipment, meeting spaces, training opportunities, staff and volunteers" (Balboa Park Cultural Partnership, n.d.a). Many of the member institutions had excess capacity of some sort. The Collective Business Operations program became a broker to document and mediate available services that other organizations were able to offer. "When one institution has extra—or formerly used—lighting, shelving, furniture, or even specialized equipment such as a golf cart—BPCP facilitates exchanges so organizations in need can make use of the equipment" (Comiskey & Coutts, 2013). Other services that have been exchanged

include security services, large-scale printing, and computer server consolidation (Balboa Park Cultural Partnership, n.d.d).

The savings from CBO programs for office supplies and credit card processing expenses averaged $260,000 in savings for member institutions in its first three years (Balboa Park Cultural Partnership, n.d.), and cumulatively totaled $425,000 through December 2010. "Success in this program has provided a foundation for branching out into other areas of collaboration" (Simpson, 2010). It is also worth noting also where BPCP was not able to gain traction. Twice BPCP explored the creation of a shared back-office arrangement for organizations to share or outsource human resources and accounting functions. Each study found that member organizations were operating on such thin margins in those administrative areas that no further cost savings were possible. Therefore, no monetary return on investment could be generated to launch and sustain that program. Similarly, BPCP looked into a group health insurance program for member institutions but there were too many complex variables that could not be worked out (e.g., institutions' use of different calendar years for contracts).

As will be shown in the following section, the success and social capital created by the Collective Business Operations program laid a strong foundation for BPCP to take on more ambitious goals. By creating early wins, CBO produced value for BPCP's member organization (cost savings and access to resources), developed a small stream of earned income for BPCP, methodically identified opportunities that were ripe for collaboration, and used data to determine projects that were not feasible for its collaboration (e.g., a shared health insurance program).

Balboa Park Sustainability Program

While not all explorations of new program opportunities bear fruit, one area that did generate significant traction was environmental sustainability. Established in 2008, the mission of the Balboa Park Sustainability Program is "to educate, measure, and promote sustainable business practices that will preserve and enhance Balboa Park and its cultural institutions" and its vision is "to bring Balboa Park into greater environmental balance by 2015, the centennial anniversary of the Park, leaving a legacy of a 'Green Balboa Park' for future generations" (Summerford, Baron, Stark, Ruppert, & McGrew, 2010, p. 4-329).

This program emerged through a combination of external circumstances and fortuitous preparation. Major external factors that prompted attention to energy efficiency in Balboa Park were the passage of two state mandates. The Global Warming Solutions Act of 2006 made local governments responsible for implementing measures recommended by the California Air Resources Board (CARB) to reduce California greenhouse gas emissions (GHG) by 25% by 2020 (Summerford et al., 2010). In 2008, the California Public Utilities Commission (CPUC) adopted California's first long-term energy efficiency strategic plan for the years 2009-2020 (SDG&E, 2008).

Regionally, through San Diego Gas & Electric's (SDG&E's) Local Government Partnership program, the City of San Diego had been working on energy audits and the installation of upgraded energy efficient lighting at city-owned recreation centers (SDG&E, 2006). Between 2004-2007 the City of San Diego's Environmental Services Department, SDG&E, and SDGE's California Center for Sustainable Energy (CCSE) conducted similar energy audits in Balboa Park to identify and quantify potential energy

savings opportunities. Although these audits identified a definite need for energy efficiency programs, there was no funding mechanism to support improvements for tenant-occupied buildings (Summerford et al., 2010).

In 2008, the Balboa Park Cultural Partnership and its members formed an alliance of sustainability experts, building on the earlier cost-saving efforts of BPCP's Collective Business Operations. External stakeholders in BPCP's sustainability alliance included the City of San Diego, SDG&E, CCSE, energy experts, contractors, and vendors. BPCP's responsibility was to convene and engage the Park's internal stakeholders. While the CBO committee (CFOs and business managers of BPCP member institutions) initially spearheaded these efforts, the facility directors of member institutions were soon engaged as the primary stakeholders because they oversaw building operations and maintenance and were the ones most involved in the day-to-day implementation of sustainability activities (Summerford et al., 2010).

To support these ambitious energy reduction mandates, SDG&E, through California Public Utilities Commission funding, allocated $400,000 to BPCP in 2008 to launch the Balboa Park Sustainability Program (BPSP). That same year the federal government, as part of its stimulus plan to revive the economy from recession, released a competitive funding opportunity for capital projects (the Energy Efficiency Conservation Block Grant, EECBG). A requirement for eligibility was that the projects be shovel ready. The energy audits previously conducted in the park, coupled with BPCP's existing coordination and communication infrastructure, enabled BPCP's sustainability program to receive $2 million in EECBG funding. BPCP used the contract money to fund and oversee heating, ventilation and air conditioning (HVAC) retrofits at its member

institutions (Summerford et al., 2010). BPSP also helps its members take advantage of incentives, rebates, and on-bill financing programs to pay for other lighting and energy efficiency upgrades. Table 7 documents the number and types of Balboa Park projects overseen by BPSP from 2008 to 2015 and the Kilowatt hours (KWhs), money, and metric tons of greenhouse gases (GHG) saved annually. These data suggest that through its BPSP programs, BPCP transformed financial capital (funding from SDG&E) into program outputs (human capital, intellectual capital, social capital, physical capital) to create outcomes (enhanced natural capital) and collective impact (reduction in Balboa Park's carbon footprint).

Table 7

Balboa Park Environmental Sustainability Energy Efficiency Annual Outcomes

Energy Efficiency Projects	2008	2009	2010	2011	EECBG	2012	2013	2014	2015	TOTAL
# Participating institutions	9	12	6	5	14	10	7	5	5	
Total # Projects	11	30	17	119	27	32	27	56	35	354
Lighting Retrofits	6	22	9	0	17	10	25	50	32	171
Heating & Air Conditioning	5	7	5	119	6	21	2	2	3	170
Energy Management Systems	0	1	3	0	2	1	0	4	0	11
Computer Server Consolidation	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	2
KWhs - Saved Annually	2,028,686	1,516,657	1,755,995	515,884	1,231,461	511,781	593,996	566,631	205,190	8,926,280
$$ - Saved Annually	$304,303	$227,498	$263,399	$87,266	$197,400	$86,042	$101,099	$112,847	$22,629	$ 1,402,484
GHG - Saved Annually (metric tons)	1,415	1,058	1223	353	852	388	411	392	41	6,631
Incentives and Rebates	$18,218	$92,607	$78,002	$29,060	$111,296	$88,472	$50,666	$138,079	$52,059	$ 606,399

(Balboa Park Cultural Partnership, 2016).

Examples of projects undertaken to achieve these outcomes include:

- Two HVAC improvement projects (energy efficient hot and chilled water pumps) and three highly energy efficient lighting replacements at Balboa Park Central (formerly the House of Hospitality).

- Air handler retrofit, installation of state-of-the-art variable frequency drives, and installation of a new building management system that reduced energy usage by 30% at the Mingei International Museum.

- Consolidation and virtualization of seven computer servers into two at the San Diego Hall of Champions (most servers only operate at about 5%-15% of their total capacity).

- Two lighting upgrades and other energy efficiency improvements completed at the WorldBeat Cultural Center, enabling the organization to achieve LEED_TM Silver Existing Buildings Operations & Maintenance in 2012.

These examples demonstrate the BPSP secured financial capital to upgrade physical capital within Balboa Park, resulting in financial savings for its members, helping SDG&E achieve its energy reduction goals mandated by the California Public Utilities Commission, and improving environmental quality in the region. Thus, BPCP's strategic program design achieved multiple outcomes simultaneously, cascading outputs (programs) into outcomes (energy efficiency upgrades, reduced energy bills for its member institutions) into impact (reduction in energy consumption and greenhouse gas emissions, creation of sustainability ethos throughout Balboa Park).

In recognition of such outcomes produced between 2012-2014, SDG&E selected the Balboa Park Cultural Partnership as its 2015 Energy Showcase Grand Champion. The energy savings it achieved over that three-year period include 2,522,690 kWh (equivalent to CO2 emissions from 159 homes in one year) and 9,996 therms, equivalent to greenhouse gas emissions of the average car driving 126,188 miles in a year (SDG&E, 2015; U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, 2015). These energy savings provided $450,000 in cost savings for BPCP member institutions (Balboa Park Cultural Partnership, 2016). Here again we see a combination of enhanced natural capital and financial capital savings for BPCP's member institutions, leading to increased

reputational capital through selection as SDG&E's 2015 Energy Showcase Grand Champion. Furthermore, BPCP's activities supported SDG&E in reaching its energy use reductions mandated by the California Public Utilities Commission.

BPSP activities. BPSP uses a variety of strategies including education, measurement, stakeholder engagement, and promotion to achieve these outcomes. Activities it undertakes to implement these strategies include "compiling and analyzing conservation efforts (among its member institutions), providing meetings and workshops, establishing benchmarking, prioritizing projects, sharing best practices, documenting the program through case studies, creating public understanding about environmental impacts, and (conducting) ongoing strategic planning" (Myers, Hager, Lang, Ruppert, & Simpson 2010, p. 15). These activities are discussed later in this chapter in the Processes section.

Balboa Park Learning Institute

In December 2006, the BPCP Board of Directors unanimously voted to establish a learning institute within Balboa Park to develop the professional capacity of staff and volunteers to advance one of its strategic planning key result areas, collective education programs. A program planning committee was formed comprised of Executive Directors and staff with related expertise from various BPCP institutions. The original stated purpose of the learning institute was:

> . . . to improve institutional ability to operate effectively and serve visitors and the community. Practical reasons for this initiative are to: a) enable more employees to participate in professional development; b) provide institutions with cost savings through reduced travel expenses; and c) optimize and standardize program quality throughout the Park with sharing of high quality training resources. (Institute of Museum and Library Services, 2008, p. 1)

Its stated target audience was the "2,500 professional staff members, 500 trustees, and 7,000 volunteers from the 24 current BPCP member institutions in Balboa Park" with the goal of expanding access to museums and volunteers outside the Park as space allowed (Institute of Museum and Library Services, 2008, p. 1).

In 2007, BPCP applied for, but did not receive, a major grant award from the federal Institute of Museum and Library Services' (IMLS) 21st Century Professionals program. However, the organization used feedback from that process to modify its proposal and applied again the following year. That application resulted in a $500,000 grant award (MP00-08-0038-08) from IMLS in 2008. With that funding BPCP officially launched the Balboa Park Learning Institute program, hiring a director and program coordinator. Subsequent IMLS funding was secured in 2011 ($165,000) and 2012 ($247,960, Institute of Museum and Library Services, 2016). Through its structural capital (collaboration), BPCP demonstrated to IMLS it could achieve scale by providing professional development to large numbers of park employees and volunteers. This enabled BPCP to attract major federal funding to support implementation of one of its key strategic plan objectives (education) while securing resources to remain a viable organization.

The program was guided by a Vision and Strategy Team that advised BPLI on programming, marketing, and fundraising. Their time was counted as part of the in-kind match requirement. Matching funds also came from earned income (modest fees charged to attend programs) and other in-kind support (e.g., use of rooms to hold programs at member institutions throughout Balboa Park). In its first three years BPLI served more

than 4,800 people through 139 programs (Institute of Museum and Library Services,

2011).

Programs included episodic programs (one-time offerings such as CPR training),

development programs (multi-day programs such as a grant writing course), the Robert

Smith Museum Professionals Symposium, and a transformative program (a collaborative

audience research project, discussed in more detail below). Other outcomes included the

establishment of over 50 programmatic and strategic partnerships with local, state, and

national organizations such as the American Alliance of Museums (formerly known as

the American Association of Museums) and an internship program partnership with John

F. Kennedy University's Museum Studies/MBA program.

Evaluation was an ongoing part of the Balboa Park Learning Institute. The IMLS

grant included funding to support two formal evaluations. Professional firms were

engaged for both. The first evaluation was a participatory evaluation that included BPLI

staff and program participants in its design and implementation. It was woven into the

Evaluating the Balboa Park Experience transformative learning program, a 10-month

professional development program that engaged 20 cross-functional staff to develop and

implement a large-scale visitor survey to understand their audiences in new ways

(Institute of Museum and Library Services, 2011).

Over 16 weeks, from May to September 2010, staff, interns, and volunteers

collected 10,075 surveys from visitors exiting participating museums. For several

participating organizations, it was the first time that formal audience research had been

conducted with their visitors. After the data collection phase, a second phase was

conducted that included training on data analysis and interpretation, and put in place new

practices based on what was learned from the evaluation. As one program participant

stated:

> By coaching participants through the audience evaluation process, BPLI gave everyone ownership in the process and the product that outside consultants rarely provide. Today we are experiencing a ripple effect: the learning community that grew of the BPLI project is now a network of friends and colleagues that cultivates collaboration within a community that may otherwise be in competition.

This section has discussed some of the core programs conducted by the Balboa

Park Cultural Partnership, highlighting some of their outcomes. All three of BPCP's core

programs (Collective Business Operations, Balboa Park Sustainability Program, and the

Balboa Park Learning Institute) generated multiple outcomes simultaneously, particularly

securing financial capital through major grant funding. These programs also enhanced

capacity of park employees and institutions and built multiple forms of capital such as

social, intellectual, and natural. Now we turn to a discussion of resources that served as

inputs and also generated outputs for BPCP and its program.

Resources

The framework for this section is the six categories of capital and the 20 sub-types

described in chapter three. Here I discuss some of the ways these forms of capital were

found in the case study, addressing research question two (*what types of resources are*

deployed by BPCP?). The section is divided into the six categories of capital: financial,

built, relational, symbolic, and structural capital. Table 8 summarizes many examples of

how the 20 forms of capital are deployed within the Balboa Park Cultural Partnership.

Each category is then discussed in detail.

Table 8

Examples of Capital Resources Deployed by the Balboa Park Cultural Partnership

Categories & Types	Examples of Capital Deployed
Financial Capital: Funds available for investment spending (Krugman & Wells, 2009)	
Money	• Currency and checks, financial statements and annual operating budgets. • Secures federal grants ($500,000 grant from the Institute of Museum and Library Services; $2 million federal stimulus grant for capital improvement projects at member organizations; $2.8 million National Science Foundation grant for Art of Science Learning). • Fee-for-service charged for participation in some BPLI programs. • Corporate funding for BPSP operations (San Diego Gas & Electric). • Collects member dues (approximately $130,000 annually) to fund general operating expenses.
Debt	• Coordinates On-Bill Financing, a financing program offered by the regional energy provider to fund energy efficiency upgrades and retrofits for member organizations.
Equity	• Pays financial returns to member institutions that participate in Explorer Pass program
Physical Capital: Natural and manufactured resources such as building and machines (Krugman & Wells, 2009)	
Built	• Leases 1500sf of office space, owns/leases office equipment. • Uses facility space at member organizations free of charge to host meetings and programs; this often serves as in-kind match for grant funding. • Managed funding and reporting on capital improvements for energy efficiency (e.g., HVAC retrofits) at its member institutions
Natural	• Reduction in the Park's greenhouse gas emissions through BPSP • Incorporated nature themes (e.g., animals, ecology, sustainability, weather, astronomy) into its Trails app for visitors
Human Capital: The acquired and useful abilities of all the inhabitants or members of the society (Smith, 1776)	
Physical	• Offers employee wellness programming such as yoga and meditation. • Hosts walking tours to showcase energy efficiency projects through the park. • Provides lunch at some meetings (e.g., facility directors)
Intellectual	• BPCP's Balboa Park Learning Institute (BPLI) program has produced over 28,000 hours of learning for 6,500 participants, 25% who come from outside Balboa Park from other regional and state cultural organizations. • Presents monthly "lunch and learns" to educate facility directors about energy efficiency and other current topics in their field. • Shares information, expertise, and data with board members, member organizations, and the City of San Diego; serves as a knowledge broker. • Conducts data collection such as employee parking surveys, professional development needs assessment, Parkwide pass feasibility study

Psychological	• Personality conflicts • Confidence induced through data-driven decision making • Programs intentionally designed to boost employee morale through social contact.
Creative	• Fosters innovation and experimentation through its collaborative audience evaluation project (first of its kind in the nation). • Serves as an innovation incubator to help member organizations develop new programs. • Selected as national host for Art of Science Learning program, a National Science Foundation initiative to research STEAM education (science, technology, engineering, arts, and math).
Moral	• Sharing values of sustainability and learning with the public. • Expanding public benefit through Community Access program.

Relational Capital:	How a person or organization connects with stakeholders internally and externally, and the value that is placed on this relationship (Capello & Faggian, 2005)
Social	• Design goals of the Balboa Park Learning Institute was to build communities of practice (Wenger, 1998). • BPCP created "affinity groups" by profession (human resources, facility directors, executive directors, exhibits staff, CFO's, development directors) to bring together colleagues from multiple organizations to learn with and from each other. • Directors report monthly meetings foster trust and connection among participants. • Member institutions report being able to connect to their audiences better because of deeper understanding of their motivations gained from BPLI audience research project.
Political	• Works with government officials to advocate for park use and funding issues. • Works with local government officials (elected and staff) to educate and advocate for the arts and park infrastructure improvements.
Spiritual	• BPLI's audience engagement program helped member organizations create experiential pathways for meaning-making for park visitors based on Maslow's hierarchy of needs as a grounding framework.

Symbolic Capital:	The wealth and productive capacity which an individual or group has accumulated in a figurative or representational form (Bourdieu, 1983)
Cultural	• Expressed value of BPLI is to create a culture of openness and inquiry. • Creation of a shared vernacular through the Parkwide Pass research project • Sought to transition member institutions' perception of interactions from competition to cooperation. • One Park One Team program seeks to create system identity among member institutions, staffs, and volunteers. • Promotes consensus by building shared vision and values with partners.
Reputational	• Created visitor experience concept and customer serve training program to ensure people who come to park have a good experience and want to return. • One respondent outside California remarked, "BPCP has helped transform Balboa Park from a regional resource into a national partner and cultural destination."

Temporal	• Importance of ongoing, regular contact through board member and facility director meetings. • A resource that participants are expected to commit to the program. • Invest in activities that create cycle of ongoing returns; outcomes extend over time.
Spatial	• Physical proximity of institutions attracts tourists, enables joint programming, marketing of Balboa Park as a destination. • Physical proximity of employees enables easier access to professional development through BPLI
Structural Capital:	Formative properties allowing the 'binding' of time-space in social systems (Giddens, 1984)
Organizational	• Creation of national and regional network effects through BPCP's connection to national and regional associations (e.g., California Association of Museums, American Alliance of Museums, San Diego Exhibit Evaluators Group). • Creating intra-park network effects through cross-fertilization (e.g., BPLI's mentoring/match up programs). • Parkwide pass program guided by steering committee comprised of different role- holders in various institutions.
Rule of Law	• MOUs to formalize participant commitment to programs. • BPCP bylaws: one vote per institution regardless of size promotes power balance. • BPCP bylaws: prohibition against substitutes at board meetings promotes more rapid decision making.
Process	• Asking, co-creating, collaborating, collecting data, communicating, connecting, convening, experimenting, evaluating, innovating, investing, leading, learning, listening, measuring, partnering, planning, promoting diversity, serving, sharing, teaching, transforming, trying.

Financial Capital

Money. As mentioned throughout this study, financial capital has played a major role in the operations of the Balboa Park Cultural Partnership. On the revenue side, BPCP takes in both earned and contributed revenue. Table 9 provides an example of tallies kept by staff of cash received or accrued between 2000 and 2012.

Table 9

Cash Received or Accrued 2000- 2012

Revenue Type	Pre-strategic planning 2000-01	2001-02	2002-03	2003-04	2004-05	2005-06	2006-07	2007-08	2008-09	2010-11	2011-12
Grants	$97,500	$180,000	$100,000	$87,500	$75,000	$75,000	$100,000	$85,000	$37,000	$208,174	$146,561
Member dues	$10,500		$20,000	$20,500	$19,750	$79,500	$110,250	$128,267	$129,500	$131,500	$130,000
CBO income					$1,157	$1,418	$4,828	$6,011	$7,773	$458	
Passport to BP					$27,200						
Corporate Gifts						12500			$6,000		$14,872
Corporate Contracts								48054	$126,685	$75,000	$153,647
Individual Gifts								23588	$3,850	$95,118	
Government									$121,542	$209,297	$150,880
In-kind BPLI											$79,692
Tuition BPLI											$8,488
City--CDBG											$412,000
TOTAL	$108,000	$180,000	$120,000	$108,000	$123,107	$168,418	$215,078	$290,920	$432,350	$719,547	$1,096,140

(Balboa Park Cultural Partnership staff tallies, 2000-2012)

With the Art of Science Learning grant and the launch of the Explorer pass financial capital has increased even further. "The Explorer Pass brings in about $2.5 million a year which is substantial", noted one respondent. Member dues and corporate and government contracts also provide financial capital. Thus, financial capital is a key feature of BPCP's business model. It is tracked carefully through program accounting, organizational financial statements, 990 tax returns, and staff record keeping. The generation of financial capital provided resources that were used to invest in other forms of capital such as human and physical.

Debt. While BPCP itself has not used debt financing, it does serve as a liaison to help its member institutions access on-bill financing for their energy upgrade projects through San Diego Gas & Electric's On-Bill Financing program. Institutions receive loans from SDG&E to fund the purchase and installation of qualifying energy efficiency measures. The repayment amount of the loan is added to their monthly SDG&E bill, with the idea that the cost savings from the saved energy being enough to cover the loan amount. The repayment period is determined based on the equipment selected. It is

calculated based on estimated annual energy savings not to exceed the maximum loan

term (SDG&E, 2013). Debt was found to be employed as a way to finance the purchase

of energy efficiency upgrades that supported enhancement of natural capital (e.g.,

reduced greenhouse gas emissions) while generating cost savings for BPCP's member

organizations.

Equity. Typically associated with for-profit firms, the Balboa Park Cultural

Partnership's Explorer Pass program can be seen as an equity model. As will be

explained in detail in the next chapter, when passes are sold the revenue comes into

BPCP. A portion of these earnings is later paid out to participating member

organizations based on usage patterns by Explorer Pass visitors. These payouts totaled

$724,630 in FY 2014 and $1.7 million in FY 2015 (Internal Revenue Service, 2014 &

2015). Thus, through collaboration (structural capital), BPCP and its members were able

to develop a new product (the Explorer Pass) that generated financial capital that was

returned to BPCP's member organizations.

Physical Capital

Built capital. The Balboa Park Cultural leases approximately 1500 square feet of

office space from the Balboa Park Conservancy. It also relies on the provision of space

by member institutions throughout the park to host meetings and present classes and

workshops. The value of the use of this space is often documented as an in-kind

contribution to help meet matching requirements for federal grants. Additional examples

of built capital include HVAC retrofits and other energy efficiency improvements

described earlier. Built capital was found to enable the delivery of BPCP's programs in a

way that required no cash outlay for space. At the same time, this in-kind donation of

space helped BPCP meet matching funds requirements to comply with terms of its major grant funding. Thus, built capital supported production of subsequent outputs and outcomes such as the development of intellectual capital through BPLI's professional development programs.

   Natural capital. BPCP's sustainability program has lowered greenhouse gas emissions by 6,631 metric tons between 2008 and 2015. Other examples of natural capital include using park space to host the first Maker's Fair in the park, an event designed to engage visitors both inside and outside the cultural institutions by using lawn and walkway spaces on the central mesa plazas (Balboa Park Cultural Partnership, 2016). Natural capital is thus an input, output, and outcome in BPCP's production of collective impact.

Human Capital

   This category of capital is among the most essential to the operation of the Balboa Park Cultural Partnership. As one respondent noted about BPCP, "They needed to hire a staff, people that could do this because the organizations are very busy just keeping their doors open and they don't really have the capacity to look at some of these bigger picture items." One Human Resources professional at one of the larger member institutions noted, "I am an HR professional with 28 years of experience in the for-profit and nonprofit sectors and fully appreciate that strengthening our museums and cultural institutions begins by developing the skills of staffs of those institutions." Human capital is also a critical factor for program delivery. One program manager noted, "I recruited 100 community members from both sides of the border to participate, teach or facilitate, and to serve as mentors. We're bringing people together to foster community driven

innovation." Similarly, a director mentioned the importance of audiences, "We wouldn't exist if it wasn't for our visitors."

Below I present examples of how the five sub-types of human capital (physiological, intellectual, psychological, creative, and moral) are deployed in BPCP programs and operations. As will be shown, human capital makes possible the creation and activation of other forms of capital to produce outcomes, impact, and financial sustainability.

Physiological capital. As mentioned previously, BPSP hosts walking tours that showcase energy efficiency projects throughout Balboa Park. Another example of physiological capital being provided for is the serving of refreshments at some meetings. As a former BPCP staff member noted, "Providing lunch to the facility directors was a big draw to get them to the meetings initially." Another example is the Balboa Park Learning Institute offering yoga and meditation classes at the Japanese Friendship Garden for employees of BPCP member institutions. The data suggest the physiological wellbeing of employees is an asset that makes possible the delivery of programs to achieve strategic outcomes.

Intellectual capital. Perhaps the most obvious form of intellectual capital is the instruction offered by the Balboa Park Learning Institute, whose purpose is to increase knowledge and skills among Balboa Park employees and volunteers, ideally promoting "transfer growth in skills, knowledge and abilities from individual to organization to the Balboa Park community" (Balboa Park Cultural Partnership, 2010). In its first three years of operation BPLI program participants experienced 18,318 hours of learning (Institute of Museum and Library Services, 2011). This learning led to new practices in

BPCP's member institutions, such as more interactive and visitor-friendly exhibits, wider

practice of audience evaluation as an institutional norm, and professional development

that enhanced capacity of staff members.

Similarly, BPSP offers monthly lunch and learn meetings where facility directors

of member institutions convene to learn about energy efficiency and other sustainability

topics. BPSP also educated 451 people through programs like its walk-abouts in 2015.

Over the past eight years has educated 7,531 people through its education and outreach

programming (Balboa Park Cultural Partnership, 2016). The increased knowledge of

facility directors led to improved energy efficiency practices at BPCP's member

institutions, resulting in significant cost savings on monthly energy bills. On another

note, respondents praised BPCP for its data collection. A municipal representative

appreciated "all of that benchmarking and surveying they did for 2015 and amongst

themselves for their own mission, goals, and strategic plans." As demonstrated above,

knowledge and data became a resource that supported better decision making at the

institutions while increasing legitimacy and reputation with a key stakeholder, the City of

San Diego. Intellectual capital was found to enhance organizational capacity, increase

reputational capital, and promote development of cultural capital (e.g., new corporate

culture practices such as audience evaluation, environmental sustainability, and data-

driven decision making).

Psychological capital. One key informant mentioned the affective dimension of

collaboration, specifically noting the importance of "executive buy-in . . . because people

are resilient and can do so much, but it always comes down to having that leadership role

and support . . . without that, people can get demotivated and frustrated." Similarly, an

affective dimension was also mentioned about the establishment of the Learning Institute,

with one respondent stating, "there was also an instinct that it would be good for morale

for the staff and the institutions if people had more opportunity to meet each other."

Another respondent spoke about personality conflicts being a potential challenge to

collaboration, sharing that "personalities make collaboration hard sometime." Regarding

the undertaking of the Explorer Pass (discussed in the next chapter) one respondent

recalled that some of the institutions "were nervous about it, but having the data from the

feasibility studies gave them more confidence to at least give it a try."

Psychological capital was also mentioned in the context of employees. For

example, one respondent noted,

> The early days of the sustainability program brought a sense of professionalism
> and pride to the building operators. For so long they were kind of the underdogs,
> seen as a drain on the organization's budget because it needed to pay them to keep
> the building operating but they don't bring in any revenue. [By participating in
> BPSP] they felt a sense of professionalism, that what they do actually impacts all
> their employees and visitors and improves the organization's bottom line.

These data suggest that building psychological capital among employees of

BPCP's member institutions helped make subsequent outcomes possible. Enhanced

psychological capital helped overcome obstacles such as fear of risk, which in turn

produced increased willingness to experiment with new practices and programs that

ultimately produced significant outcomes and impact (e.g., the Explorer Pass).

Creative capital. BPCP sometimes describes itself as fulfilling the role of

innovation incubator and risk absorber for its members. One respondent stated,

> This is the incubator function of the Learning Institute, R&D [research and
> development] for the content of the program that is to come . . . it [supports] 2015,
> Parkwide membership, the Conservancy, and the effects these have on BPCP's
> goals.

Such research and development benefits park institutions and beyond. "The Learning Institute facilitates special projects that use Balboa Park as a learning laboratory for experimenting with new practices that have implications for the broader cultural and educational fields" (Comiskey & Coutts, 2013). Examples include the shared audience evaluation program (discussed in detail in the next chapter) and also the Art of Science Learning program. In 2012 the National Science Foundation awarded a $2.8 million Informal Science Education grant to BPCP to serve as the national home to this three-year project that "explores innovation at the intersection of art, science and learning, using the arts to spark creativity in science education and foster the development of an innovative 21st Century STEM (*science, technology, engineering, math*) workforce" (Center for the Advancement of Informal Science Education, 2014, p. 1). Thus, the building of creative capital led to returns such as increased financial capital (grant funding), reputational capital (becoming the national home to a prestigious NSF grant), and impact (developing improved professional practices that were then shared with other colleagues and institutions in the museum field).

From a programming perspective BPCP relies on the ideas and creativity of its participants. One respondent commented on the creativity of an employee at a member institution:

> A really great win is (*employee name*) who asked me, hey, what are we doing about gift shops? How can we sell more sustainable products? How can our gift shop . . . be more sustainable? Because people will spend more money if they know it's sustainable. And people don't want something . . . that's made of toxic chemicals to give to their child . . . so things like that, thinking out of the box. It's not just energy efficiency, but how do we look at these everyday things.

These data suggest that creative thinking among employees was a resource that informed

subsequent decisions and generated new strategic options for BPCP and its member

institutions.

      Moral capital. Respondents mentioned this resource in a few ways, most focusing

on values and mission. As one BPCP board member summarized, "the bottom line for

our institutions is that we're here to serve the public." One example of BPCP seeking to

fulfill its public benefit mission is through its Community Access Pass, part of the

Explorer Pass program. In 2015, BPCP with support of 17 of its member institutions and

individual donors provided 5,000 passes for underserved families who likely would not

otherwise have participated in the Explorer Pass program. The passes were distributed

in partnership with nonprofit organizations recommended by city council members

(Chute, 2015). Values are also promoted through BPCP's programs. BPLI promotes the

importance of learning and education. BPSP strives to promote public adoption of

environmentally sustainable practices. These examples suggest that the moral capital

associated with values and mission fulfillment produced public benefits that enriched the

community and produce collective impact.

Relational Capital

      Social capital. Among all the subtypes of capital encountered in this

investigation, perhaps none stands out more than social capital. Virtually every

respondent spoke of the important role that relationships played in accomplishing tasks

and working collaboratively. From a funder perspective a respondent observed,

The other thing that rang my bell was the Learning Institute, the fact that there would be coming together not only the staff of these multiple and diverse organizations, but also the volunteers who work in them . . . to create new relationships across and among the people in these organizations which in my mind is what's absolutely necessary.

An example of this vision coming to life was through BPLI's Customer Service Initiative. The external evaluation of this program found that,

Organizations benefited as full participants "pollinated" their learning by sharing activities and ideas with their co-workers, staff, and volunteers. Organizations without staff involved in the Initiative also benefited as full participants built new collaborations with these organizations as well as those participating in the Initiative. (Saraniero, 2015, p. 7)

Another strategy BPLI employs in its programming is to develop affinity groups that bring together employees throughout the park who share a similar role. As one respondent recalled, "the Human Resources group was another example. They started meeting as a collective and then it became a very helpful support network, when you had a question about H.R. you could call somebody at one of the other institutions."

Similarly, BPLI Mix & Match and mentoring programs were designed to provide opportunities for employees of the various cultural institutions to get to know each other.

It was a chance for them to get out of their own institutions, meet new people, explore new areas of the park. People would sign up and be randomly assigned a partner each month for three months. The idea was to spend about 30 minutes with a person each month. I think we had seven or eight seasons of the Mix-Up . . . it grew from about 18 people to about 40, a good blend of new people and people who continued [from previous seasons] in the program.

Trust and respect were also mentioned by several respondents as being important in building quality relationships. "There has to be good respect between the City of San Diego and BPCP, the Balboa Park Committee, the Friends of Balboa Park, the Conservancy, and the Balboa Park Online Collaborative because we all have to work together." Additionally, a respondent shared that,

> You have to trust that the collaboration will work even if you don't agree with everything that gets done. You have to trust that there's a greater good and a greater body of knowledge than you yourself may personally hold.

Further, social capital also played an important role in getting BPCP on the radar screen of major funders. One national funder remarked,

> We learned about the Balboa Park Cultural Partnership through [name of local person]. He then suggested our board hold its annual meeting in Balboa Park which we did in 2003 or 2004. And that gave us the chance to really learn about and visit many of the museums in Balboa Park.

Likewise, when I expressed curiosity to one of BPCP's funders about how the Irvine Foundation became involved with BPCP, she shared,

> Around 1999 [one of the Irvine program officers] asked, "If you had a magic wand what would you do? I said, "I would get the Balboa Park cultural institutions to work together." So she put some money together and asked [one of the museum directors] to submit an application. And they [BPCP] received strategic planning money from Irvine to help make that happen.

> The process of creating and building relationships were also mentioned as an

important activity. One respondent described how she worked to build up her program, stating,

> In some cases it was building on an existing relationship, in some cases it was connecting or requesting a referral, essentially from an existing relationship to a new relationship, and in some cases it was just cold calling people and starting brand new.

These relationships became resources that could later be drawn upon. For example, one finding from BPLI's Customer Service Initiative was that "the Initiative experience was less about building problem-solving skills and more identifying resources with which to solve problems. Typically, interviewees identified these resources as other participants or other Park employees" (Saraniero, 2015, p. 74).

These numerous examples indicate that social capital mobilized and unlocked access to other forms of capital that subsequently produced outcomes and impact. For example, a funder's social capital opened up access to financial capital from the James Irvine Foundation in 2001. Over BPCP's 15-year history, this led to more than $1.5 million in investment from that foundation. Outcomes from that investment included creation of the Explorer Pass program that created an earned income stream for BPCP and financial returns for its members. Similarly, social capital was built among employees and volunteers at BPCP's member institutions through their participation in BPLI and BPSP education programs, creating a network of peer learning that produced changes in practice such as more audience engagement and an ethos of environmental sustainability.

Political capital. Because Balboa Park is a common pool resource, it is inherently political. As one respondent noted,

> Anything having to do with the heart and historical district of Balboa Park can be polarizing because everyone experiences it in a different manner . . . it's the public's park and the public process can be very messy and changeable.

Navigating and shaping the political environment through advocacy was one of BPCP's original goals. A city administrator who worked with Balboa Park institutions over many years observed that through collaboration the park's cultural institutions,

> Became less fragmented and they developed the ability to address policy and political issues. It was no longer operational issues like "why is it we can't get water pressure?" It became about the policy issues. That made a big positive change and they did see more money come to them. They were no longer asking "I want to see what my facility has." They started asking "what does Balboa Park have in terms of its deferred maintenance needs?"

BPCP executive directors were also commended for their political savvy, with a board member extolling, "they have done a really good job of keeping us apprised of the

political landscape. They are really good at politics and anticipating what the city or different politicians need." An external stakeholder noted, "BPCP came out with a strong platform to promote park infrastructure needs and also support the Penny for the Arts funding program. It was very effective. They also have a strong partnership with their city council member." Another external stakeholder observed, "They've built a constituency of supporters that has helped increase political and financial power." Thus, through the development of political capital BPCP built a broader power base, leading to more effective advocacy for its members and increased funding for arts and culture.

　　　　Spiritual capital. The Learning Institute's Audience Experience and Evaluation program was inspired in part by in Maslow's hierarchy of needs (1943). Building on Chip Conley's work on designing experiences in the workplace, the Learning Institute developed a visitor-focused curriculum designed to help employees and institutions attend to the variety of needs of their visitors. These include physical and safety needs (e.g., access to amenities), social belonging (being noticed, welcomed, able to interact with others at the venue), and esteem (having choice and control, expanding their sense of self through curiosity and creativity). At the top of this pyramid-shaped progression is "Peak Experience" such as harmony, awe, wonder, unification, inter-connectedness, and change for the better (Balboa Park Learning Institute, 2010, p. 1). The survey instrument from this program was designed to gauge where audiences were on this continuum, with the intention that participating organizations could then implement practices that would help visitors achieve peak experiences at their institutions.

　　　　Spiritual capital was also mentioned by one respondent as a way to move beyond oneself. "It's the ability to see the big picture, to be able to step out of whatever role

you're in and be able to paint that picture, that North Star picture of what we're about and why we're here." The data suggest that developing spiritual capital helped create outcomes such as more meaningful audience engagement, in turn supporting long-term goals such as creating a base of loyal visitors and shaping sector norms in the field of arts and culture.

Symbolic Capital

Cultural capital. One of BPCP's accomplishments has been to create a sense of community within Balboa Park. Its One Park—One Team initiative seeks to build shared identity among park employees, enabling them to see themselves as both an employee of the institution and of Balboa Park. A stated goal of the Balboa Park Learning Institute is to create a culture of openness and inquiry through shared learning, reflective practice, and applied learning (Institute of Museum and Library Services, 2008). One respondent stated the purpose of the Learning Institute was "to break down silos among the individual organizations and create a stronger whole, to really look at the park as a whole and see how we can strengthen our individual organizations and keep our own identity but still become something greater as a whole."

Another cultural shift that occurred was the movement from competition to cooperation. One funder recounted the transformation, stating "what would happen is that one [organization] would go down [to city hall] and then all the others would go down too and they would fight and [the organization's request] would be defeated. As they started to work together, they saw they were accomplishing more." From an employee perspective a program manager describes the shift as "we started empathizing and seeing that we were thinking and talking about the same things, and then realized we

could benefit by sharing information and that was no longer a big competitive no-no."

Thus, the development of cultural capital helped create a sense of shared identity among

park employees beyond their own institution. It also supported the development of social

capital as employees started meeting and getting to know each other, in turn leading to

collective work on joint projects such as park-wide audience evaluation and creation of a

peer mentoring network.

Reputational capital. As the Balboa Park Cultural Partnership grew it sought to

make Balboa Park a national model in several ways. For example, some strategies

employed by the sustainability program (e.g., LEED certification) were described as "a

way to position Balboa Park as a leader for sustainability for our community." One

director of a member institution spoke about how valuable it was for the Balboa Park

Sustainability Program to create public awareness that "Balboa Park organizations are

concerned about sustainability and are actually doing something about it." Similarly

BPLI also aspired to become a national model by example, such as shifting practice in the

museum field to a more visitor-centered model.

BPCP also used reputation as a way to motivate employees and member

institutions by creating an awards program to publicize their organizations. Part of this

strategy was to motivate engagement. "We created this event where they can get an

award and be recognized by the public for the work they are doing." The Smith

Leadership symposium also enabled managers at the various institutions within the park

to become nationally known for their work in education, visitor experience, and

collaboration. This forum provided a platform for park employees to share their expertise

with arts and culture colleagues throughout the San Diego region, as well as a national

audience of on-line symposium participants through a webinar-style broadcast.

Reputation further played a factor in what organizations BPCP decided to partner with,

with one BPCP employee noting, "different people come to us all the time. We consider

who has a good reputation." Thus, the intentional cultivation of reputational capital was

a strategic decision that BPCP made to engage its member institutions, increase their buy-

in in its programs (e.g., environmental sustainability and professional development), and

establish a national presence through its innovation and leadership in the arts and culture

sector.

Spatial capital. Several respondents mentioned the physical proximity of the

institutions as a resource. One program manager noted, "You are meeting new and

different people through these learning opportunities, but then they are right there so you

can continue to build upon those and it can take its own path." Another respondent

similarly observed,

> What makes the Learning Institute unique is that there is a real focus on the
> person-to-person learning relationship and experience. As much as we did
> blended learning and it technology, what we do best is creating this in-person
> learning community that is very specific to this place.

> Physical proximity was also mentioned as a resource to attract visitors. A

program manager noted, "the institutions can present all these subjects from different

points of views in one place where people can walk. That's just not possible any place

else." And as one funder stated,

> None of them are the most important museum (of their kind) in the world . . .
> the one thing they have that nobody else has in the country except possibly the
> Smithsonian is the proximity of all these different disciplines within walking
> distance.

Another funder described the importance of Balboa Park as a unique resource for "place-

making so people can connect." These data, coupled with the accounts of BPCP's

founding, suggest that BPCP through convening was able to mobilize a latent resource (spatial capital, e.g., the geographic proximity of the institutions) into a productive resource that made possible subsequent outcomes and impact such as the Explorer Pass program.

Temporal capital. Almost every respondent mentioned time in some way. Two respondents spoke about time pressures, such as, "Finding the time to do your own job is hard enough, let alone collaborate." The need for dedicated time was also mentioned by three respondents who saw lack of time as a reason why formal incorporation and hiring of professional staff were necessary for successful collaboration. Time also played a role in programming and strategic decision making. One program manager noted, "We hoped to spawn something that would live on beyond the year-long project." Another noted that, "there were a lot of short-term, easy to implement changes the institutions made. And [we also gave them] food for thought that set them on their way to making bigger changes over time."

The idea of long-term commitment was also on many respondents' minds. As one observed, "A collaboration tends to be a marathon, not a sprint, which means it's going to be changing and evolving." Another funder noted, "It's been a slow process but much has been accomplished. I can't say everything I've hoped they would do has been done, but I think they are moving in the right direction."

All of these examples point to the use of symbolic capital as a tool that BPCP used to leverage resources to produce outcomes and impact. BPCP built cultural capital by changing practices within its member organizations to better serve their visitors and take up a leadership role on the national arts and cultural scene. This in turn enhanced its

reputational capital. Through the One Park—One Team and Explorer Pass programs,

BPCP tapped into the latent resource of spatial capital. Similarly, the adoption of a long-

term time horizon for program planning also helped BPCP create programs such as BPLI,

BPSP, and the Explorer Pass that create long-term value by enhancing the capacity of its

member organizations, park employees and volunteers, and community members.

Structural Capital

      Organizational capital. BPCP's member institutions leveraged their geographic

proximity (spatial capital) to create a formal collaboration. This investment in

organizational capital helped to generate financial returns. As one director noted,

> BPCP has received substantial money from the Irvine Foundation to fund the
> Parkwide Pass program. It has also received big money from SDG&E for the
> sustainability program that we [the member institutions] have all benefited from.
> Large major grants have been a major benefit of the Balboa Park Cultural
> Partnership. The individual organizations wouldn't have qualified on their own.
> Irvine wouldn't have given to a single museum and SDG&E wouldn't have
> supported a single museum. It was the collaborative that really allowed that to
> happen.

A city staff member also echoed this sentiment, noting, "I can remember conversations

with (the department's) deputy director discussing the fact how it was important to have

this organization who can internally discuss things and then speak with one voice instead

of five different interpretations of one issue." Similarly, the role of BPCP in launching

the Balboa Park Online Collaborative was also mentioned by a funder who observed,

"The Online Collaborative was able to gain traction so much faster because of BPCP.

When you start with that, you have an infrastructure created so you don't have to start

from scratch." Thus, the act of coming together to form a formal collaboration increased

political and financial capital as well as laying the foundation for future collaborative

bodies such as the Balboa Park Online Collaborative.

Rule of law capital. The rules of a system are an important factor as to what happens in that system. As one government respondent noted, the foundation for determining what can happen in Balboa Park is "the Balboa Park charter, land use documents, and policy documents . . . the Master Plan is very clear and has been through enormous amounts of community engagement and received city council approval." At the organizational level, BPCP's decision of one vote per institution regardless of size helped to manage power imbalances that had been experienced in the past. Similarly, the by-laws' prohibition against sending substitutes helped ensure the executive directors attended regularly and decision makers were at the table. These examples of creating effective governance structures resulted in an foundation to build and grow other forms of capitals.

Process capital. Processes are actions that promote the delivery of value creation. The processes that emerged in the data as important to mobilizing the various forms of capitals includes: *asking, co-creating, collaborating, collecting data, communicating, connecting, convening, experimenting, evaluating, innovating, investing, leading, learning, listening, measuring, partnering, planning, promoting diversity, serving, sharing, teaching, transforming,* and *trying*. The top six processes identified through the data analysis are discussed in detail in the next section.

<div align="center">

Processes

</div>

As suggested in the literature from chapter three, capital is more valuable to the degree it is mobilized. This study found that processes catalyze this mobilization. Processes are both a form of capital and a mobilizer of capital, similar to how light can be both a wave and a particle. If we think about the typology of capitals as a map, processes

transform the map from a static to an animated state, akin to dynamic meteorology map that shows the movement of a weather system. Figure 9 illustrates the concept of dynamic capitals.

Figure 9. Processes Mobilize the Various Forms of Capital
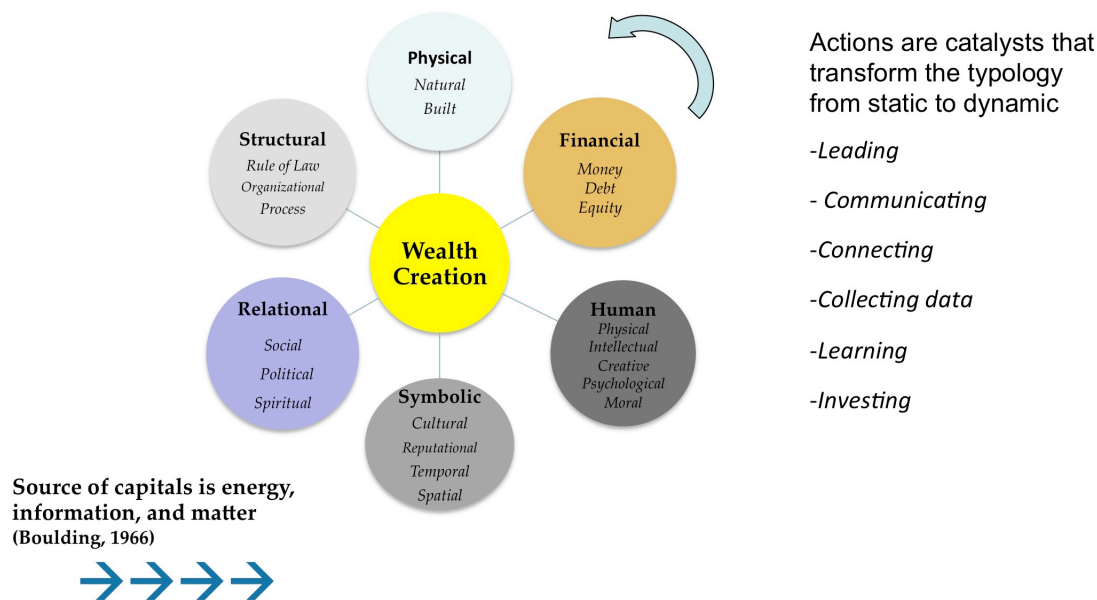
The following sections discuss the six processes that emerged as most central to the activation of the various forms of capitals based on frequency of appearance in the coding. These include communicating, connecting, leading, collecting data, learning, and investing.

Communicating

The process of communication as a method of mobilizing capital was a theme mentioned explicitly or alluded to by all 16 respondents. Stakeholders recognized the importance, and also the difficulty, of promoting information flow in a collaborative setting. As one respondent noted,

> I think communication will always be the hardest nut to crack . . . you need to
> work out ways of communicating not just once, not just twice, but many, many

times . . . I don't think anything in the park is more important than communication for a collaborative organization.

A primary way BPCP addresses communication needs is through regular convenings, such as monthly meetings of its board of directors. "We communicate really clearly with our CEOs because we're sitting down with them every month, letting them know what we're doing. It's an opportunity for them to ask questions and get clarity", observed one BPCP employee. Another communications strategy is weekly bulletins sent out by the executive director to BPCP board members.

Similarly, both the BPSP and BPLI programs meet regularly with and send out regular communications to their stakeholders. For example, BPSP hosts monthly meetings of facility directors of BPCP member institutions, often incorporating information sharing or education about energy efficiency. Communications used by these programs include e-newsletter, email, website updates, and social media. To ensure a comprehensive approach to reach its stakeholders regularly, BPSP developed a tracking spreadsheet to become more intentional about and document its communications. This spreadsheet categorizes its various stakeholders by type (e.g., corporate, government, vendor), how and when they are communicated with, the purpose of the communication, and what outcome is desired from the communication (e.g., a call to action). Another BPCP program administrator has been similarly intentional about communications, noting,

> I tried to design communications that would get them interested. I would also seek feedback on my communications. I always tried to frame them to express the benefit to the person I was addressing because I know people are inundated with information. I tried to anticipate their question of "what's in it for me?" My three aims were to show opportunity, benefit, and value.

Social media has also emerged as a pivotal tool in BPCP's program. BPLI's 2012 Smith Symposium employed strategic use of twitter. Its Symposium Tweet Chat produced 48 tweets that generated 526,226 impressions from 37,246 followers (Balboa Park Cultural Partnership, 2013). For the Art of Science Learning project, "digital and social media was an essential piece of that effort. There's no way the project could have happened without that, it allowed us to push out our message. We didn't have a budget for public relations."

The process of communicating is also a driver of BPCP's reporting, information sharing, and sharing of best practices. For example, its sustainability program (BPSP) produces an annual report of its outcomes and impact each year. These findings are shared on line and in-person at its annual Sustainability Partners breakfast. This event, attended by approximately 200 people each year, celebrates park-wide energy savings accomplishments and recognizes top institutional performers who receive the Balboa Park Sustainability Award (Balboa Park Cultural Partnership, 2015).

Additionally, communication is important for coordinated responses to emergencies. As one respondent remembered,

> Another thing the partnership has done is to make sure all the institutions are communicating with each other on radios. Last week there was an alert about a possible public safety emergency at the (*Balboa Park Naval*) hospital. All the museums knew instantly because they were in communication by radio.

Finally, many respondents spoke to the time and care that good communication requires.

> [Collaborations] often don't invest enough time and effort in that communication function, in that hearing function . . . it's got to be someone's real job. But then people within each organization have to be able to see that it's part of their work and the work of the organization to contribute to and participate in the collaboration.

As the several examples above attest, communication is a central activity of the Balboa Park Cultural Partnership. Through strategic communication it engages stakeholders, crafts influential messages, engages and maintains the attention of its board members, and promotes information flow among internal and external stakeholders. This information flow promotes mobilization and activation of other forms of capital such as social capital (convening), intellectual (professional development), and reputational (social media, public awards ceremonies). This study finds that communication is a pivotal catalyst that facilitates BPCP's production of outputs, outcomes, and impact.

Connecting

One of the primary original goals of the collaboration was to connect people and institutions. While initially this was at the executive director level, over time it expanded to include CFOs, senior mangers, and program staff through participation in the Collective Business Operations, Balboa Park Learning Institute, and Balboa Park Sustainability Program. Through the Explorer Pass and One Park One Team programs, board members of the various member institutions also became involved. As one funder noted,

> One of BPCP's greatest accomplishments is that they've developed one system that all the players in the park can be a part of. Which allows all kind of potential since they are connected. In other words, they've got an underlying platform that enables them to do all kinds of things.

In addition to bringing people together, these connecting processes sometimes linked different levels of the organizations as well. For example, BPLI's meet-ups enable people to associate with others in both similar and different roles in other institutions. As will be discussed in the next chapter, the Explorer Pass steering committee also brought together park employees in different roles to work together on a common project.

Beyond the building of social capital, another outcome that emerged from this connecting was the activation of individual and collective agency. One respondent recalled, "We started seeing all the little ways people started connecting for their own purposes." Such connections sometimes opened up access to more resources. One manager mentioned, "We wanted to create a network of friendships, and hoped that those people or organizations might help us in our recruitment efforts, or would provide expertise, advise our teams, or speak at events." Similarly, another key informant observed, "I think one of the measures of change was the opening up of these individual lines that had to do with people's own agendas and what they wanted to, or needed in their own individual positions." An internal stakeholder respondent noted,

> There were lots of stories where people would meet other people at BPLI programs and strike up a relationship and then go draw on them as a resource later. I think of Sabrina[1] and how she started to connect with other people in comparable positions around the park and it really helped her develop a sense of what she wanted to do in her own position and her own institutions, it gave her some outlets to grow. We just planted a seed helping her grow.

A similar story was heard about the BPCP's sustainability program,

> They [a member museum] created their own Green Team. And it was staff asking hey, how come we're not recycling, how come we're not using recycled paper? And they wanted to do composting. It's their team of their own employees that are pushing forward some of those things.

A BPCP employee explained further,

> They had their own brown-bag lunches. And they invited their executive director to come to the one on sustainability. They conducted a waste audit of how many trash cans they have, how many recycling bins and then visually (assessed) hey, what are we throwing in here? And how are visitors interacting with these? Do they know what a recycling bin looks like compared with a trash bin? And they requested us to help them. So since we have an existing structure through the LEED program, and we have relationships with [the city's] Environmental Services in the waste division, we can help them with that. Because we already have those existing connections.

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[1] Name changed for confidentiality.

As figure 10 demonstrates, this process can be mapped as:

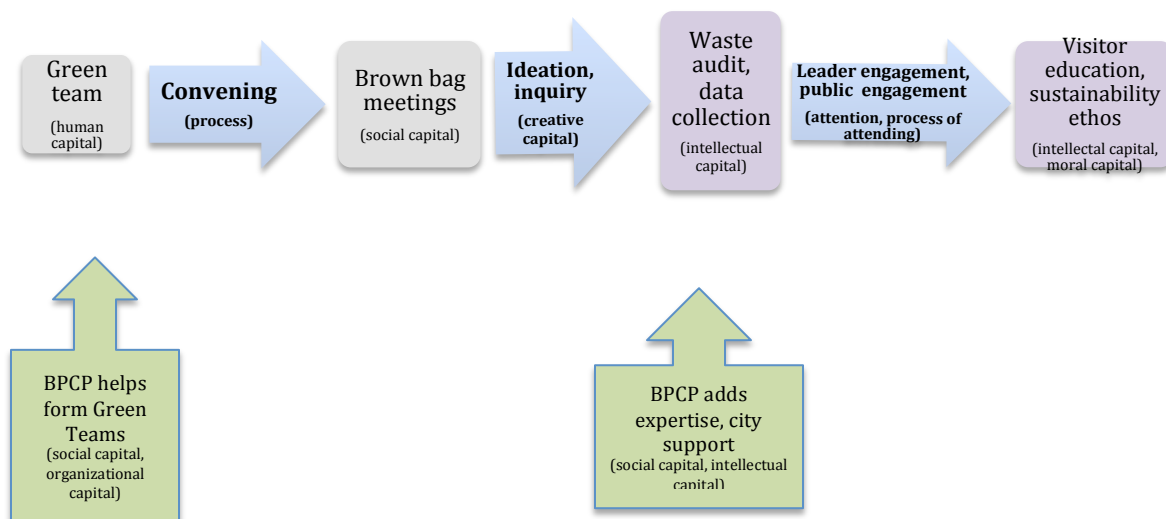Figure 10. Tracking the Activation and Conversion of Capital Resources

Figure 10. Example of the activation and conversion of capital resources

The above data suggest that the process of connecting people is a fundamental part of

BPCP's work. This connection takes the form of bringing people together, linking people

to information and resources, and promoting cross-pollination among people in different

roles at different institutions. Through this connection BPCP has created a network of

colleagues and knowledge that has simultaneously promoted the development of social

and intellectual capital as well as the formation of a shared identity (One Park—One

Team).

Leading

Most respondents mentioned the role of leaders in promoting collaboration, both

through formal and positional power. For example, for the LEED certification program,

"having that commitment at the board level ensured that all ten institutions would

participate. That comes back to executive buy-in." However, the importance of leading

at all levels was also mentioned. As one respondent observed,

> The changes that happened had to be carried out by the people or else it wasn't
> going to be real or lasting change. It takes somebody or a team of people to help
> drive that and draw upon all their unique resources and relationships and
> knowledge to help create the environment where others can take it up. So it's
> mutually dependent.

In a similar vein a participant noted, "You need someone to champion it, and that person

doesn't have to be in a formal leadership role. I need doers. Someone I can point to and

say, 'hey, that person did an awesome job, go check them out.'" Others mentioned the

challenge of balancing leadership styles, having to be both a take-charge person and an

enabler. For example,

> There's a balance between the notion of leadership where you are able to set
> things into motion and be a facilitator but it's not about you, it's about everybody
> who's involved. On the other hand, it is about you and your ability to play that
> role. It's not all distributed power or all individual power, there's a balance there.

Many respondents expressed a tension between imposing control and leaving space for

things to emerge, especially since the goals are voluntary. One leader commented, "At

the end of the day you never want to use brute force. In the park that just won't play.

Since it's voluntary, we want to get the people who really care."

Several senior managers mentioned the importance of listening as a key function

of leadership. When asked what it means to be an effective leader in a collaborative

setting, one respondent replied, "to have the capacity to listen to what people are saying

to me . . . whether it be expressly communicated or not . . . and then being able to deliver

on their needs." Another responded,

> You have to be able to listen to all points of view . . . you've got to be able to pull together all the various perspectives into a whole . . . the end product is not what any one person would have envisioned, but it's better than anyone would have envisioned.

Three other respondents mentioned the need to be adaptable and flexible. One explained,

> Its like shapeshifting, moving energy forward . . . you can't dig a straight line and say "OK, all the water is going to flow right here. It just doesn't work that neatly. So you have to be able to get bigger in these parts and smaller over here and navigate around this rock here and maybe freeze for a little while and then you need to melt again and this isn't working so now we need to heat up and evaporate and snow down. It's a constant adaptation while moving this energy forward.

Part of the skill of adaptability also required being comfortable with uncertainty. One respondent remembered,

> We didn't know what the answer was, we didn't know what the outcome was going to be, we had to work at it as we went along. Compared to having a vision that was very clear and we just had to figure out technically how to implement it.

As demonstrated in this section, leadership is instrumental to activating the agency of actors in Balboa Park, both at the individual and organizational levels. Effective leadership catalyzes resources and builds capacity of the system. Leadership comes in many different forms, some traditional (e.g., decision making, making policy) and some more subtle (e.g., listening). The data suggest that to be an effective leader in a collaborative context requires the ability to attune oneself with stakeholders, building trust, and motivating buy-in to enact the collective vision.

Collecting Data

One activity the Balboa Park Cultural Partnership has consistently undertaken is the collection of data. In the early years data collection focused on issues like attendance, where each institution sent in their monthly attendance numbers to BPCP. The staff

aggregated that data and sent out monthly and annual reports to its board members,

enabling the directors to track trends at their own institutions and in Balboa Park. Over

time, this data collection capacity became a resource for others. For example, that

attendance data mentioned above was presented to and used by Jones & Jones for its

Land Use Parking Study report to the City of San Diego (2004). Similarly, BPCP

conducted an employee parking survey that informed the Balboa Park Parking

Management Action Plan (Tilghman Group & Civitas, 2006). For its own members, data

sometimes served as a motivation to participate in programs the institution might not

have otherwise. For example, one respondent noted about BPLI's Audience Evaluation

program,

> Organizations agreed to participate because they got information for their
> individual institutions they could act on. That made it enticing for them to
> participate. When they got into it they started to see how much more there was
> that they could benefit from if they looked collectively.

Data collection has also played an important role in program planning and

development for BPCP programs. Its environmental sustainability program (BPSP) has

historically tracked its projects and the energy and costs savings these produced, as

shared previously in Table 7. These tracking efforts are used to align with larger

benchmarking initiatives such as the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency's Energy

Star, a voluntary measure that enables businesses and industries to reduce energy

consumption without the government having to regulate this reduction (Balboa Park Park

Cultural Partnership, 2016). The ability to document and track outcomes is one reason

the program continues to attract annual funding (Comiskey & Coutts, 2013).

The Balboa Park Learning Institute also regularly collects data, both in terms of

tracking program participation and outcomes and surveying park employees about their

professional development needs. BPLI conducts formal evaluations as well, most

recently for its Balboa Park Customer Service Initiative (Saraniero, 2015). In addition to

quantitative data these evaluations also capture qualitative shifts. For example, that

evaluation found that participants: ". . . recognized that a guest's visit to their institution

is part of a larger Balboa Park experience; developed significantly larger networks across

the park and collaborated with a greater number of fellow participants than before the

initiative" (Saraniero, 2015, p.7). Such findings are reported back to BPCP's board of

directors and also inform the design of future programs, such as an online learning

platform now under development (Balboa Park cultural Partnership, 2016).

Learning

As suggested above, much of the collected data funnels back to inform future

actions by BPCP stakeholders. Internally, BPCP staff use the data to improve and grow

their programs. This cooperative learning behavior promotes more effective action at

both the organizational and collective (park-wide) level. Additionally, data collection

informs new project development, particularly the Explorer Pass program (discussed in

detail in the next chapter). Many respondents discussed the importance of learning as an

organization, such as how to better serve visitors or gather data that informs next steps

and future directions. One respondent observed,

> With both the audience research and customer service programs we were able to
> cultivate greater awareness among our institutions of the need to better understand
> audiences and incorporate and act upon what our audiences' needs and interests
> are. Being able to think collectively and from the visitor point of view I don't
> think would have been possible as much for the institutions without going through
> this audience research project first.

Such learning sometimes resulted in programmatic shifts that led to subsequent culture

shifts in an organization. For example,

At the Natural History Museum they started to look at their marketing differently based on what they had learned . . . before they were object-focused. [Through the audience development program] they learned they had a whole other part of their audience who were there because they wanted to have a social experience. So they started showing people in their marketing materials, it was a pretty big shift. The feedback and the engagement they got, they were able to mark back to that.

From a funder's perspective, the Balboa Park Cultural Partnership's Learning Institute has played an important role in shifting practices both within Balboa Park abd also within the museum field. A funder commented,

They've been able to really think outside the box beyond what traditional museums do and how . . . they can give rise to a completely different set of visitor experiences which will be effective here but also far from here through technology. It's combined both the short term, such as getting together and being able to communicate, and the longer-term structural look and analysis and determination at a national level to change sector practice.

Learning was further described as having more than just informational of knowledge value. A few respondents described its affective dimensions that activated multiple outcomes. As one respondent described,

We wanted to teach people technical things, and we also wanted to create an environment where people felt empowered, where networks were being strengthened, where opportunities for new things to generate were being activated and where we could achieve some of the bigger goals that had been there or were emerging.

These data suggest that the process of learning serves a catalyzing function within BPCP and its member organizations. Learning enhances skills and capacity of both individuals and organizations. It also supports the growth of psychological capital through improved morale and motivation. The process of learning shifted corporate culture, helping several of BPCP's member institutions embrace audience evaluation as an institutional norm so they could better serve their visitors. BPCP's collective approach to learning through BPLI and BPSP also built social capital.

Investing

A fifth process mentioned in various ways was the theme of investing. Four respondents noted the value of member institutions investing in the professional development of their employees. Rather than viewing employee learning as a cost or expense, they saw it as an investment in future value creation. One BPLI program participant remarked,

> The (Customer Service) Initiative has impacted my work in that I'm more aware of the many ways we provide customer service that are not only in immediate interaction with the public, but also in everything we do—how we invite people to visit, how we communicate with them through signage, etc. It has broadened my scope when I think about how we can improve the experience for our visitors. [The Initiative] has also inspired me to be more creative and active in working toward positive change. (Saraniero, 2015, p.7-8)

All of the BPCP board members and two funders commended the executive directors for the extent to which they invested their time, energy, and attention to the collaboration process. One city representative noted, "they spent a lot of time attending and speaking up at public meetings and going to other planning committee meetings, that has a really positive impact." Executive directors also spoke to the importance of decisions being made by those who ". . . have skin in the game".

Philanthropic investments were mentioned by several respondents as being crucial to the success and growth of the Balboa Park Cultural Partnership. As one noted, "The Explorer Pass would not have been possible without the Irvine Foundation." Another similarly recognized the catalytic role of the federal IMLS grant opportunity and the freedom it gave BPCP to create the Learning Institute, first to fulfill practical needs, ("Many of the directors saw the need for professional development for their staffs but just didn't have the means to invest in it"), and later to experiment with new approaches:

> The audience research and customer service programs cultivated greater awareness among the institutions to incorporate and act on their audiences' needs and interests . . . the effects became more systemic. For example, the Parkwide Pass. That project had been stalled for so long and it just wasn't possible until the system was working more openly through what was happening through the Learning Institute.

From a funder's perspective, the formation of BPCP was helpful for several reasons. First, it provided funders who were interested in supporting Balboa Park with a place to give money that would be shared for common purposes. One funder noted, "Otherwise, how would we do it? Giving to one museum wasn't going to work." Another funder spoke about the importance of philanthropic investments as a way to leverage its investment, noting "I also hoped this would be an opportunity not only to get the museums together, but to begin to build a constituency of their supporters which would be enormously powerful both politically and financially." Funders also saw their investments as a way to guide social action. One commented,

> Foundations have a very important role in society, to do things that there are not solutions for. If they just wait for organizations to come to them one by one, say yes or no, and then move on to the next applicant they are wasting everybody's time. They need to decide what they want to accomplish and then work with the people in that space to get something done.

Similarly, another recognized the power that the framing of grant application questions had as a driver of change:

> One of the questions I instituted in our application process was a question about how are you cooperating with other organizations? So the applicants had to consider "OK, how are we doing that? Let's talk about what we are doing."

These data points suggest that the process of investing, whether through philanthropic investment of financial capital or executive directors' investment of time and attention,

provide seed resources that are then transformed into programmatic outputs, outceoms, and ultimately collective impact.

Summary

This chapter has provided an overview of some of BPCP's core programs and identified numerous types of capital resources BPCP deploys. It also described some of the processes that serve as catalysts that helped generate these resources and transform resource inputs into outputs, outcomes, and collective impact. The next chapter will describe and analyze BPCP's most ambitious program, the Explorer Pass, assessing its development through the lens of seven explanatory hypotheses.

CHAPTER 7

FINDINGS #2: THE PLOT THICKENS

Assessing Rival Explanations

In the previous chapter we looked at some of the Balboa Park Cultural

Partnership's programs, the various types of capital resources it deploys, and the

processes by which those resources are transformed into outputs, outcomes, and impact.

This section continues that work, focusing on one of BPCP's newest programs, the

Explorer Pass. The chapter is divided into three sections. First, I present an overview of

the program. Next, I develop a process story to explain the origin of the program and its

business model. I conclude with an assessment of seven rival hypotheses: (1) random

chance (*the Parkwide pass program developed as a result of chance circumstance);*

(2) resource dependence (*the Parkwide pass program developed as a way to secure*

exogenous resources from BPCP's operating environment); (3) institutional hypothesis A

(*the Parkwide pass program developed to mimic the practices of other arts and culture*

organizations); (4) institutional hypothesis B *(the Parkwide pass program developed in*

response to pressure from funders); (5) transaction cost (*the Parkwide pass program*

developed as a way for BPCP's member organizations to reduce their costs and/or

achieve scale); (6) resource mobilization (*the Parkwide pass program developed to*

increase public access to Balboa Park's cultural institutions); and (7) informed grounded

theory (*the Parkwide pass program developed both to secure exogenous resources from,*

and return endogenously-created resources to, BPCP's operating environment). The

purpose of this comparison of rival explanations is to assess the explanatory power of

these theories in a collaborative context. The gaps identified in these explanations can

then point the way to new ways of thinking about the problem of long-term sustainability of a formal collaboration. This analysis will also lay the foundation for novel conceptualization, the first step in theory building.

The Parkwide Pass (Explorer Pass)

In November 2013, the Balboa Park Cultural Partnership launched an annual park-wide Balboa Park museum pass, ultimately called the Balboa Park Explorer Pass. In part, the product was developed "in response to a long-standing request by the local community and regional tourists to find an economical way to regularly visit multiple Balboa Park museums" (Comiskey & Coutts, 2013, p. 5). Another hope was that the program would encourage pass holders to visit institutions they would otherwise not normally visit.

The idea for a park-wide pass can be traced back to the 1990s when a museum director thought about it as a way to satisfy requests he was getting from the community about having a single membership that would allow someone to visit all institutions in the park. The envisioned product would provide year-long admission to all the museums in Balboa Park. While this was appealing from a visitor standpoint, there was one major problem. Each museum has its own membership program and members are the starting point for a nonprofit organization's donor development. Therefore, no museum wanted to take a chance on a program that might threaten its donor pipeline (Balboa Park Cultural Partnership, 2009).

One of BPCP's board members who had originally conceived of the park-wide pass raised the idea formally to the Balboa Park Cultural Partnership for reconsideration as part of BPCP's strategic planning process that occurred between 2006-2008. He had

penciled the numbers out and, even using conservative estimates, his calculations suggested it could be a moneymaker for all. BPCP's Collective Business Operations group decided to look into the viability of such a program. Their calculations showed that such a program could provide a sustainable revenue source for member institutions and BPCP. The partnership requested and received a $3,125 grant from the Legler Benbough Foundation to do some preliminary research to assess the program's feasibility. The starting point was looking at best practices to see what other shared membership models existed and learn how they worked (Balboa Park Cultural Partnership, 2009).

In 2008, the interest in a park-wide pass program intensified with the deepening of the recession. Because of this major economic downturn, many of BPCP's member organizations began to struggle financially. Their financial pain was twofold. First, they experienced decreased visitation resulting in decreased admissions revenue. Second, their endowments took major hits, providing much lower interest income to support their operating expenses. With such gloomy financial forecasts, the organizations began to earnestly consider the possibility of a shared membership pass as a way to earn money and attract more visitors to Balboa Park (Balboa Park Cultural Partnership, 2009). However, there were no resources to fund the intensive research (e.g., data mining and market research) needed to assess the financial feasibility of the program.

In August 2009, The James Irvine Foundation launched a special initiative, the Fund for Financial Restructuring, to help California nonprofits survive and innovate during the recession. Their Request For Proposals (RFP) stated,

The current economic downturn has been one of the most severe in U.S. history. It has affected every sector of the economy and has profound implications for nonprofit organizations and those served by them. Many nonprofit organizations, facing declining revenues and increasing need, are considering . . . how to most effectively manage through this recession and beyond. Some nonprofit leaders have responded proactively to this crisis by developing strategies that will assist their organizations to adapt to a new economic reality. In support of these leaders and their organizations, we have created the Fund for Financial Restructuring. (The James Irvine Foundation, 2009, p. 1)

The Irvine Foundation also stated that priority for selection would be given to nonprofits

that were already

. . . exploring longer-term implications of the recession and had taken proactive thinking and action. Grants can be used by organizations to better align revenues and expenditures, reconsider basic strategies and operations, and/or develop new business models and related organizational structures, processes, products, or partnerships. Grants are not intended to be used to address short-term cash flow needs related to the recession or to support core operating costs for conducting "business as usual." (The James Irvine Foundation, 2009, p. 1)

The Irvine Foundation planned to award grants between $50,000 to $150,000 for as many

as 15 grantees. One or two additional rounds were also planned for 2010 (The James

Irvine Foundation, 2009).

The Balboa Park Cultural Partnership applied for this funding and was one of

seven organizations selected (The James Irvine Foundation, 2010). The goal was to use a

data-driven approach to evaluate the feasibility (e.g., potential revenue and program

costs) of an annual Parkwide membership program. The stated objectives were to

develop "an innovative product that will increase museum attendance, broaden the Park's

audience, and make the jewel of San Diego more accessible to a larger group of County

residents" (Balboa Park Cultural Partnership, 2009b, p. 3). Membership would consist of

an annual, renewable access pass for admission to institutions that chose to participate in

the program. Most participating institutions also planned to continue to maintain some

sort of separate memberships (e.g., upper level members) for their institution.

With grant funding from The James Irvine Foundation, BPCP conceptualized a

four-phase feasibility study framed as a research project. Phases one and two were

designed to assess possible models to better understand potential characteristics of a

park‑wide membership program. Phase three assessed market demand and perceptions of

what existing members of the various Park institutions thought about the possibility of

the program. Phase four conducted a financial analysis to determine the financial

viability and feasibility of a Park‑wide Membership program (Balboa Park Cultural

Partnership, 2009). Table 10 outlines the research questions guiding each phase.

Table 10

Research Questions for Each Phase of Parkwide Membership Feasibility Study

Research Questions
Phase 1--Background research (January 2008 to November 2009) *Funded by Legler Benbough Foundation, $3,125* • What other multiple-institution membership programs exist? • What are their pricing and benefits? • What lessons can we learn from them as we develop our program?
Phase 2--Membership programs that currently exist in the Park (December 2009-August 2010) *Funded by The James Irvine Foundation, $150,000 for phases 2, 3, & 4* • How many members do Balboa Park institutions currently have (new, renewals, upgraded levels)? • What are the demographics of their members (age, household size, zip code)? • What is the historic data from past three years? To detect trends and patterns over time for prediction and modeling. • How many members belong to multiple institutions? • What is the average price of membership? • How often do members visit the institution? • How many retail sales come from members? What percentage does this represent of total retail sales? • What is the total attendance at each institution (free, paid, member, non-member)? • What special exhibitions or programs have been in place the past three years that might have affected membership levels? • What is the total revenue for the institution (membership, admissions, retail, other earned, contributed, etc.) • What are the total costs of the organization?

- What are the costs of the membership department (staffing, training, technology, acquisition, stewardship, renewal)?

Phase 3--Consumer and market study information (September 2010-May 2011)
- Is there a market for this program? Will people buy the product?
- What are the potential price-points? How much will people pay?
- How will price differences affect the number of memberships purchased?
- What should the product look like? What benefits should the product offer (e.g., free admission, discounts on performances, etc.)?
- What is the value proposition? Why should people buy this product?

Phase 4--Analysis of business potential (September 2010-December 2011)
- Can the program produce enough revenue to cover the cost of start-up and annual operations?
- Does it make financial sense for Park institutions to participate?
- How will participation affect institutional membership and development programs?
- What technology upgrades will be needed to implement the program (e.g., database, information sharing, server capacity, etc.)?
- What staffing and operational investments will be needed to start and run the program?
- What will be the annual costs to operate the program?
- What is the revenue potential in year one?
- What is the five-year revenue model?
- What other revenue potentials could be developed (e.g., I-phone applications, etc.)?
- What marketing strategies will be needed to optimize membership sales?
- What should be the business objectives and specific revenue goals of the program for the first three years?
- What are the estimated costs for the first three years?
- What factors will be key to the success of the program and its ongoing (sustainable) operation?
- What are the Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, and Threats (SWOT analysis) facing the program (environmental trends and factors)?
- What is the strategic/competitive advantage of the membership program?
- What are the potential revenue-sharing models? Which one is optimum?
- How can institutions collaborate on programming to attract new audiences, enhance membership sales and cross-promote attendance at their organizations?
- How can technology be used enhance membership sales and audience engagement (e.g., social media, online content creation by audiences, etc.)?

(Balboa Park Cultural Partnership, 2010)

Phase One

The first phase of the feasibility study involved recruiting and hiring a consultant to conduct the first two phases of the feasibility study. The consultant selected was to:

Work hand-in-hand with BPCP Program Director of Environmental Sustainability and Collective Business Operations to understand all project elements, co-create an effective communication process between (consultant) and BPCP and then take on the role as project coordinator. Consultant will also facilitate taskforce meetings,

summarize meeting notes and coordinate taskforce activities. (Balboa Park

Cultural Partnership, 2009b)

One tasks was to conduct a search for similar programs around the world to see what

could be learned from other organizations and cultural districts that had shared

membership programs. The hope was that these could serve as a model that BPCP could

replicate.

The research also sought to identify potential characteristics of a park-wide

membership program, such as benefits that could be offered and potential price points.

Twenty hours of preliminary research was conducted that categorized potential models

into four types: museums, historical societies and associations, city-wide or attraction

passes, and museum/park associations/urban cultural centers. Over 150 cultural

membership programs around the world were examined (Balboa Park Cultural

Partnership, 2009b).

The research showed there were no other programs that could serve as a model.

One reason was because there were only a handful of such programs in existence. A

second reason was that most multi-institution membership programs involved

organizations of the same type (e.g., historical houses). Because the BPCP project

involved diverse institutions (e.g., museums, performing arts, gardens, cultural centers)

the program design needed to address different operating models, revenue generators, and

audience types (Balboa Park Cultural Partnership, 2009b).

However, the research did identify qualities and principles that could serve as

models for program aspects (e.g., member benefits). Additionally, the consulting team

identified audience values they recommended the program connect to. These included

preserving and growing San Diego's culture, develop new relationships through the park (e.g., new friends, new conversations), creating conversations with the public over time, connecting to the environment (natural and built), promoting lifelong learning, creating jobs and personal income, enhancing quality of life to attract a high quality workforce, and attracting creative people to the city. The researchers also recognized place-based values associated with Balboa Park. These included people's use of the park as a place to experience life events that become part of a visitor's personal story; for social gatherings; as a sanctuary that provides a sense of timelessness; as a reprieve & relaxation for families; to experience a sense of shared ownership and belonging; and as a place to experience diverse people and languages (Balboa Park Culture Partnership, 2009b).

Tasks that occurred during this phase included: (a) convening BPCP's 24 (at that time) member institutions to discuss their thoughts and potential interest in the program (all members expressed interest in continued exploration of the concept); (b) assessing the potential financial projections and benefits of a Park-wide membership program (estimated projection and costs based on educated guesses by the CBO committee members); (c) some of the larger member institutions discussed the project as part of their own strategic planning process; (d) reviewed the planning/program development options, which vary from doing everything completely in-house to contracting with outside support; (e) decided on the need for consulting expertise to guide us through the planning phase (Balboa Park Cultural Partnership, 2010). Phase I was completed in November 2009.

Phase Two

With the receipt of the funding from The James Irvine Foundation, BPCP was able

to pursue the next phase of its feasibility research. This second phase included the

formation of a project steering committee, the development of a straw-man membership

model to serve as a prototype for testing, and the development of a formal

communications plan. The BPCP board appointed a steering committee that included

three BPCP staff members, four BPCP board members, and three staff members from

member institutions (Balboa Park Cultural Partnership, 2010). The straw-man prototype

was used to generate feedback on the model from internal stakeholders at member

institutions. This feedback process gathered input that was used to refine the model

based on that input. The process uncovered further potential challenges (e.g., unspoken

resistance from some stakeholders), enabling that obstacle to be named and worked with.

The feedback process also helped to create buy-in, eventually reaching important

consensus amongst the Park-wide Membership Task Force and other BPCP stakeholders.

Discussion also took place about logistical issues such as the sharing of pass participants'

contact information, program costs, and revenue estimates (Balboa Park Cultural

Partnership, 2010).

An important component of this phase was to formally identify project

stakeholders and develop a communications plan**.** For each person or group, that plan

mapped out effective ways to communicate with them, the frequency with which they

should receive communications, and the BPCP or consulting team member responsible

for the communication. A two-page BPCP Park-wide Membership Frequently Asked

Questions (FAQs) flyer designed to anticipate and proactively answer stakeholder

questions was among the first communication products developed. This FAQs document

was distributed to all BPCP board members for distribution within their organizations to

their staff and boards. The communications plan also included a feedback mechanism to

provide stakeholders with a way to communicate back to the project management team

(Balboa Park Cultural Partnership, 2010).

Concurrent research. Running simultaneously with phase two of the Park-wide

Pass program was the Balboa Park Learning Institute's *Evaluating the Balboa Park*

Experience professional development program. This 10-month program brought together

12 Balboa Park museums, the Balboa Park Visitors Center, and 20 cross-functional staff

to work with one another and a professional evaluator to learn how to develop and

implement a large-scale visitor survey. The purpose was to develop evaluation skills

among the participants while generating data about visitors to Balboa Park that could be

used to better understand audiences and their needs.

For many of the participating organizations and representatives, this was the first

time they had ever undertaken formal audience research. This project was also the first

collaborative audience research of this scope and scale in the nation (Balboa Park

Learning Institute, 2011). The focus of the survey was to better understand what

motivated people to visit museums, how they benefited from these experiences, and how

else they spent their time in Balboa Park. From a professional development standpoint,

the program sought to change participants' thinking about evaluation from a *tell us about*

what you think about our institution mindset to *tell us about you* (the visitor). The

theoretical framework for this approach was Maslow's hierarchy of needs (1943), Chip

Conley's *Peak* (2007), and audience evaluation research theory (e.g., Falk, 2009) and best practices (e.g., Simon, 2010).

BPLI selected audience evaluation as a priority for three reasons. First, the program supported a KRA from BPCP's 2009-12 strategic plan, *to optimize the visitor experience and lifelong learning in Balboa Park.* Second, museums across the nation were experiencing a decline in their visitation. By better understanding their audiences it was hoped that participants' institutions might be able to buck that trend, helping both BPCP members and the museum field as a whole. Third, this research supported a park-wide goal to transform the visitor experience for Balboa Park as part of the 2015 Centennial Celebration (Balboa Park Learning Institute, 2011).

From March to May 2010, program participants worked together to develop a single survey instrument that could be used in all 13 participating institutions. Participants also recruited volunteers and interns at their organizations to help with data collection. During a 16-week period form May to September, 10,075 surveys were collected from visitors exiting participating museums. This project resulted in 983 hours of service learning. From September to November 2011 participants worked with the professional evaluator and graduate students from the University of California San Diego to analyze and present the data to local evaluator groups, the BPCP board of directors, 700 attendees at the Smith Leadership Symposium, and the California Association of Museums among others (Balboa Park Learning Institute, 2011).

Evaluation results of the program found that the *Evaluating the Balboa Park Experience* professional development program built community and social capital among program participants and that it,

"shifted perspective . . . moving from an isolated institutional view to an interconnected visitors' perspective" (Balboa Park Learning Institute, 2011, p. 1). Specific examples of change identified in the formal evaluation included,

> Creating new position titles related to "visitor experience" and "visitor relations"; changing marketing and grant writing strategies to be more visitor-centered; creating new orientation materials and participatory experiences for visitors; requiring all museum staff to spend time on the floor; incorporating Falk's motivations into board recruitment; incorporating visitor experience into individual and organizational performance plans; and engaging more diverse, cross-functional groups of staff in related, follow-up programming. (Balboa Park Learning Institute, 2011)

This multi-institution audience evaluation project also incorporated a question about the public's potential interest in park-wide membership program. Over 1,100 visitors who lived in Southern California were asked about their potential interest in purchasing such a pass. The findings indicated the 77% of respondents were somewhat or very interested in the availability of a Park-wide pass.

Results of phase two. Phase two of the park-wide membership feasibility study was completed in late August 2010. That research showed that a Park-wide Membership program was financially viable. The consultant generated three sets of projections—conservative, mid-range, and best-case scenarios. These projections suggested that the program could gross anywhere from $1.3 million to $4.1 million annually once fully operational. The timeline for generating financial returns would be dependent on the source of capitalization. If start-up capital could be secured through a grant, net revenue could be generated within the first year. If a loan was needed instead, net revenue would be generated within three years, after the loan for the start-up funds was paid off (Balboa Park Cultural Partnership, 2010).

Stakeholders also identified essential qualities that must be embodied in the program for it to be successful. These included a simple revenue model, a transparent revenue-sharing process, accountability (all participants honor their commitments), a values-based value proposition, and technology (Balboa Park Cultural Partnership, 2010). Table 11 shares BPCP's rationale for these qualities.

Table 11

Rationale for design qualities of the Park-wide Pass program

Simplicity
The business model must be easy to understand. Too much complexity (e.g., too many variables in the revenue split formula) could be a barrier to adoption by the various institutions.

Transparency
Stakeholders must have access to timely, accurate information so they can see how the money is coming in and how it is being divided. Timely information will also provide data about visitor usage patterns that will help them develop collaborative programming that responds to visitor needs and preferences.

Accountability
This program requires significant philosophical and operational changes for the stakeholders. To be successful, all members will need to fulfill their commitments to the program and each other.

Values-based
Research on existing programs and anecdotal information about the effect that blockbuster exhibitions have on membership programs at individual park institutions suggest the program should be positioned based on how it will strengthen the community (e.g., lifelong learning opportunities, expanding visitor access, safeguarding cultural assets for posterity). While it may offer discounts and incentives in the future as a secondary strategy (e.g., to drive traffic in off-season months), the value proposition should not be people becoming members just to save money. That will not lead to the long-term audience engagement or expand the pool of prospective donors. The value of Park-wide membership is much greater than money.

Technology
Technology will be a major component of this program. Initially data will need to be aggregated from member institutions to assess current membership statistics, usage, and crossover. Implementation of the program will require a significant investment in technology upgrades for most member institutions, both in terms of software and hardware.

(Balboa Park Cultural Partnership, 2010)

Phases Three and Four—Membership, Feasibility, and Impact Study

Two additional consulting teams were engaged for these next two phases. One consultant was a nationally renowned expert with extensive history of conducting

market-based research for cultural institutions. The other was a team of experienced

consultants with a strong track record of developing business models and creating

business plans for new ventures. A local market survey of 1,000 San Diego area

residents was conducted in February 2011 to test the prototype model with external

stakeholders. The results found that 21% of San Diego households surveyed indicated

they would "most definitely purchase an annual pass that included access to all Balboa

Park Museums" (Balboa Park Cultural Partnership, 2016, p. 1). That survey indicated

that free general admission would be the most important benefit of the program. Other

appealing benefits include supporting Balboa Park as a community resource, providing a

fun experience for visitors (especially adults), learning something, and seeing something

new (Balboa Park Cultural Partnership, 2011).

A separate member survey was sent to members of BPCP's member

organizations. A total of 4,159 member surveys were completed in March 2011. The

surveys provided insights into what the effect of the proposed program would be for each

institution (e.g., how many existing members they might lose, how much revenue they

might gain through profit-sharing from the shared membership program). They helped

identify factors that were critical to the success of the program, including: (a) sufficient

capitalization of the project; (b) ongoing support for marketing to generate sustained

renewals; (c) making the selling of memberships a high priority at participating

institutions to promote ease of purchasing throughout the park; (d) staff training to ensure

quality implementation; e) fun and engaging venues; (f) participation by all admissions-

based institutions (research had indicated that integrating performing arts institutions was

not viable); (g) sound program governance; (h) an equitable plan for revenue distribution;

and (i) a centralized membership office with a centralized, secure membership database (Balboa Park Cultural Partnership, 2011).

On June 22, 2011, the Partnership's Board of Directors accepted the feasibility study report. Along with the project Steering Committee, the board agreed that the program showed sufficient promise to proceed (Balboa Park Cultural Partnership, 2011). However, that board discussion also surfaced several remaining issues that needed to be addressed before the program could be implemented. First, some organizations indicated that they needed assistance interpreting the data that was provided to each participating organization. Additionally, as organizations started thinking through the specific program and operating changes they would need to make at their own venues, they realized they could use help thinking through these changes (e.g., revamping their existing membership programs, creating new development strategies for upper level members and annual fund solicitations, and re-configuring front-line operations to accommodate Point-of-Sale activities for the program). Third, many of BPCP's member organizations requested help in explaining the proposed program to their respective Boards of Trustees and facilitating their institutions' final decision-making efforts (Balboa Park Cultural Partnership, 2011).

Phase Five

From the input from BPCP members, it became apparent that an additional phase of the project was needed for decision-making support. Accordingly, the Steering Committee mapped out a plan to provide the requested assistance and expertise. An additional $100,000 grant was requested and secured from The James Irvine Foundation. Objectives for this decision-making phase, which ran from October 1, 2011 to March

2012, were to: increase the long-term financial sustainability of Balboa Park institutions through increased membership income and sales revenue (e.g., admissions, retail, and food service) and enhanced service to the public; support 17 cultural institutions in Balboa Park with their institutional decision-making about the Park-wide Membership program (including making sense of the feasibility study data for their organizations; assessing the financial, operational, membership, and development impacts on their institutions); and develop processes to integrate the Park-wide Membership program within their institutions (Balboa Park Cultural Partnership, 2011).

At this point, the BPCP board felt it was important to expand the project Steering Committee to include representation from all 17 of the institutions that would be involved. The implementation steering committee met every third Wednesday of the month from 8:30-10am. The first meeting was facilitated. A consultant with extensive experience working with membership programs was selected to work with the management, staff, and board of the 17 institutions to create financial, membership, fundraising/development, and operational systems plans for each organization. The consultant was also charged with helping those institutions understand the program's projected impacts on them with regard to institutional revenue/expenses and program revenue/expenses, and with developing communication materials that would assist the institutional staff members with presenting the program to their boards of directors (Balboa Park Cultural Partnership, 2011).

Deliverables produced in this fifth phase included small group meetings with participating institutions to increase their level of understanding of the park-wide membership data that had been produced about their institution and the program from the

local market survey; the member survey data; the program's proposed business plan.

Consultants also met one-on-one with the institutions (up to 20 hours for each) to support

this sense-making work. The consultants further developed presentation templates with

supporting handouts to assist institutions' staffs in explaining the park-wide membership

data to their boards of directors. BPCP also developed a capitalization plan to secure

start-up funding. Additionally, governance and equity became issues during this phase.

As one key informant recalled,

> There were a couple of institutions that weren't sure the Explorer Pass was going to benefit them or not. They wanted to sit out a year and see how it went before they would commit to whether they were going to be part of the program or not. As a board it was decided that this wasn't fair to let the rest of the institutions absorb the risk, the risk of losing members, the risk of losing money, the risk of trying something that didn't work . . . we decided by a certain date you either had to join or sit out for three years.

Ultimately, all of the 17 institutions that originally considered participating agreed to join

the collaboration. However, one institution's agreement came with a provision: that the

program not be called a membership program so as not to confuse its own members.

Therefore, the term *Explorer Pass* was adopted (Balboa Park Cultural Partnership, 2012).

Implementation

In June 2012, the Balboa Park Cultural Partnership applied for and received a

$400,000 grant from The James Irvine Foundation to assist with capitalization start up of

the Explorer Pass program. The total start up cost budget was $4 million, including

software and hardware purchases, creation of a membership program with 4.5 FTE

staffing, training of program staff and staff of the BPCP member institutions, marketing

and advertising, and contracted technology support (Balboa Park Cultural Partnership,

2012). Program expenses were projected to decrease to $3.5 million annually over

several years. Of that total, $717,257 was estimated to be available to support of BPCP and park-wide collaboration after building a contingency reserve. The implementation phase had six objectives.

1. Formalize a collaborative governance structure for the program. This included determining who would make decisions for the program, how those decisions would be implemented and enforced, and how each participating institution would be assured representation on the governing committee. Questions that needed to be decided included who should govern the program (e.g., representatives from all organizations, or a smaller number of people); how the participating organizations be represented (e.g., by size, revenue, type of organization); how formal or informal to structure the governance process be structured (e.g., a contract or a Memorandum of Understanding); how would decision-making for the program be integrated with decision-making and governance by BPCP's board of directors; would decisions require a simple majority vote, consensus, or a unanimous decision; a process for selecting the governing committee (e.g., appointment or election); how long their term should be; and how to structure the governing body to help ensure that selling passes became an institutional priority at each organization (e.g., setting quotas, creating revenue incentives, etc.).

2. Finalize an equitable revenue and cost-sharing model. Throughout the feasibility study research phases, several options for revenue distribution were investigated and discussed. The governance committee, once established, was to choose and approve the final revenue distribution formula, using equity and transparency as guiding principles. An existing tourist-focused multi-institution ticket program served as the model for the revenue distribution formula.

3. Establish the program's operational infrastructure. This included the hiring of an experienced program manager to lead the implementation and run the program; creating, furnishing, and supplying a central office; selecting hardware, software, and installation vendors; guiding the branding process; developing fair, efficient, and transparent administrative and operational policies; recruiting and hiring additional staff, including a sales manager, member services manager, marketing coordinator, controller, accountant, and data entry clerks.

4. Build the program's technological infrastructure. This included contracting with a project technical manager to plan and implement ticketing and report writing systems, identify and provide needed training, set up accounting and financial reporting, research and purchase card printers and phone system, obtain computer work stations for staff, and hire a data base administrator.

5. Create a compelling brand for the program. This included the development of a marketing campaign and materials to promote the *Balboa Park Experience* that would begin when people first arrive at the Park. Findings from BPLI's 2010 audience evaluation project guided its development and the creation of supporting infrastructure. The Explorer Pass program also sought to create participatory and multi-sensory indoor/outdoor experiences that promoted visitors' learning and enjoyment, moments of discovery, and socially engaging encounters. Ideally, the program would create welcoming, affordable, and culturally diverse experiences, convey the community-centered nature of the Park, and highlight the cultural institutions' role as conveners. As described below, the design of this experience was to feature the development of thematic pathways & wayfinding.

6. Capitalize the program. Additional funding to capitalize the program was secured through private sources and sponsorships. BPCP, not the individual institutions, was responsible for capitalizing the start-up costs of the program (Balboa Park Cultural Partnership, 2012).

In the end, the Explorer Pass product was connected to and ultimately integrated with the House of Hospitality's Passport program, a product that had been in existence for years but was primarily marketed to tourists who wanted week-long access to park institutions. BPCP took over that Passport program and added the annual Explorer Pass to the product line. The expanded program involved significant technology upgrades. The Passport program had used low-tech methods to track its sales since it had not been concerned with customer communication or renewals. However, the market research from phases one through three had identified that ongoing customer communication was crucial to the success of the Explorer Pass program.

As the project began a soft implementation in November 2013, other attributes were added to the program's management objectives. These included capturing and analyzing data (e.g., visit frequency, park-wide visitation patterns, user demographics, and impacts from weather, special events, and day-of-week). BPCP managers also recognized the need to communicate with guests based on their known preferences (e.g., visitation patterns). Additionally, through a structured review by the Balboa Park Learning Institute, BPCP hoped the rollout of the Explorer Pass program could ". . . provide valuable data to museums that are looking for alternate models for managing value members—those members who join for the primary benefit of free admission (Comiskey & Coutts, 2013, pp. 6-7). Three other attributes included creating social

interaction models (e.g., electronic trails and badges to entice guests to explore and

develop an affinity with the entire park), developing a mechanism for Balboa Park

institutions to identify as a community through the One Park—One Team concept, and

developing a community access program to provide free passes to underserved residents

throughout the region (Comiskey & Coutts, 2013). These are now discussed in more

detail.

   Trails and apps. This program developed virtual thematic trails (e.g., geometry,

weather, sports, family, history, heroes, games, music, nature) that could be downloaded

or printed by visitors each month.   The goals of the program were to

> . . . drive meaningful visitor engagement and cross-disciplinary connections
> across the Park and within various organizations to foster loyalty and encourage
> repeat visitation; provide access points for visitors to connect with content in
> meaningful ways and gain comfort and familiarity accessing museums; increase
> attendance and revenue to all Explorer museums with admission swipes; elevate
> Balboa Park collections for 2015; support employee orientation of Balboa Park in
> alignment with (BPLI's) Customer Service Initiative; and collect data to guide
> and fundraise for digital trails and badging app/website for 2016.   (Balboa Park
> Cultural Partnership, 2014, p. 1)

Each BPCP institution was to contribute a stop at their organization for that month's trail.

Trails would be publicized on participating organizations' websites and on the central

Balboa Park website, www.bpcp.org. Explorer Pass holders would also receive monthly

notices through the program's monthly e-newsletters. Visitors who completed all 12

trails in 2015 would receive a commemorative pin (Balboa Park Cultural Partnership,

2015).

   A partnership of BPCP staff, the Balboa Park Online Collaborative, BPCP

member institutions, and museums studies graduate students from across the country

worked on the trails project. This development was informed by looking at existing best

practices at other cultural institutions including the Smithsonian Institution, Forest Park, the National Park Service, Golden Gate Park, Central Park, Carnegie Museums of Pittsburgh, Indianapolis Museum of Art, Dallas Arts District, Washington Park, and Tyne & Wear Archives & Museum: I like...museums (Balboa Park Cultural Partnership, 2014).

One Park – One Team. This program was developed in 2014 to promote Balboa Park as a collective entity with one voice, seeking to strengthen collaboration among park stakeholders with different roles in their various institutions in Balboa Park (Balboa Park Cultural Partnership, 2016). Through park-wide social events like barbecues, picnics, and morning donut gatherings, park staff and volunteers meet each other and develop a sense of identity as not only an institutional employee, but also as a Balboa Park employee. As its webpage states, "One Park – One Team's mission is to open communication and spread Balboa Park goodwill" (Balboa Park Cultural Partnership, 2016). The program's Facebook page also promotes intra-park social communication by sharing news, photos, upcoming events, and profiles of employees and volunteers.

The program also developed an annual Trustee Celebration to bring together board members of BPCP's 29 member institutions. The purpose was to meet and discuss opportunities and challenges. As one respondent described it, "It's really a communications event . . . last year candidates for council district three came and they talked to the trustees about Balboa Park issues."

Community Access pass program. As discussed in the previous chapter, BPCP developed the Community Access Pass (CAP) to provide underserved communities in San Diego with the experience of free access to Balboa Park institutions. The CAP program works with nonprofit organizations throughout San Diego County to provide

free annual Explorer passes to economically disadvantaged and at-risk families who are served by these nonprofits. Rather than having free access on a single prescribed day (Free Tuesdays), the families can come any time they like. In 2015, 5,000 families received a Community Access Pass through these partnerships (Balboa Park Cultural Partnership, 2016).

Outside-In events. BPCP conceived of Outside-In events as a way to attract new audiences to Balboa Park who would hopefully be interested in purchasing the Explorer Pass. Many of the special events held in the Park are entirely outdoors. As such, they impact parking for the cultural institutions that in turn do not get many visitors on those days. Outside-In events were designed in part to solve this problem by connecting the fun of outdoor festivals with related programs and exhibits from the cultural institutions.

The largest Outside-In event has been the October 2015 Maker Faire, billed as "part high-tech science fair, part county fair . . . an all-ages gathering of tech enthusiasts, crafters, educators, tinkerers, artists, students, and so much more" (Balboa Park Cultural Partnership, 2015). This bi-national two-day event was produced by BPCP in partnership with the San Diego Makers Guild, Tijuana Innovadora, and the City of San Diego and served as a feature 2015 Centennial celebration event.

The Balboa Park Explorer Pass program made its official launch in the spring of 2014 "following years of endless research, countless meetings and unprecedented Park collaboration" (Balboa Park Cultural Partnership, 2016). While the financial results are still being tallied, the program has been able to cover its costs and produce income for participating institutions as well as a small stream for BPCP. As one institutional representative reported, "We get a monthly check from them (BPCP) from the Explorer

Pass program which has been good . . . I think it more than makes up for the members we might have lost from our own membership program."

Reflections and Lessons Learned

BPCP documented some of its learning from the feasibility study process to share with The James Irvine Foundation in interim and final reports (Table 12). Examples from these lessons included the benefits of phasing the project, the usefulness of metaphors and an appreciative inquiry approach, the importance of language, and the need to manage multiple viewpoints and expectations and provide options.

Table 12

Lessons Learned from the Parkwide Membership Feasibility Study Process

Lesson	Details
Phasing the project	Phasing of this project seemed to decrease anxiety. By separating objectives into bite-size pieces, the confidence among the participating institutions was strengthened by making the tasks seem less daunting.
Use of Metaphors	The metaphor of MapQuest was used to help stakeholders understand the scope of the phases. Phase one (review of best practices) was described as a satellite view. As the research continued it became progressively of finer scale to show greater detail, similar to street level detail on MapQuest. This helped the stakeholders not get stuck in the weeds with details before the desirability or viability of the project had been determined.
Framing as a research project	Framing the feasibility study as a process of inquiry also seemed to reduce anxiety. It set a tone of exploration that invited stakeholders to help create the program conceptually. This approach also helped alleviate preoccupation with risk rather than opportunity.
Language matters	Using exploratory, research-based language also seemed to reduce anxiety and promote experimentation and learning together. For example, the *Conservative* scenario was originally called *Worst Case*. Similarly, member organizations originally had concerns about their members being *cannibalized* by the program. Over the course of many meetings the steering committee collectively realized that members in fact would not be gone, but rather moving from one institution to the pass, thus still generating some revenue for the organization through profit sharing. With this new understanding they then began using the term *member migration*.
Managing multiple viewpoints and expectations	Some stakeholders wanted to go to the details (business plan) immediately. They felt the process was too drawn out. Others wanted to take more time to get as much data as possible. Their view was that the more data is analyzed, the more likely the project is to be successful. Membership managers tended to have detailed concerns (e.g., how will renewals be processed). Development directors tended to have broader concerns (how will program affect annual fund appeals at individual institutions). The consultants and project staff tried to anticipate these diverse perspectives and address them proactively. Having representation from all these

	diverse stakeholder views was critically important, both in terms of gaining buy-in at the organizational and operational levels, and also in terms of having knowledge of the impacts on all aspects of organization and entire system.
Provide options	Providing options versus prescribing definitive answers helped build buy-in. The initial draft of the Phase II report provided one scenario—the Conservative (aka "worst case"). This vantage point was originally selected to show the minimum threshold needed for the project to be worth pursuing. However, some directors felt this single projection failed to show the full potential of the project. By re-casting the projections into three scenarios the directors were able to envision a range of possibilities.

(Balboa Park Cultural Partnership, 2012)

Contributions to the Membership Field

In addition to the financial benefits the Explorer Pass program hoped to create for

BPCP and its participating member organizations, it sought to provide insights into a

problem that plagues membership organizations in general: the price conscious member.

While it is tempting to judge the success of a membership program by the number of

members it generates, it is important to understand that not all members bring equal

value. Science museums in particular are plagued by an overabundance of value-driven

(e.g., price conscious) members. These customers join primarily for savings, because a

membership is less expensive than two or three family visits to the venue (Comiskey &

Coutts, 2013).

However, this type of membership is costly to an organization. First, it leads to

membership spikes, with people joining in years the venue hosts blockbuster exhibitions,

and not renewing in other years. Second, acquiring and retaining a member is a costly

proposition. Member turnover increases a museum's costs to acquire members. Third, as

mentioned earlier, membership programs are the gateway to donor acquisition. One

reason museums spend money on acquiring members is the hope that some of them will

turn into annual fund donors. Ideally, some will become major gift prospects (Comiskey

& Coutts, 2013). A central question in the field of museum fundraising is whether it is

better to focus on acquiring and communicating with a large base of value members or to

focus on attracting people with an affinity for an organization's mission. The Explorer

Pass program was designed to answer this question:

> By establishing a volume driven pass system, offering products for multiple
> museum experiences that would not be possible for individual museums, driving
> data collection and analysis, and controlling messaging to pass holders, it is hoped
> that the Balboa Park Explorer can lower the membership program cost structure
> for the institutions and provide them with valuable data that is designed to grow
> higher levels of support. (Comiskey & Coutts, 2013, p. 8)

Figures 11 illustrates the shift in fundraising operating models.

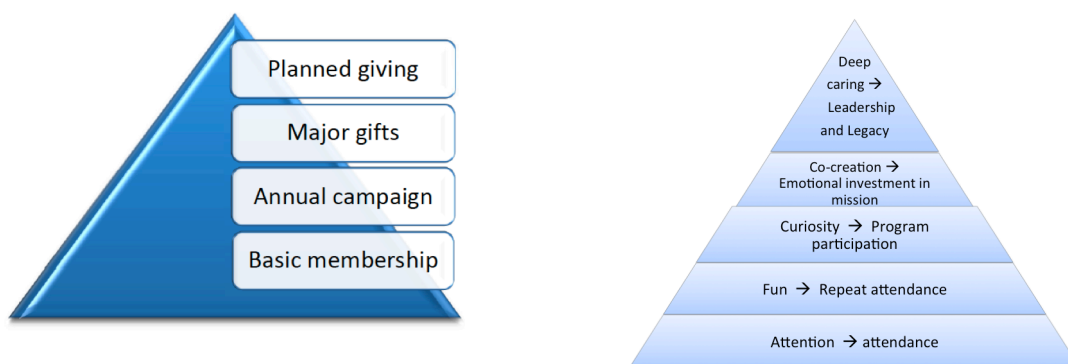Figure 11. Traditional Donor Pyramid Compared with Visitor Experience Pyramid

Figure 11. The Fundraising Pyramid (Comiskey & Coutts, 2013) compared with the Visitor Experience
Pyramid (Castillo, 2013). In the traditional model of the fundraising pyramid (left), the organization seeks
to transition large numbers of basic members at the lower levels to higher levels of financial involvement
with the institutions. In the Visitor Experience pyramid (right), rather than focusing on transaction types,
the focus shifts to increasingly meaningful engagement with the visitor on their terms, which then will
likely produce increased levels of financial support.

Figure 11 first presents both a traditional and experience-based membership models. On

the left, an organization acquires a member and, through its development department,

seeks to develop the member into a donor through activities such as special events,

annual fund appeals, and gift solicitations. The pyramid on the right represents a model

inspired by BPLI's audience experience program. As visitors experience more peak

moments at a museum, their affinity and level of commitment to the organization rises,

hopefully leading to deeper engagement and over time, more substantial financial

commitments. Figure 12 represents an expansion of these models the Explorer Pass

hoped to achieve. The goal was to attract value-driven members and BPCP would absorb

much of those membership acquisition costs. Then, through exhibits, public programs,

and other actions, individual institutions can attract the pass holders to their venues to

develop a deeper relationship with them. Through cross-institutional programming and

technology services like the Trails app, guests could potentially develop affinities with

multiple museums.

Figure 12. Balboa Park Guest Experience Pyramid

Figure 12. The Balboa Park Explorer creates a larger base of multiple pyramids generated by the Balboa Park Guest Experience. Multiple fundraising pyramids rise off the Balboa Park Explorer base. Therefore, a pass holder can choose more donor progression opportunities by becoming familiar with multiple BPCP member institutions. The base is far broader than a single museum could achieve. (Comiskey & Coutts, 2013)

To minimize excessive communications, email addresses and other visitor contact

information are not shared with institutions until visitors become frequent guests (e.g.,

their pass cards are swiped multiple times at an institution). BPCP plans to share the

lessons it learns about managing value-conscious members with other membership associations around the nation (Comiskey & Coutts, 2013).

From the description above it may appear that the Explorer Pass program was a logical progression of action over time. In the following section I review that progression to look at the factors, actions, and resources that contributed to the development of this outcome.

A Process Story of the Explorer Pass Program

In case study research, process tracing is an effective way to uncover relationships between observed outcomes and their possible causes (Vennesson, 2008). This analytical tool enables the ferreting out of potential causal relationships mired in complexity, for example, contexts that simultaneously exhibit qualities of being ". . . clock-like (regular, orderly, predictable), cloud-like (irregular, disorderly, unpredictable), and interactive (creative, adaptive problem-solving)" (in Vennesson, 2008, p. 232; Almond & Genco, 1977; Jervis, 1997). While process tracing conveys a story, its narrative approach differs from traditional storytelling in three key ways. First, it intentionally leaves out some details to shine a brighter light on the core phenomenon of interest (in this case, resources). As such, some information about the case is omitted. Second, theoretical lens(es) provide an interpretive frame for the storytelling. Finally, the goal of a process story is to create a narrative arc that explains the causal route leading to a particular result (Vennesson, 2008). For this process story, I highlight some of the interacting factors from the previous section. These include critical incidents and enabling factors that contributed to the development of this story. As will be show in the next few pages, the successful launch of the Explorer Pass program was influenced in important ways by

BPCP's operating environment and previous strategic decisions it had made unrelated to this program.

Critical Incidents

Several factors influenced the development of this program. These incidents include the original ideation of the executive director as a response to prompts from the community, the prior work of BPCP's Collective Business Operations group, the financial recession of 2007-2009, the funding opportunity from The James Irvine Foundation, and the 2015 Centennial Celebration.

Public input and ideation. Questions from curious community members provided the spark for the idea for a park-wide pass. In response, the executive director conceptualized the program and penciled out the numbers. When those calculations suggested the program could be profitable, he took the idea forward to BPCP for formal consideration.

Prior work of the Collective Business Operations. The park-wide pass idea was formally introduced to the CBO as part of BPCP's strategic planning process in 2006-2007. As described previously, that group had been meeting regularly with each other and had a track record of successful projects under its belt, including group purchasing and the launch of the Balboa Park Sustainability Program. Key resources included the CFO members of the CBO group, their knowing and trusting each other through previous joint work, and using data to guide their strategic decision making. Still, inertia on the part of BPCP members stalled the project until the next critical incident.

Recession. From December 2007 to June 2009 the global economy experienced one of the worst declines since World War II (Economic Policy Institute, n.d.). With this

decline, BPCP member institutions experienced revenue shortfalls and loss of principal on their endowments. Many institutions experienced staff lay-offs (Wada, 2010). As financial prospects dimmed, BPCP members became more willing to explore options. However, there was no funding for the intensive feasibility research needed. Instead, the organizations took doable beginning step: researching other programs that might serve as models.

Irvine funding opportunity. With the announcement of the Irvine Foundation's Fund for Financial Restructuring, a source of money to pay for the feasibility study became available. Because BPCP had taken some initial steps to explore the potential viability of the program, it met the eligibility requirements for the grant. It is also reasonable to wonder if BPCP's prior history of funding and performance with the Irvine Foundation played a favorable role in BPCP's selection as a grant recipient (this study was unable to find data to support or refute this claim).

2015 Centennial Celebration. When the Explorer Pass was first considered, there hope was that the program could become a legacy, with future generations looking back on this as a transformational moment in Balboa Park. When the feasibility study took longer than planned (e.g., the addition of fifth phase) and the city's own Centennial planning sputtered, the 2015 celebration also served as a natural deadline to spur potential adoption of the program.

Enabling Factors

With the receipt of the Irvine funding, several enabling factors were set into motion. These included the hiring of a consulting team and the appointment of a steering committee, the collection of data, and development of a formal communications plan.

Concurrent enabling factors independent of the Irvine grant included BPLI's audience evaluation/experience and customer service initiative programs, and the availability of technology expertise (Balboa Park Online Collaborative).

Steering committee. The steering committee met monthly to develop the program parameters and work with the consultant to interpret and analyze the data. Based on values and qualities identified through the consultant's research, the steering committee identified program qualities (e.g., simplicity and transparency). These principles guided subsequent formulation of the program.

Collecting data. As the program formulation progressed and initial projections suggested the program was viable, a deeper dive into the data became necessary. A new team of consultants who had extensive experience with large-scale membership programs was brought in. These consultants worked both with external data (conducting market research) and with internal data (collecting membership data from 17 BPCP member institutions). As the data became more detailed and the projections continued to suggest a viable product, the original steering committee decided it needed to expand to include representation for all organizations that would be participating.

Formal communications plan. Almost from the beginning, the people involved with this program recognized that regular and clear communication would be essential to maintaining its forward progress. Thus, mechanisms and structures were set up to develop these communication processes. These included monthly meetings, the FAQs document sent to all member institutions, and the creation of a feedback mechanism for stakeholders to ask questions and get answers.

BPLI programs. At the same time the Park-wide Pass program was being considered, the Balboa Park Learning Institute was conducting its audience evaluation professional development program. For several participating organizations, this collaborative data collection project was the first time they had undertaken audience research, setting off a new professional and institutional practice in their organizations. Similarly, BPLI's customer service initiative primed BPCP's member institutions to be thinking in terms of the guest experience.

Technology—Balboa Park Online Collaborative. Ongoing data collection was quickly recognized as an essential ingredient for the success of this program. Neither BPCP nor its member institutions had sufficient experience with managing information systems or the development of technology infrastructure (equipment and expertise). The availability and trust in BPOC made it a vital partner in this project.

Analysis of Rival Explanations

I next interpret this story through process tracing to infer causal mechanisms between the dependent variable (the development of a venture to support financial sustainability of the formal collaboration) and various independent variables (discussed below). Because process tracing is an analytical tool appropriate for both theory testing and theory development (Vennesson, 2008), I use it to explore the multiple explanations introduced in chapter four. These are listed briefly below. Each is then discussed in detail with relevant supporting or contradicting data pulled from previous sections of this chapter.

Summary of Rival Explanations

1. Random Chance: *The Parkwide pass program developed as a result of chance circumstance.*

2. Resource dependence hypothesis: *The Parkwide pass program developed as a way to secure exogenous resources from BPCP's operating environment.*

3. Institutional hypothesis A: *The Parkwide pass program developed to mimic the practices of other arts and culture organizations.*

4. Institutional hypothesis B*: The Parkwide pass program developed in response to pressure from funders.*

5. Transaction cost hypothesis: *The Parkwide pass program developed as a way for BPCP's member organizations to reduce their costs and/or achieve scale.*

6. Resource mobilization hypothesis: *The Parkwide pass program developed to increase public access to Balboa Park's cultural institutions.*

7. Model developed from Informed Grounded Theory: *The Parkwide pass program developed both to secure exogenous resources from, and return endogenously-created resources to, BPCP's operating environment.*

Ruling Out Rival Explanations—The Low Hanging Fruit

I start with explanations that appear to be the least plausible: number one (null hypothesis, random chance); number three (Institutionalism A, mimicking other organizations); and number four (Institutionalism B, pressure from funders).

Random chance. With this hypothesis, no cause exists for events other than happenstance. One data point that might support the idea of chance is the fortunate timing of the Irvine Foundation's Fund for Financial Restructuring RFP. However, to qualify for that funding organizations needed to have already undertaken some preliminary action, which BPCP had done through its 2006-2008 strategic planning process, discussion at CBO meetings, and phase one research. Other data that suggests

chance is an unlikely explanation include the subsequent multi-year history of planning meetings, the continued support from the Irvine Foundation that required applications and reports, and the intentional design of the phased feasibility study. Additionally, if such programs could develop by chance, we might expect to see other such programs. However, phase one of the feasibility study found that few such programs exist. Therefore, the hypothesis that the program developed by chance is not supported.

Explanation three: Institutionalism A—mimicking. Building on the above argument, the fact that very few similar programs were identified during phase one research suggests that shared membership programs are not a sector norm for arts and culture organizations. Further, the fact that BPCP had to undertake a search at all suggests that mimicking was not at play. If they had known of a good model, they would have simply imitated it. Third, the impetus for the original idea came from a question from the community rather than being inspired by an industry best practice or other mimetic driver. Fourth, the fact that few other cultural institutions share the same type of contiguous proximity that made a shared membership program attractive to visitors further casts doubt on this explanation. Therefore, explanation number three (Institutionalism A, mimicking) is deemed an unlikely explanation for the development of the shared membership program.

Explanation four: Institutionalism B—pressure from funders. For this explanation we need to show that a funder was exerting influence to develop a shared membership business model. The fact that park organizations had been considering the idea for some time, but never gotten traction because the institutions were not interested, discounts this explanation. If funders had been pressuring them, there likely would have

been a stronger call to at least investigate the feasibility of the program.   Further, no funders interviewed for this study mentioned any specific interest in a shared membership program. Additionally, since it was not a sector norm as discussed above, it seems unlikely that a funder would expect such a major overhaul to the business models of numerous cultural institutions as an experiment. Therefore, explanation number four (Institutionalism B, funder pressure) is determined to be not supported.

The Plot Thickens—Partially Supported Explanations

This section reviews three hypotheses that offer evidence for being partially supported. These include explanations number two (resource dependence), number five (transaction cost theory), and number six (resource mobilization).

Resource dependence theory. This explanation posits that *the Parkwide pass program developed as a way to secure exogenous resources from BPCP's operating environment*. Independent variables associated with nonprofit collaboration identified from the literature (Guo & Acar, 2005) include resource sufficiency (does an organization have a sufficient level of financial resources), diversity of government funding streams, sector type (social/legal, education/research, health services, arts and culture), board linkages (the extent to which an organization has developed linkages with other nonprofit organizations through its board of directors), organizational age, and board size.

The data suggest that BPCP and its member organizations clearly did not have sufficient financial resources in 2008. As such, it is quite plausible they would look to a new joint business venture as a way to secure resources exogenously. The critical incident of the recession also supports the timing of their change of heart. Whereas

before 2008 they had been reluctant, they became motivated as financial pressures

mounted. The other independent variables do not appear to be factors. As discussed

previously, in the arts and culture sector, shared membership programs are not the norm.

The variables of board linkages, diversified funding types, organizational age, and board

size did not produce any notable data points from the data collection.

What is not supported from a resource dependence perspective, however, is the

expenditure of resources and lost revenue costs to create the Community Access

Program. Similarly, a pure resource dependence approach would not concern itself with

sharing lessons learned about price-conscious members with other membership based

organizations that might, at least regionally, be construed as potential competitors. For

the sake of argument, let us consider a cynic's perspective that the Community Access

Program was a ploy to curry political favor from local council members (recall that BPCP

had asked them to help identify nonprofit distribution partners in their districts).

However, the money that funded the Community Access Program came from the sale of

$1,500 founder memberships. As one respondent noted, "we give away about $1 million

in admissions a year through this program to provide access to underserved families."

This is a substantial loss of revenue to the Explorer Pass program (perhaps not so much

the admissions—one could argue those came at little cost to the institutions; however, the

redirection of membership revenue to a public benefit use does not make the best

financial sense).

In a similar vein, while spending resources to track the behavior of price-

conscious members certainly would be valuable to BPCP and its member institutions, if

they were seeking solely to maximize revenue, it would make more sense to protect those

lessons as trade secrets rather than to share them with other membership organizations. For now, we consider the resource dependence explanation to be partially supported in terms of this theory's ability to explain actions as the need to secure exogenous resources. What resource dependence does not explain is why an organization would give back resources it does not have to. Additionally, the theory does not sufficiently address the process by which the product (the Explorer Pass shared membership program) was endogenously created.

Transaction cost theory. This explanation suggests that *the Parkwide pass program developed as a way for BPCP's member organizations to reduce their costs and/or achieve scale*. Independent variables associated with this theory include (1) transaction characteristics that raise transaction costs (e.g., asset specificity, uncertainty, interaction frequency, and opportunism), and (2) measures of governance form (coordination between buyer and seller, vertical integration, David & Han, 2004).

Evidence that supports a transaction cost explanation includes BPCP's efforts to take the burden off its member institutions by absorbing the cost of price-conscious members. Another data point that supports this interpretation is the member institutions letting BPCP absorb capitalization costs (recall that these costs exceeded the grant funding). For these reasons, this explanation is deemed partially supported. However, it misses critical elements of being a complete explanation, notably that decisions were made beyond a simple dyadic calculation (e.g., efficiency, cost/benefit). Instead, long-term returns that extended beyond the parties (e.g., creating a legacy for the Centennial, expanding equitable access through the Community Access Program) were also

integrated into the program design.   Under a pure transaction cost approach these would

be superfluous endeavors.

Resource mobilization. This explanation proposes that *the Parkwide pass*

program developed to increase public access to Balboa Park's cultural institutions. If

the goal is to mobilize constituents for a collective purpose, then expanded access to arts

and culture opportunities might serve as the motivator. Independent variables associated

with this theory include networks, norm orientation, values orientation, and mobilization

capacity (Fuchs, 2006; Morrison, 1971). The creation of the Community Access

Program supports this idea.

However, what is not addressed is the clear market focus the Explorer Pass

embraces. From its inception, the ability to generate a sustainable profit for BPCP and its

members was a fundamental consideration of whether or not to continue pursuing the

feasibility study.   If at any point studies from the various phases had shown lack of

market viability, the program would have been dropped. Similarly, participating

organizations would not have been willing to risk their existing business/membership

models unless there was a substantial and long-term opportunity for profits. Therefore, a

resource mobilization explanation is deemed to be partially supported.

Fully Supported Explanation—A Model Developed from Informed Grounded

Theory

With the previous explanations offering incomplete explanations, this study

sought to identify a more satisfying and comprehensive explanation. Using insights from

the literature to inform theory development from the data and findings of this case, the

study developed the working hypothesis of Resource Interdependence Theory**.** It posits

that *the Parkwide pass program developed both to secure exogenous resources from, and return endogenously-created resources to, BPCP's operating environment*. This hypothesis weaves together the literature on value creation, the non-excludable and non-rivalrous nature of public goods, and multiple capitals. It proposes that BPCP, through its agency, networks, and processes, transformed latent resources into mobilized resources through *bricolage* (the process of turning whatever resources happen to be on hand into tools to achieve a desired purpose, Levi-Strauss, 1966).

Table 13 summarizes the results of the above assessment of rival explanations.

Table 13

Assessment of Rival Explanations Summary

Theory	**Proposed Explanation**	**Result**
1. Null hypothesis	*As a result of chance circumstance*	Not supported
2. **Resource dependence hypothesis**	*As a way to secure exogenous resources from BPCP's operating environment*	**Partially supported**
3. Institutional hypothesis A	*To mimic the practices of other arts and culture organizations*	Not supported
4. Institutional hypothesis B	*In response to pressure from funders*	Not supported
5. **Transaction cost hypothesis**	*As a way for BPCP's member organizations to reduce their costs and/or achieve scale*	**Partially supported**
6. **Resource mobilization hypothesis**	*To increase public access to Balboa Park's cultural institutions*	**Partially supported**
7. **Resource Interdependence Theory**	*Both to secure exogenous resources from, and return endogenously-created resources to, BPCP's operating environment*	**Fully supported**

Chapter eight provides a detailed discussion of how the unanswered questions from the partially supported hypotheses became drivers to inform a conceptual model to explain the creation of a market-based product that simultaneously seeks to deliver financial and social returns.

CHAPTER 8

DISCUSSION: CATHARSIS

This chapter presents a summary of the study's findings and discusses the results. First, I present answers to the study's three research questions. Next, I summarize additional literature I reviewed after completing data collection and analysis. By connecting that information to the data and the literature from earlier chapters, I develop a conceptual model (resource interdependence theory) to create a theoretical base for the study's empirical findings. The chapter concludes with ideas for future research, recommendations for practice, and a summary of the contributions of this study to scholars, practitioners, and civil society.

Answers to the Research Questions

Research Question #1

The first question this study answers is *how did a formal nonprofit collaboration of arts and culture organizations in San Diego, California find long-term success when most formal collaborations do not?* The central conclusion of this study is that the Balboa Park Cultural Partnership has sustained its formal collaboration by mobilizing multiple forms of capital through a process of bricolage. BPCP generates some of these resources endogenously by activating latent capital and then converting those resources through processes (e.g., communication and leadership). This dynamic flow enables BPCP to produce and attract needed resources while replenishing its operating environment through the generation of positive externalities.

Research Question #2

The second question of this study was *what types of capital resources are used in a formal 501(c)3 collaboration of arts and culture organizations in San Diego, California*? Findings described in chapter six suggest that the Balboa Park Cultural Partnership deploys six types of capital. Each capital type includes between two and five sub-types. These types and subtypes are: financial (money, debt, equity); physical (built, natural); human (physiological, intellectual, psychological, creative, moral); relational (social, political, spiritual); symbolic (cultural, reputational, temporal, spatial); and structural (organizational, rule of law, process). These capitals include both tangible and intangible forms.

Research Question #3

The third question this study seeks to answer is *how, if at all, are these resources transformed into outputs, outcomes, collective impact, and financial returns to sustain the collaboration?* This study finds that the multiple forms of capital function as resource building blocks to create outputs that produce outcomes. These forms of capital are sometimes latent. As such, they must first be activated through process capital. The six primary processes identified in this study are communicating, connecting, leading, collecting data, learning, and investing. In addition to mobilizing latent forms of capital, these processes act as mechanisms to convert the capitals from one form into another.

The Balboa Park Cultural Partnership accomplishes this transformative process by using its networked structure (organizational capital—collaboration) to secure financial resources (primarily member dues and grants, and as of 2014, earned income from Explorer Pass sales) to hire staff members and contractors. Through their efforts they

develop and operate programs (e.g., Balboa Park Sustainability Program, Balboa Park

Learning Institute, Explorer Pass). These programs are BPCP's primary outputs. Those

outputs in turn produce outcomes (e.g., number of people trained through BPLI and

BPSP professional development, number of HVAC systems replaced). These outcomes

then create impact, such as cascade benefits to BPCP's member organizations and the

public (e.g., better service to visitors, innovative and more effective exhibit practices,

energy savings, LEED certification). Figure 13 provides a basic illustration of this

process.

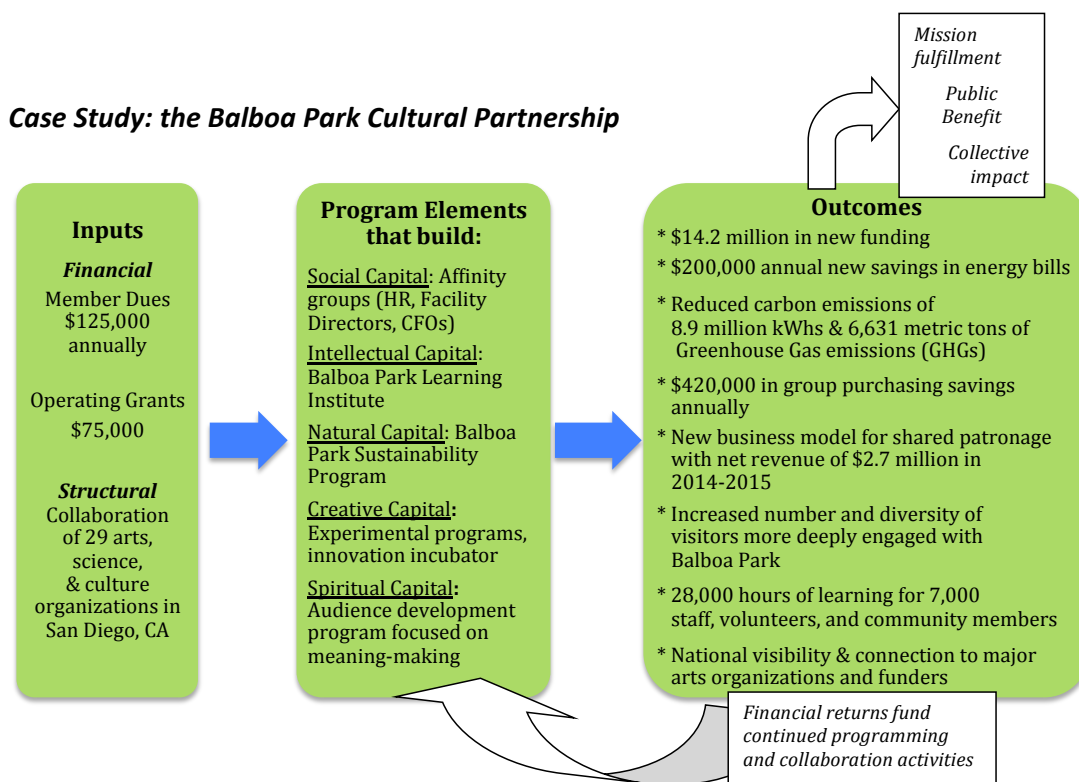Figure 13. Diagram of Resource Conversion Process—Inputs to Outputs, Outcomes, and
Impact

Figure 13. Summary of Resource Transformation process from inputs into outputs, outcomes,
and impact. BPCP's programs build various forms of capital that generate financial, reputational,
intellectual, natural, and other forms of capital that benefit its member institutions and the public.
Some of the financial returns cycle back to help sustain BPCP.

New Insights from the Literature

As described in the last chapter, I first considered current theories (e.g., institutionalism, resource mobilization, transaction cost, resource dependence) to explain these results. However, my analysis found these theories to be either not supported or only partially supported. Therefore, I returned to the literature for additional insights that might shed light on the gaps identified during analysis of the partially supported explanations. These puzzling gaps include: (a) how can new resources be endogenously created, (b) why would an organization adopt a long-term time horizon instead of a dyadically-focused efficiency horizon, (c) why would an organization give back resources to its operating environment when it is not forced to, and (d) how can a market-driven product simultaneously produce financial and social returns? I now discuss three concepts identified in the post-analysis literature review as a possible way to untangle these puzzles. These concepts are bricolage, embeddedness, and symbiosis.

Bricolage as the Process of Making

Bricolage is the process of turning whatever resources happen to be on hand into tools to achieve a desired purpose (Levi-Strauss, 1966; Weick, 2001). These handy resources are fundamentally heterogeneous because they derive from the environment rather than being made specially to produce the desired end product (Weick, 2001). For example, unlike an engineering project that identifies and orders needed parts ahead of time, *bricoleurs* (the people who engage in bricolage) look to the environment to see what handy materials might be repurposed for construction. Innovation and improvisation are key skills in reconfiguring these resources into new envisioned forms (Weick, 2001).

Leaders can be thought of as creators who "draw out and organize the raw materials of life by using ingeniously whatever is at hand" (Thayer, 1988, p. 239). Skills exhibited by expert bricoleurs include in-depth awareness of resources, keen observation, trusting one's inner guidance, attending to information, and ". . . [having] confidence that any enacted structure can be self-correcting if one's ego is not invested too heavily in it" (Weick, 2001, p. 63). A fundamental point made by Levi-Strauss (1966) is that objects are not considered valuable by the bricoleur because of their usefulness. Rather, the bricoleur has first taken the time to know and understand an object intimately. In so doing she recognizes how its qualities might also translate to another, hitherto unimagined, purpose. This requires the ability to observe intensely and systematically understand relationships, connections, and interactions (Weick, 2001).

Bricolage also calls into question the theory of resource dependence (Weick, 2001). Bricoleurs understand that many more resources exist than most people recognize. As such, organizational effectiveness becomes a function of a system's collective capacity to reimagine and recombine existing things in new ways rather than to control scarce resources (Weick, 2001).

BPCP as a maker of multiple capitals. Just as BPCP's Makers Faire celebrated the makers of its region, the Balboa Park Cultural Partnership and its 29 member organizations can be thought of a network of bricoleurs. Their actions over the years exhibit elements of bricolage. Multiple forms of capitals serve as their toolbox of heterogeneous resources. Through catalyzing processes they activated and combined latent forms of capital, transforming them into productive forms. For example, the organization began when executive directors were able to turn latent spatial and social

capital into active forms through regular convening (strategic planning) between 2001 and 2003.

As the partnership incorporated in 2003, the board hired a professional staff (human capital). Together they exercised leadership (process capital) by setting an agenda to implement goals such as advocacy (building political capital), professional development (intellectual capital), environmental sustainability (natural capital), governance (rule of law capital), parking (built capital), One Park—One Team (social capital), the Explorer Pass (financial capital) and public programming such as the 2015 Centennial celebration and Makers Faire (creative capital). The process by which these capitals were mobilized included communicating, connecting, leading, collecting data, learning, and investing. This process of bricolage—making new resources by assembling and re-assembling multiple forms of capital from BPCP's operating environment—answers puzzle A, *how can new resources be endogenously created*. Appendix C illustrates the resource toolbox for bricolage used by this formal collaboration.

Embeddedness

Embeddedness is the recognition that economics does not occur in a vacuum. Rather, economics is embedded in social interactions, politics, and culture (Polanyi, 2001). The concept emerged as a way to describe how the rise of market-based economics differed from earlier economic practices. Polanyi argued that prior to the industrial revolution, economic behavior was based on reciprocity and redistribution, not markets and rational utility. With the industrial revolution, mass production became possible, requiring new market institutions to accommodate this growth. Because these

institutions were deeply entangled with the state, Polanyi used the term *market society* rather than market economics.

Over time this new market society came to be seen as a cultural norm, replacing earlier norms of reciprocity. This shift was unconscious yet pervasive, to the point that *market economics* (rational actors trying to maximize their individual utility through market exchange processes) became synonymous with *economics* (the science of production, consumption, and transfer of wealth, Polanyi, 2001). Granovetter's empirical research (1985) extended Polanyi's ideas, finding that economic agency is embedded in networks of relationships that endure over time.

In the last decade, scientists have argued that this web of social, economic, political, and cultural relationships must also be understood as embedded in relations that arise through interactions with the natural world, a process referred to as *becomings* in the discipline of multispecies ethnography (Haraway, 2008; Kirksey & Helmreich, 2010). This emergence arises ". . . from nonhierarchical alliances, symbiotic attachments, and the mingling of creative agents . . . (Kirksey & Helmreich, 2010, p. 546). Multi-species ethnographers investigate how an organism's existence is shaped and transformed by human political, economic, and cultural influences while simultaneously shaping those influences in a recursive process (Kirksey & Helmreich, 2010).

Collectively, these multiple layers of embeddedness suggest that economics occurs in a matrix. The elements of the matrix include finances, politics, culture, and relationships, similar to Bronfenbrenner's socio-ecological model of education (1995). These matrix elements arise and interact with the natural world through processes (becomings). Because they are synergistic, no single element can be understood fully on

its own. To comprehend economics, as well as make the most of all resources available in an operating environment, one must understand and integrate all these elements. The construct of multiple capitals represents the multiple elements of the matrix, placing them within an economic framing.

The Balboa Park Cultural Partnership's deployment of multiple capitals, its consideration of the needs of multiple stakeholders (including future generations), and its return of public benefits to its operating environment suggest that BPCP takes a relational, reciprocal approach to economics. This attitude can be explained through the notion of embeddedness, answering puzzle B, *why would an organization adopt a long-term time horizon instead of a dyadically-focused efficiency horizon?* An organization might adopt a long-term time horizon because it recognizes (explicitly or intuitively) its embeddedness in a matrix of natural, political, social, and cultural elements. Further, as BPCP demonstrates, by adopting a longer-term time horizon, an organization can leverage weak ties that generate novel information through these indirect relationships (Granovetter, 1985). Whereas a focus on dyadic efficiency (e.g., transaction cost theory) would discount the merit of investing in such indirect benefits, this study finds that these investments are worthwhile if the organization adopts a long-term time horizon. The study supports Ghoshal and Moran's assertion (1996) that there are two types of efficiency (static and dynamic). This study asserts that static efficiency ignores the value creation potential of weak ties. By adopting a long-term time horizon, the BPCP was able to achieve dynamic efficiency by generating network effects over time, capitalizing on indirect benefits produced through weak ties.

Symbiosis

Building on the notion of symbiotic attachments described in multi-species ethnography, I briefly reviewed the concept of *symbiosis* (from the Greek *symbiōsis,* "the state of living together", Merriam-Webster, n.d.). While symbiosis was at one point associated purely with positive interactions, the fields of biology and ecology now recognize three expressions of symbiosis: parasitism, commensalism, and mutualism (Martin & Schwab, 2012).

Parasitism describes interactions where one organism benefits at another's expense (for example, fleas feeding off a dog). *Commensalism* refers to relationships in which one of the organisms benefits with no harm or benefit to the other, e.g., a bird nesting in a tree (San Diego Natural History Museum, 2000). *Mutualism* describes a beneficial reciprocal relationship between two species. Through their interactions, both species enhance their *fitness* (an organism's ability to survive and reproduce, Kauffman, 1993; Smith & Smith, 2001).

Some mutualistic interactions produce systemic benefits as well. For example, a bee gathering pollen from a flower gains resources for its hive while promoting reproduction in the flower. Repeated interactions with other bees and flowers result in cross-fertilization that strengthens biodiversity and enhances productivity in the ecosystem (Leigh, 2010). Factors that promote the emergence of mutualistic behaviors include competition for food (Wilkinson, 1987) and pressure from predators (Degnan, Yu, Sisneros, Wing, & Moran, 2009). The phenomenon of interdependence arises when resources supplied by one organism cycle back in some form to help that same organism later (Leigh, 2010). For example, scavengers (e.g., earthworms) and decomposers (e.g.,

bacteria and fungi) consume dead plant matter. This decomposition benefits the decomposer organisms while releasing mineral nutrients back into the soil that promote growth and reproduction of the plant and its offspring (Leigh, 2010).

The process of mutualistic symbiosis offers a potential answer to puzzle C, *why would an organization give back resources to its operating environment when it is not forced to*? This study hypothesizes that the return of resources to its operating environment (i.e., positive externalities) promotes fitness of the organization by strengthening its *fitness landscape* (dimensions of a system and their interdependencies, McKelvey, 1999). The next section proposes how the concepts of mutualism, embeddedness, and bricolage can be woven together to answer puzzle D, *how can a market-based product simultaneously achieve financial and social returns*. I present a conceptual model that explains resource flows in a collective action context.

Theoretical Model—Resource Interdependence Theory (RI)

The conceptual basis for this theory is symbiosis, specifically the three types of symbiotic relationships found in nature (parasitism, commensalism, and mutualism). While parasitism has a distinct biological meaning, it has come also to be associated with undesirable social qualities. To avoid pejorative descriptors I use the terms *extractive, transactional, and mutualistic* in lieu of parasitism, commensalism, and mutualism.

The context for this model is economic exchange. The types of exchange can be seen as occurring along a continuum. On the far left is direct exchange (i.e., barter, where goods or services of relatively equal value are exchanged with benefits received immediately, Graeber, 2001). On the far right is the gift economy (goods and services are provided with no certainty of reciprocation, Mauss, 1990/1922; Mirabella, 2013).

In the center is indirect exchange. As will be explained below, indirect exchange also occurs on a continuum. Figure 14 illustrates the continuum of exchange.
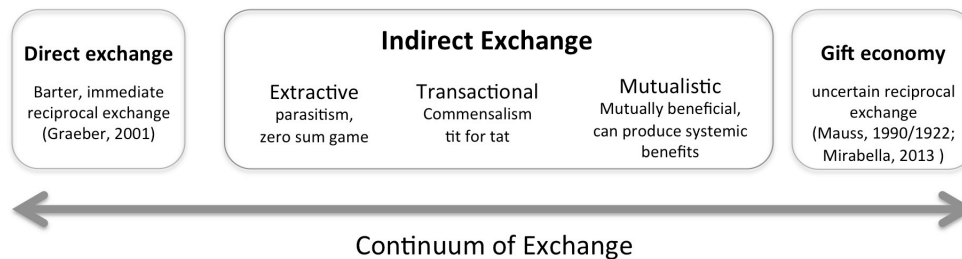
Figure 14. Types of Exchange.

Figure 14. Continuum along which exchange occurs.

Theoretical Propositions

Resource interdependence theory (RI) seeks to explain activities that take place within the center box—indirect exchange in a market setting. The next step in developing this theoretical model is to explain what differentiates placement along this continuum. To make that determination I present six questions related to the dimensions of indirect exchange. Before proceeding, it is important to note that in the context of resource interdependence theory, I use *wealth* in its earliest etymological sense, "well-being, welfare" (Harper, 2016).

How is wealth (well-being) acquired? RI posits that extractive organizations acquire wealth primarily through *rent-seeking,* the use of resources to obtain economic gain from others without reciprocating benefits back to society through productivity and value creation (Johnson, 2005). Tullock (1967) developed the concept to explain wealth

that was essentially derived from lobbying (e.g., where favorable rule making created a competitive advantage that could not be duplicated by other competing firms). Rent-seeking through lobbying can occur through trade laws, establishment of monopolies, or creation of subsidies (Tullock, 1967). A growing number of economists (e.g., Stiglitz, 2013; Varoufakis, 2015) see rent seeking as a fundamental contributor to global economic dysfunction and the erosion of the middle class. While associated primarily with the private sector, the parking of assets in donor advised funds can be considered a form of rent-seeking in the nonprofit sector. In that scenario, donors get the tax benefit but the funds can remain invested with a community foundation rather than being distributed immediately to produce public benefit.

In contrast, mutualistic organizations generate wealth through value creation. Here I recapitulate the International Integrated Reporting Council's (2013c) tenets of value creation, relating them to RI. First, value derives from both private and public resources and takes place in a context of connectivity. This aligns with the earlier discussion of embeddedness. Second, the building blocks of value creation are multiple capitals that develop through innovation and creative processes, in keeping with the notion of bricolage. Third, all outcomes should create value, with an organization's value choices determining how and what kind of value it creates. Mutualistic firms return value to their operating environment. Rent-seeking is the antithesis of value creation since it extracts value from the operating environment.

What types of externalities are produced? Like all elements of a system, organizations produce effects that go beyond their boundaries. In the vocabulary of economics, these effects are known as *externalities* (costs or benefits that affect others

but are not reflected in the price of the good, Buchanan & Stubblebine, 1962). Negative

externalities essentially privatize profits while socializing costs (Khemani & Shapiro,

1993). Pollution is an example of a negative externality. The company that owns the

polluting factory makes money while the surrounding community often endures the

pollution without compensation. Public goods are examples of positive externalities. As

discussed in chapter two, free riding and underproduction are two problems associated

with the production of positive externalities.

While positive externalities are typically associated with the public and nonprofit

sectors, externalities are in fact sector neutral. For example, an increasing number of

social enterprises seek to produce social good through their business activities. Similarly,

some nonprofits produce negative externalities (e.g., nonprofit professional sports leagues

that ask the public to bear the cost of stadium construction while the team keeps profits).

In RI, an organization can be considered extractive to the degree that it produces negative

externalities. It is mutualistic to the degree it produces positive externalities.

What is the balance between competition and cooperation? Competition has

played a valuable role in driving technological innovations that have improved wealth

(well-being), such as reduction in infant mortality, better sanitation, and greater crop

yields. Competition is beneficial to society ". . . when individual and group interests and

incentives are aligned (or at least do not conflict). Difficulties arise when individual

interests and group interests diverge" (Stucke, 2013, pp.179-180). While a degree of

competition can motivate enhanced performance, some types of competition (*suboptimal*

in the parlance of economics*)* can be damaging.

Suboptimal competition promotes divergence between individual and collective interests (Fisher, 1907). Types of suboptimal competition include status-based competition (e.g., conspicuous consumption) and firms seeking to exploit consumers' bounded rationality or willpower (e.g., buying things beyond one's means through debt financing, Stucke, 2013). RI posits that a firm is extractive to the degree it engages in and promotes suboptimal competition. It is mutualistic to the degree that it engages in cooperative behavior (e.g., partnerships and alliances).

To whom is the organization accountable? Another dimension of indirect exchange is the notion of accountability. Because extractive firms seek to maximize rent-seeking, shift negative externalities onto others, and engage in sub-optimal competition, they concern themselves primarily with upward accountability (i.e., rule makers, shareholders) to create legislative environments where such behavior is authorized. In contrast, mutualistic organizations recognize distributed accountability. They hold themselves accountable to multiple stakeholders (Freeman, 2010). Decisions about wealth distribution reflect an organization's notion of accountability, specifically who should benefit from its choices.

What is the timeframe for decision making? As discussed in the case study, the Balboa Park Cultural Partnership considers long-term time horizons in its decision making. RI posits that mutualistic organizations make decisions using a long-term time horizon, whereas extractive organizations focus on short-term returns (e.g., maximizing next quarter's earnings).

Types of resource investments. As demonstrated in the findings of this study, organizations that produce collective impact invest in a multitude of capitals. Similarly,

the International Integrated Reporting Council encourages reporting on multiple capitals to shareholders. RI therefore posits that an organization is mutualistic to the degree that it invests in multiple forms of capital. It is extractive to the degree its investment decision making centers solely on financial capital. The law of requisite variety (Ashby, 1960) further supports the value of a multiple capitals approach. This law states that "the internal diversity of any self-regulating system must match the variety and complexity of its environment if it is to deal with the challenges posed by that environment" (Morgan, 2006, p. 108-109). A multiple capitals approach accomplishes this because it matches the heterogeneous elements of the matrix in which economics is embedded.

As explained in chapter three, the typology used in Resource Interdependence theory was developed through a comprehensive literature review and pilot testing. The key difference between this typology and the International Integrated Reporting Council model is the number and types of capitals. The RI typology gives a more prominent place to intangible capital, specifically symbolic forms (e.g., cultural and reputational) and structural forms (e.g., rule of law, processes, and organizational forms). As will be explained later, the rationale for this expansion is to enable leaders, funders, and policymakers to understand the full range of resource tools at their disposal for bricolage.

Resource interdependence theory (RI) proposes that organizations can be categorized based on a composite of the six dimensions outlined above. Figure 15 illustrates the continuum for each dimension.

Figure 15. Continuum of Indirect Exchange.
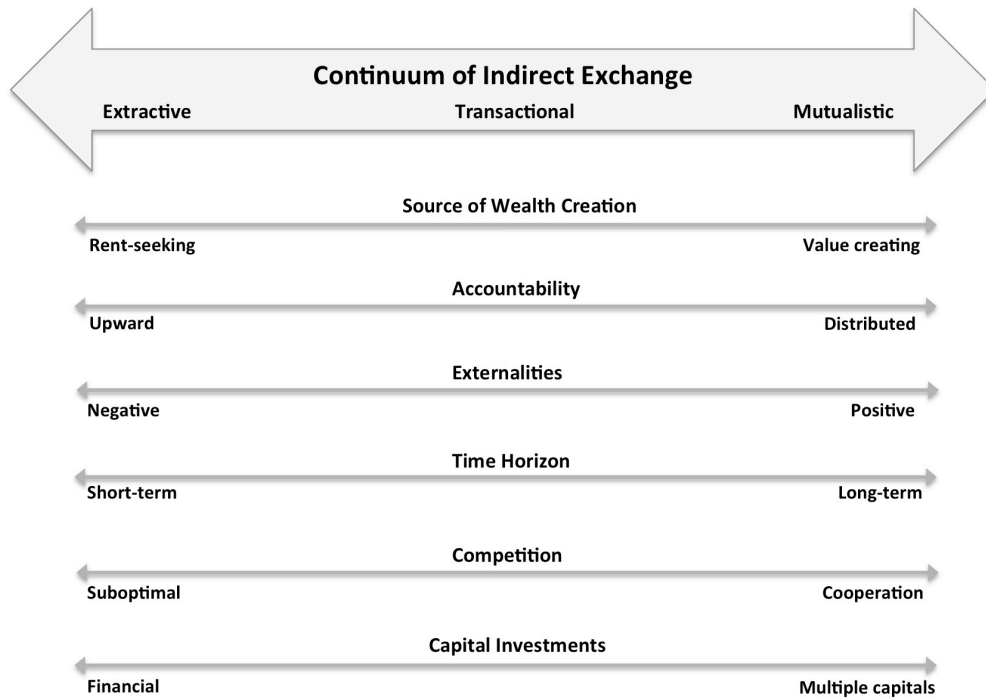
The continuum is composed of six dimensions. The composite of these six dimensions indicates whether a firm is extractive, transactional, or mutualistic. The following propositions summarize the six dimensions of mutualistic organizations:

1. Mutualistic organizations create (versus extract) value.

2. Mutualistic organizations produce primarily positive (versus negative) externalities.

3. Mutualistic organizations engage primarily in cooperative (versus competitive) behavior.

4. Mutualistic organizations demonstrate accountability to multiple (versus upward) stakeholders.

5. Mutualistic organizations make decisions using a long-term (versus short-term) time horizon.

6. Mutualistic organizations invest in multiple (versus singular) forms of capital.

This section has outlined a description of Resource Interdependence theory as a way to answer the fourth remaining puzzle of this study, *how can a formal collaboration simultaneously achieve market returns and social returns?* RI posits that a formal collaboration simultaneously achieves market and social returns by mobilizing multiple forms of capital through catalytic processes such as connecting, leading, communicating, and investing. It creates outputs through its programs. Those programs (outputs) produce outcomes (the corresponding changes experienced by its program participants and member organizations). Through those outcomes, the collaboration produces impact— the difference it makes to its community and field (its fitness landscape). A portion of the outcomes cycle back to serve as inputs into the organization, helping to sustain its operations. Figure 16 illustrates this sustainable value creation process as a conceptual model for Resource Interdependence Theory.

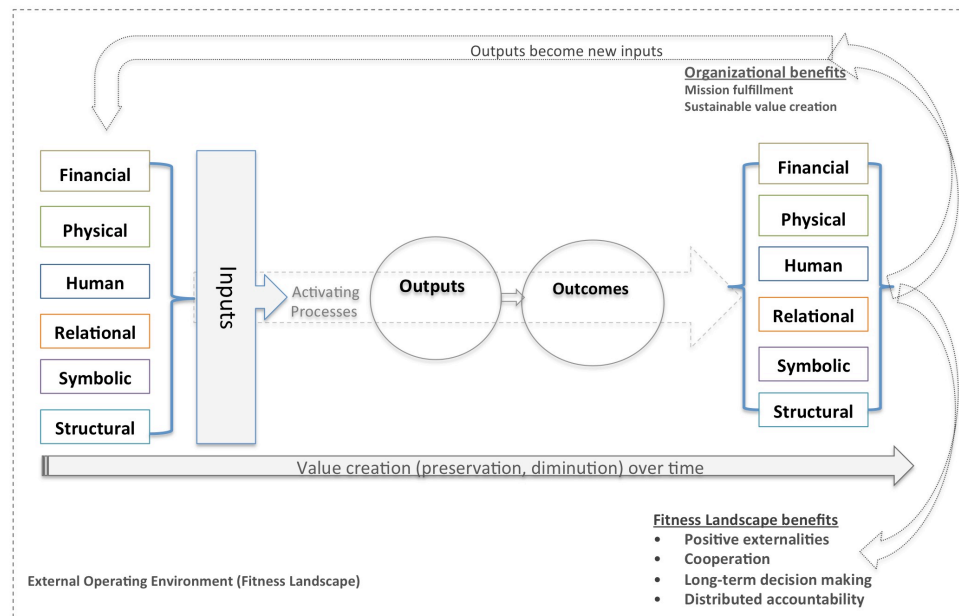Figure 16. Conceptual Model of Resource Interdependence Theory

Figure 16. Value is created by activating and converting resource inputs. Some of the outputs are returned to the organization to become inputs. The remaining outputs are exported to the external environment. Adapted from the International Integrated Reporting Council's "Octopus" model (2013c).

Resource Interdependence theory describes the dimensions of indirect exchange in a market context. Its six corresponding propositions can be used to assess the degree to which an organization is mutualistic. The conceptual grounding for this theory weaves together the notions of bricolage, embeddedness, and symbiosis. The data and findings from this study provide descriptive empirical support for this model. The concluding section of this study focuses on suggested steps for further theoretical development of RI and recommendations for practical application.

Recommendations for Research and Practice

The previous section addressed the puzzle of *how can a formal collaboration simultaneously achieve market returns and social returns?* The analysis provided a descriptive answer to that puzzle. The data suggest that an organization can achieve

simultaneous social and financial returns by investing in multiple capitals, enacting

catalyzing processes to mobilize and convert those capitals, and creating positive

externalities to improve its fitness landscape—the source of its multiple capitals. This is

akin to the example of a plant's outputs (e.g., its shed leaves) becoming a source of

nourishment for it later through interactions with other organisms in its ecosystem.

Future Research

This study developed a conceptual foundation for Resource Interdependence

theory that emerged from empirical investigation. The next step in theory building is to

explain and test the causal mechanisms of RI. I suggest three avenues for future research:

linking to other bodies of knowledge; developing measures for each capital and

aggregating these into an index; and testing RI's six propositions.

Linking to other literatures. The fields of economics and ecology have robust

bodies of literature that could significantly advance RI theory. The construct of

increasing returns, the phenomenon of outputs increasing at a rate proportionately higher

than inputs into the system (Arthur, 1996; Krugman, 1979), seems to be a key piece of

the puzzle. Recall that while all types of capital are valuable individually, it is their

interactions that exponentially expand capacity for value creation (Goldfinger, 1997).

These synergistic effects can create a spiraling up that sets off a cascade of benefits

(Emery & Flora, 2006).

In economics, New Growth Theory asserts that the use of multiple types of capital

as inputs (particularly knowledge) fosters long-run growth in production that can result in

increasing marginal productivity (Romer, 1986). Connecting the economic construct of

increasing returns to the notion of first, second, and third order effects in public value

creation (Bryson, Crosby, & Stone, 2006; Simo & Bies, 2007) may be a fruitful research path. Similarly, the fields of biology and ecology have developed mathematical formulations for mutualism (e.g., Leigh, 2010) that may also provide useful insights for researchers.

Developing measures. Many of the capitals in this typology have existing metrics. Scales and measures can be developed for those that do not. The composite of these various measures could provide an empirical measure of an organization's value creation capacity. These measures would be useful to potential investors (e.g., philanthropists, social venture funders, impact investors) and practitioners seeking to leverage its various forms of capital. On a community level, these measures could be adapted to create a community wellbeing index to guide policymaking.

Testing propositions. The evidence from this case suggests the workability of Resource Interdependence's theoretical propositions, following Ostrom's law that "a resource arrangement that works in practice can work in theory" (Fennell, 2011).
To further develop the RI theoretical model, researchers will also need to develop studies to test the six propositions presented in this study.

Suggestions for Practitioners—Enacting Mutualism

On a practical level, philanthropists and nonprofit professionals will benefit from actionable steps to create more mutualistic organizations. This section makes recommendations to advance two related constructs frequently discussed in the practitioner literature: capacity building and collective impact.

Capacity building. Nonprofit organizations think of capacity building in a variety of ways, including as a means to increase organizational resources or inputs,

measure an organization's activities, improve program performance and service delivery to clients, and maximize resources and efficiency (Light, 2004). Capacity building elements include *who* (individuals, organizations, groups of organizations, and ecosystems); *what* (knowledge, skills, operational systems, and effectiveness); and *how* (training, technical assistance, experiential, and peer learning (Raynor, Cardona, Knowlton, Mittenthal, & Simpson, 2014).

However, the concept of capacity building is under-theorized and there is no commonly agreed-upon conceptual framework (Light, Hubbard, Kibbe, Patrizi, Sherwood, & Spector, 2002). This study supports Fowler's assertion (2004) that capacity building can in fact be thought of as capital building. An advantage of this model is that it potentially develops a way to create metrics for capacity building, such as the measures and index discussed above. Additionally, a capital building approach might help funders shift from an efficiency mindset, offering an empirically-based way to escape the overhead myth (the mistaken belief that funders can tell a "good" organization by its low indirect cost rate, Berger, Harold, & Taylor, 2013). RI offers an scientific approach to capacity building that shifts attention to value creation rather than short-term, dyadically-focused transaction cost approaches. RI supports a long-term approach to value creation, or what Ghoshal and Moran (1996) call dynamic efficiency. Table 14 provides an overview for how the multiple capitals framework could be used to advance theory and practice of capacity building.

Table 14

Examples of Capacity Building in the Context of Multiple Capitals

	Financial Capital: Funding and financing for long-term mission fulfillment (Nonprofit Finance Fund, n.d.)	
	Cash, Debt, Equity	Training to improve financial literacy and management capacity, fundraising.
	Physical Capital: Natural and manufactured resources such as building and machines (Krugman & Wells, 2009)	
	Built	Infrastructure improvements, technology upgrades, investment in facilities and equipment.
	Natural	Reducing carbon footprint (e.g., powering physical plant through renewable energy, implementing recycling programs)
	Human Capital: The acquired and useful abilities of all the inhabitants or members of the society (Smith, 1776)	
	Physiological	Employee wellness programs.
	Intellectual	Learning and professional development, board and volunteer development, knowledge enterprises.
	Psychological	Employee engagement (Macey & Schneider, 2008); Volunteer engagement (Brudney & Meijs, 2009); Eupsychian management (Maslow, 1965); increasing awareness of assumptions and mental models (Senge, 1990).
	Creative	Creativity/innovation training, design thinking, prototyping/iterating.
	Moral	Values, mission clarification, sense of purpose.
	Relational Capital: How a person or organization connects with stakeholders internally and externally, and the value that is placed on this relationship (Capello & Faggian, 2005)	
	Social	Convenings, building/nurturing long-term relationships with stakeholders, peer learning/communities of practice (Wenger, 2000).
	Political	Advocacy, transparency, dialogue to reconcile differences/generate options.
	Spiritual	Reflection, meaning making, mindful connection to mission.
	Symbolic Capital: The wealth and productive capacity which an individual or group has accumulated in figurative or representational form (Bourdieu, 1983)	
	Cultural	Intentional creation of organizational culture, becoming aware of organizational assumptions and shared mental models, learning organizations, appreciate inquiry.
	Reputational	Marketing, branding.
	Temporal	Feedback and retrospective learning; scenario planning/futuring.
	Spatial	Place-based grantmaking, GIS mapping for needs assessments, place-based collaboration, asset-based community development.
	Structural Capital: Formative properties allowing the 'binding' of time-space in social systems (Giddens, 1984)	
	Organizational	Cross-departmental teams, holocracies, collaboration to generate network effects, formation of strategic alliances.
	Rule of Law	Advocacy, governance structures, client representation on boards.
	Process	Leadership, planning, decision making, monitoring and evaluation, learning, assessing, communications, convening, co-creating, holding accountable, engaging, connecting.

Collective impact. Building on these ideas, Resource Interdependence theory can strengthen the practitioner construct of collective impact. It offers an actionable approach to create returns on multiple levels simultaneously (individual, organizational, and systemic) while generating returns to help sustain the system. RI provides a theoretical framework to undergird and guide this approach for more effective enactment. I now relate the five tenets of collective impact (Kania & Kramer, 2011) to this study:

1. *Formal organizational infrastructure*: This study supports the value of investing in a backbone organization with professional staff.

2. *Intentional process for creating a shared agenda*: This study supports the value of shared agenda setting. However, the study also finds that it matters *who* is at the table. Unless the executive directors of the various organizations are consistently present, it may be difficult to implement the shared agenda at each participating organization.

3. *Common measurement process*: This study supports the value of creating a common measurement system. These measures should be developed collectively and provide useful data for the organizations in their daily operations (e.g., collective attendance data was useful to BPCP member organizations to they could see how their own numbers tracked against park visitation as a whole).

4. *Regular communication*: This tenet was certainly supported, and perhaps merits being moved up as a priority.

5. *Alignment of activities to be mutually reinforcing*: This tenet was supported. Findings from this study suggest that the activities should seek to build multiple

forms of capital simultaneously, similar to how BPSP's lunch and learns built

social and intellectual capital among the facility directors simultaneously.

This study also suggests that to build deeper collaboration, Collective Impact initiatives

should seek to create a network and shared sense of identity among the staff, board

members, and other volunteers in the participating organizations.

Contributions

My purpose in undertaking this study was to answer Corley and Gioia's call

(2011) for scholars to become preliminary sensegivers. Through the process of scientific

inquiry, I developed a novel premise (resource interdependence theory). My hope is this

conceptual framework will inspire new conversations among both academics and

practitioners to develop effective solutions to vexing organizational problems. Key

among such problems are the puzzle of long-term financial sustainability and the paradox

of the double bottom line (obtaining financial and social returns simultaneously).

Regarding long-term financial sustainability, this study offers insights into

sustainable resource deployment in organizations. Its findings call into question the

assumptions of resource dependence theory, suggesting instead that organizations can

grow, regenerate, and recirculate resources. Second, it answers the puzzle of how an

organization can simultaneously achieve market returns and social returns. This research

finds that multiple forms of capital, representing the heterogeneous, embedded sources of

potential value creation, are deployed by this formal collaboration. Further, resources can

be created endogenously through the activation and conversion of latent forms of capital.

The study also found that an organization can mobilize, convert, and re-circulate these

various forms of capital, some of which can be monetized and recycled back to help

sustain the organization. Finally, by creating positive externalities (e.g., public goods), an organization provides long-term benefits to itself by supporting the replenishment of its fitness landscape, the source of its exogenously acquired capital resources.

These four insights suggest a resolution to the paradox of the double bottom line. A multiple capitals approach activates the potential energy of a system (latent capital), converting it into kinetic energy (mobilized capital). When approached strategically, this transformational process produces outputs, outcomes, and impact. A portion of the outcomes cycle back to serve as new inputs for the organization while simultaneously strengthening its operating environment. The ability to create resources endogenously, rather than relying solely on acquiring resources from the external environment, suggests a logic of renewability and calls into question capitalism's current expression as a zero-sum game.

Regarding the puzzles of collective action, Resource Interdependence theory reconciles the tension between collective and individual agency (Bandura, 2000) by providing a framework to align factors of individual agency (cognitive, affective, biological), environmental factors (e.g., natural, spatial, built, and political), and organizational performance (e.g., reputational, cultural, structural, and social capital). It offers a solution to collective action puzzles by integrating political economy, relational, and social identity perspectives by linking ideas about resources, power, networks, and shared identity.

This study also expands conceptualization of capacity and capitalization in the nonprofit sector. Recognizing that resources come in a variety of forms, many of which are not reflected on a balance sheet, it suggests alternative approaches to capitalization

(e.g., investing in multiple capitals), performance measurement, and reporting. Resource interdependence theory may also be transferrable to other domains. For example, a capital-building framework can inform social enterprise and social entrepreneurship business model development in both for-profit and nonprofit contexts. While nonprofits are sometimes seen as a poor cousin to social enterprise, a capital-based approach provides a new storyline (Jones & Donmoyer, 2015) by demonstrating that it is not a particular sector, but rather the use of capital in its multiple forms that drives sustained value creation and contributes to a double bottom line (simultaneous social and financial returns). The metrics developed may also be useful to impact investors and corporations seeking to measure, report on, and improve their corporate social responsibility.

Perhaps most importantly, these findings have larger implications for civil society. Lev (2005) asserts that the economy's current focus on monetary indicators (e.g., financial statements and the Gross National Product) obscures the supporting elements of civil society that make these financial returns possible. In the nonprofit sector, an emphasis on financial capital can lead to adoption of a transactional approach to serving clients and disconnection from the community (Alexander, Nank, & Stivers, 1999). Privileging financial capital can also promote marketization that puts democratic values, accountability, and joint action at risk (Eikenberry & Kluver, 2004). This study offers a four-pronged remedy to these challenges: (1) recognizing that capitalism occurs along a continuum; (2) embracing mutualism as an economic strategy for long-term sustainability; (3) acknowledging multiple forms of capital as the currency of civil society; and (4) mobilizing and recirculating these resources to promote sustainable value creation.

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Appendix A

Interview Guide

Interview Study Protocol
Section 0000 – Unique Identifiers

Date of interview: _____

Location (city where interview is conducted):_____

Organizational ID:_____

Organization Name: _____

Respondent's Name: _____

Gender of Respondent: M F

Approximate Age of Respondent: 22-35   36-45   46-55   56-65
     65+

Interviewer: _____

Thank you for taking time out of your busy schedule to meet with me.   My name is Elizabeth Castillo.   I am a PhD candidate at the University of San Diego Department of Leadership Studies.   I am conducting research for my doctoral dissertation.   *[Exchange business cards at this moment.]*

This project is designed to learn more about collaboration and leadership in organizations like yours.

I am in the process of interviewing leaders of organizations involved with the Balboa Park Cultural Partnership.   As I noted in my email to you, this interview should take about one to one and a half hours.   All data will be kept strictly confidential.   Before I start, we would like to ask your permission to record the conversation with this digital recorder so that we don't miss any of the important parts of our conversation. *[After receiving oral consent, please start the audio recorder and state the relevant naming information before you begin]*

We are going to start with a few questions about the attributes of your organization and about your position in the organization. Then will we move into more substantive issues of goals and objectives, resources, partnerships, and finally leadership.

Section 1000 – Personal and Organizational Attributes
First, would you please describe the specific role you play in this organization?

How long have you been in your position?

How long have you been in the organization overall?

How long have you been involved in the nonprofit sector?

Now let's talk about BPCP. Approximately how many full-time employees work here? Are most of these full-time employees?

How about volunteers does your organization have?

Has your organizational structure changed recently or do you have plans to change your organization's structure in the near future?

Section 2000 – History of BPCP

Please tell me a little about the establishment of BPCP.

In general, what would you say your organization is trying to accomplish?

Have these objectives changed any in the last 10 years?
Probe: if so, in what ways have they changed?

What is your organization's relationship with the City of San Diego? How, if at all, has that relationship changed over time?

Section 3000 –Goals, Strategies and Activities

Can you please describe three of BPCP's core programs?

Please give me an example of an outcome that each of these programs has produced.

Now let's talk about your program, the Balboa Park Sustainability Program. In general, what would you say your program is trying to accomplish?

In addition to the previous outcome you mentioned for BPSP, can you please give me two more examples of outcomes your program has produced?

When you decide to create a new program, how do you decide what program to create?
Probe: Needs assessment, staff suggestion, funding opportunity, cost/benefit calculation

What is your timeframe for planning programs?

What are the major obstacles, if any, to reaching your objectives?

Are there any changes that you would like to see in the organization's goals and strategies, now or in the future?

Section 4000 — Resources

Now let's talk about resources.   What would you say are the most important types of resources for your organization?
Probe: Volunteers, money, reputation, relationships, knowledge, values

What strategies does your organization use to remain financially viable?
Probe: Earned income, annual budgeting/monthly review of financial statements, robust fundraising, community engagement, developing new audiences

Walk me through the process after you get funding to do a project.   How do you turn that funding into outcomes?

How does the need to secure funding affect your goals, strategies, and decision-making?

Have you done any capacity building activities in the past three years to strengthen your organization? If so, what types?
Probe: training, board development, IT upgrades

Section 5000 – Networks and Partnerships
Let's now talk about how and why your organization engages in collaborations.   In general, what are your goals and reasons for collaboration with the Balboa Park Cultural Partnership?

Do you collaborate with other organizations in your field?

What do you consider to be the critical elements for a partnership to be successful?

What presents challenges to partnering effectively?

Are you currently involved in any networks?
Probe: If so, please describe these networks.   For example, California Association of Museums, etc.

What kinds of benefits, if any, do you see resulting from networks and the formation of partnerships?

Are there obstacles or challenges that arise in the formation of partnerships and networks?

Are there any particularly important lessons that you have learned from engaging in networks and partnerships?

How does your organization balance competition with cooperation?

Who do you see as your biggest competitors?

What is your relationship to the Balboa Park Online Collaborative?

Section 6000 – Accountability and Effectiveness

To whom do you think your program and organization should be accountable to?
Probe: Are there particular kinds of stakeholders that you feel the need to be accountable to, and why?

Can you please describe how you demonstrate your organization's effectiveness to these stakeholders (e.g., your members and funders)?

Probe: Storytelling, communications, relationships, trying to keep fundraising and indirect expenses below a certain threshold

How have the relationships you've developed through your involvement with BPCP affected you and your organization?
Prompt: peer support, access to more resources, better known in the Park

What kinds of specific skills do you think people working in your organization need to have?

Within your organization, how do people acquire these skills?

Section 7000 – Leadership and Professional Engagement

We are now going to move into the last section of the interview.   In this section, we would like to learn more about leadership within the Balboa Park Cultural Partnership.

How would you define what it means to be a good leader in your organization?

How would you define what it means to exercise leadership in a collaborative setting?

How would you describe the role of BPCP's board in exercising leadership?

Finally, is there anything else that you would like to share with me about your organization?

Do you have any questions for me, or would you like clarification about anything that we have discussed?

Thank you again for your time and willingness to participate in this interview.   Your information will be combined with others who have participated in similar interviews and analyzed to create a broad picture of collaboration and leadership.   This picture will help us better understand the role of arts and culture organizations as agents of change in the nonprofit environment.

This interview recording will be transcribed.   I would like to send that transcript to you in about two weeks so you can look it over for accuracy.   Would that be ok? May I contact you if I have additional questions about what we discussed?

At the end of my research, around April of next year, I will report back to you and your BPCP colleagues about the results of this research.   In the meantime, please do feel free to contact me if you have any further questions about the study.

[Remember to turn off and retrieve the recorder and LOCK the interview]

Appendix B

Summary of Online Records of Balboa Park Cultural Partnership's Mentions in City of San Diego Records

Summary of Online City Records that Mention BPCP

Date	Document	Agency	Key Points
9/5/01	Manager's Report NO. 01-182	Marcia C. McLatchy, Director of Park & Rec	Recommends a revised structure for Balboa Park Committee "to provide for broader perspective on Balboa Park issues and reduce the fragmentation resulting from the multiple groups currently competing to shape Balboa Park" (p.2). Adds representatives from the Zoo and Central Balboa Park Association.
10/13/03	City Resolution 298453	City Council	Don Bacigalupi Day, mentions his role in BPCP formation
11/7/03	Minutes-- Item #106	City Council	Resolution R-298587 "Congratulating the Balboa Park Cultural Partnership on holding its Launch Celebration the evening of November 4, 2003, thanking for its work to protect and enhance the vitality of our City's cultural jewel, and wishing the best of success in the years to come."
11/4/04	Jones & Jones Land Use Study-- appendices	Jones & Jones Architects	BPCP provided data for historic (Jan 1999-Mar2003) and projected (April 2003-2012) attendance at member institutions
12/1/04	Minutes of Special Council Meeting	City Council	"Mayor Murphy noted those who stepped forward to save Christmas in Balboa Park this year were the BID Council who had taken a major leadership role, the Balboa Park ultural Partnership, the Organizations and Institutions in Balboa Park, the San Diego Chargers who donated $50,000, the San Diego Tribune who donated $50,000 as well, and the San Diego Foundation" (p. 4).
Jul-06	Parking Management Action Plan	Tilghman Group and Civitas	BPCP conducted employee parking study in 2004 to provide data on employee transportation patterns
Aug-06	Keeping Balboa Park Magnificent in its Second Century: A look at Management, Fundraising, and Private Partnership at Five Other Major U.S. City Parks	Trust for Public Land Center for City Park Excellence	

9/20/06	Balboa Park Informational Kiosk Donation and Operating Agreement	Parks and Rec.	Recommends approval of installation of five kiosks. Notes BPCP was consulted and approves of project.
4/12/07	Memo to City Council	Mayor Jerry Sanders	Requesting appointment of Mick Hager and David Kinney to Balboa Park Committee.
7/5/07	BPC Minutes	BPC	San Diego Natural History Museum is cross-promoting the Dead Sea Scrolls with the San Diego Museum of Man Copper Exhibit. Representative from small and medium institutions expressed appreciation that SDNHM's efforts to minimize the Dead Sea Scrolls parking impacts.
9/4/07	Agenda and Minutes for Regular Council Meeting	City Council	Approval to allocate $50,0000 of city funds toward $370,000 construction cost of Friends of Balboa Park kiosk project. Mentions the project has been vetted and approved by BPCP.
11/7/07	Resolution 303340 R-2008-418	City Council	PROCLAIMING JANUARY 22, 2008 TO BE "DR. JEFFREY W. KIRSCH DAY" IN THE CITY OF SAN DIEGO. Recognizes Dr. Kirsch for his role as a founder of BPCP in 2002.
11/20/07	Proclamation as Doug Myers Day, Resolution 303179	City Council	Congratulates Doug on appointment to National Museum and Library Services board, recognizes service as former BPCP president.
12/6/07	BPC Minutes	BPC	Approved change in alcohol policy in Balboa Park, noting that BPCP had been consulted about the proposed change and had no objections.
Jan-08	The Soul of San Diego: Keeping Balboa Park Magnificent in its Second Century	Trust for Public Land Center for City Park Excellence	
7/24/08	Current Balboa Park Leases: Recognized Cultural Contributions (meeting handout)	BPC	
10/16/08	Helping to build the framework for the successful governance of Balboa Park	BPCP/BPC	Research report commissioned by BPCP. Outlines issues and options for governance of Balboa Park, including Conservancy

12/18/08	The Future of Balboa Park: Funding, Management and Governance	BPC	Presents governance options based on other cities' models. Recommends public/private partnership model and stakeholders who should be included on the Task Force, including a representative from BPCP (p. 26)
8/10/09	EECBG Ad-Hoc Committee Meeting minutes	EECBG Ad-Hoc Committee	Approved "Energy efficiency and water conservation program for buildings owned by the City of San Diego and occupied by nonprofit organizations" and allocates $2 million in funding.
10/1/09	BPC Minutes	BPC	WMA, MTA, Multicultural Arts Leadership Initiative conference
10/28/09	Report to City Council: CA Public Utilities Commission Local Government Partnership Program	Environmental Services Division	Outlines energy reduction program, with BPCP serving as program manager for Balboa Park activities.
3/10/10	Appointments & reappointments to Park and Recreation Board	Mayor Jerry Sanders	Appoints David Kinney to Park and Rec board. David formerly served on steering committee of BPCP.
4/19/10	The Future of Balboa Park: Keeping Balboa Park Magnificent in its 2nd century	Balboa Park Task Force	Task force recommends formation of a public-private partnership to govern the Park.
4/29/10	IBA Report 10-37: FY11 Proposed budget	Office of the Independent Budget Analyst	Recommends Arts & Culture funding of $7,253,000 for FY11, a $738,000 reduction from FY10's amount of $7,991,000.
6/21/10	City Council Ordinance 19962	City Council	Amends alcohol usage regulations in city parks, including Balboa Park. Mentions 09/25/07 letter from BPCP supporting regulation modifications.
7/27/10	Agenda and Minutes for City Council meeting Item 53	City Council	Authorizes funding for proposed Broad Spectrum Street Lighting, EECBG Municipal Energy Efficiency and Balboa Park Projects through CEC loans and EECBG funding for facilities in Balboa Park.
10/19/10	Agenda City Council meeting Item 108	City Council	Appoints Luanne Kanzawa of Japanese Friendship Garden to BPC to replace David Kinney as small/mid-size institution representative. Kinney becomes the representative to BPC from the Parks and Rec board.

11/1/10	2015 Centennial Celebration of San Diego's 1915 Panama-California Exposition: Planning Framework 2010-2015 (Draft 3.4)	J & S Silverman Consulting for SD Tourism Marketing District	Recommends formation of 2015 Centennial Celebration Corporation (CC CORP) to plan and implement centennial celebrations. Recommends board membership include representation from BPCP.
3/16/11	Informational Presentation on Balboa Park Centennial Celebration to Natural Resources and Culture Committee	Balboa Park 2015 Steering Committee	Timeline of Centennial planning, from formation of TMD committee to transfer to BP2015 Steering Committee that includes one BPCP representative.
3/21/11	First allocation hearing FY12 Community Development Block Grant program	CDBG	Allocates $412,000 in funding to BPCP for ADA upgrades to Balboa Park contingent on federal HUD allocation being authorized.
3/23/11	PowerPoint presentation on Balboa Park Centennial Celebration to Natural Resources and Culture Committee	Balboa Park 2015 Steering Committee	Vision for 2015 Centennial, focusing on programming, increased tourism projections, and sponsorship opportunities
2011	TOT award Todd Gloria photo	District 3	Photo of Councilmember Gloria presenting the Balboa Park Cultural Partnership with $7,500 for their projects.
FY2012	Purchasing Contracts FY12	Purchasing Contracting Dept.	Contract #4600000589, Vendor 10021322 Balboa Park Cultural Partnership for Balboa Park Buildings Energy Efficiency, amount $249,000, contract period 2/24/2011 to 12/31/2012
9/1/11	BPC Minutes	BPC	No updates from BPCP, rep. present
10/6/11	BPC Minutes	BPC	Updates on EECBG, CDBG accessibility projects, CAM event 10/14/11
1/5/12	BPC Agenda	BPC	Item for updates by large Institutions (Mick Hager) and small/Mid-size (Luanne Kanzawa)
1/10/12	Appendix B-2: Cultural Resources Technical Report	Recon Environmental	Uses data from BPCP's 2004 employee parking study
2/2/12	BPC Agenda	BPC	Includes updates by large Institutions (Mick Hager) and small/Mid-size (Luanne Kanzawa)

5/3/12	Response to Comments, Final Environmental Impact Report for the Balboa Park Plaza de Panama Project	City of San Diego	Public comments regarding EIR for Plaza de Panama. Includes letter of support for the project from BPCP.
6/21/12	A Roadmap to Water-wise Parkland in Balboa Park: Optimizing Water Use by 2020 - A Call to Action	Friends of Balboa Park	Maps out water saving measures through 2020. Acknowledges BPCP for taking leadership on sustainability issues in the Park through formation of the Balboa Park Sustainability Alliance.
6/27/12	Calendar of council member Marti Emerald	Office of Marti Emerald	Appointment with three members of BPCP executive committee 2:30-3pm CD7
7/17/12	Ordinance 20185	City Council	Confirms $9566 FY12 funding and allocates $9,566 to BPCP from City's Creative Communities for FY13.
9/25/12	Optimizing Water Use by 2020 - A Call to Action	CAC	Presents Penny for the Arts five-year blueprint, recommending restoration of arts funding to 2002 levels. Notes that plan was vetted among stakeholder groups, including BPCP.
10/4/12	BPC Minutes	BPC	New ED search, NSF $2.6 million grant, CDBG accessibility grant
1/30/13	Edge 2015 Celebration: Presentation for Natural Resources & Culture Committee of the San Diego City Council	Edge 2015	Vision for 2015 Centennial celebration, including creation of Park-wide pass program developed by Balboa Park Cultural Partnership
4/29/13	IBA Report 13-19: FY14 Proposed Budget	Office of the Independent Budget Analyst	Recommends funding for Penny for the Arts Blueprint $1.6 million funded of $3.7 million request. Notes funding needs for 2015 Balboa Park Centennial but provides no operating support except 3 limited FTE positions to support logistical coordination of Park events with other city departments and outside agencies like SDG&E.
5/6/13	Press Release: Mayor Filner Appoints Executive Director of Commission for Arts and Culture after national search AFTER NATIONAL SEARCH!	Mayor Bob Filner	Appoints Denise Montgomery as new Executive Director of CAC. Mentions her consulting experience with BPLI and other cultural organizations.

6/6/13	Council member Marti Emerald's June 2013 calendar	Office of Marti Emerald	Attended meeting from 2-2:30pm with BPCP Executive Director Peter Comiskey at his office.
6/12/13	Report to Natural Resources and Culture Committee on Institutional Exhibitions for 2015	Balboa Park Celebration Inc.	Overview of exhibits, presentations, performances, and visitor experiences planned for 2015 by tenant cultural institutions
6/7/13	Memorandum MS59	Office of the City Attorney	Memo to city council outlining receipt of multiple appeals regarding decision about relocation of Valet Parking in Balboa Park. Includes appeal letter and $100 filing fee from BPCP due to pedestrian safety and impact on institutions in the vicinity.
5/27/14	REPORT NO: 14-042 REV Citywide Volunteer Activity Status Report	City of San Diego HR Department	In 2013 the Citywide Volunteer Office distributed over 5,000 complimentary museum passes, compliments of Balboa Park Cultural Partnership, to City and nonprofit volunteers who volunteered a minimum of 10 hours per month, throughout San Diego (p. 3).
9/17/14	Celebrate Balboa Park Exposition Centennial Update	BP2015 Steering Committee	Significantly pared down vision, focusing on signage, website produced in conjunction with BPCP and BPOC, and Wi-Fi.
10/1/14	Performance Audit of Balboa Park Celebration Inc.: Responses to Key Questions	Office of the City Auditor, City of San Diego	Reviews expenditures of 2015 funding to determine if any noncompliance with contract requirements. No wrongdoing found, but makes criticisms of contracting process.
10/9/14	Meeting minutes	City of San Diego International Affairs Board	Suggests applicant for an innovation fair project connect with BPCP and regional universities to explore potential partnerships.
11/1/14	Celebrate Balboa Park	City of San Diego	List of Centennial projects for Balboa Park 2015
2/9/15	City Purchase Order4500061689	CAC	Authorizes additional $50,000 to supplement original $68,055 2015 TOT funding
6/4/15	CEQA Exemption--Notice of Right to Appeal	City of San Diego Planning Department	Advises public of exemption granted by city council for BPCP Sustainability Expo to be held at Bea Evanson fountain 10/06/15.
7/9/15	Meeting minutes	Sustainable Energy Advisory Board	Announcement that the City along with the Balboa Park Cultural Partnership was selected as SDG&E's 2015 Co-Energy Efficiency Grand Champion.
2015-16	Special Promotional Programs--City of San Diego Adopted Budget FY16 pp.681-692	City of San Diego	2014 & 15 actual funding, 2016 adopted budget for TOT. BPCP received $18,060 (FY14) and $68,055 (FY15), and is project to receive $194,365 in FY16

1/12/15	Calendar of Council member Chris Cate	Office of Council member Chris Cate	Meet with Balboa Park Cultural Partnership from 10:30-10:50 in CAB10.
4/28/15	Minutes of the Council of the City of San Diego	City Council	Allocates $10,000 to Balboa Park Cultural Partnership from District 3 community program funds for purchase of server.
May-15	City of San Diego Proposed Budget--City Profile	City of San Diego	"The City has partnered with the Balboa Park Conservancy and the Balboa Park Cultural Partnership to organize the centennial events. In honor of the park's centennial this year, 17 park institutions and 75 benefactors are donating $1.0 million to distribute annual passes to Balboa Park's museums to more than 5,000 needy families. Mayor Kevin Faulconer indicated the donation shows the generosity of San Diego and will open the city's "crown jewel" to more people" (p.13).
5/12/15	Minutes of the Council of the City of San Diego	City Council	Authorizes City's CFO to accept for program year 2015 funds in an additional amount up to $1,068,000 from the California Public Utilities Commission (CPUC), via SDG&E, under its Local Government Partnership Program with the City, and to appropriate, contract, and expend funds per terms of program.
Jun-15	City of San Diego Zero Waste Plan	Environmental Services Dept.	Convened stakeholders including BPCP to develop new zero waste strategies to comply with state legislation and City's 12/1/13 Zero Waste Objective and draft Climate Action Plan.
11/5/15	BPC Minutes	BPC	Describes Makers Fair outcomes
1/7/16	BPC Minutes	BPC	Explorer Pass, BP Experience,
1/22/16	IBA Report 16-03: FY2017 City Council Budget Priorities	Office of the Independent Budget Analyst	Requests arts funding continue to be increased above 6.44% of TOT revenues in FY 2017, still falling short of 9.5% target set in 2012 Penny for the Arts Blueprint.
2/4/16	BPC Agenda	BPC	BPCP request for outdoor event space--2016 Maker Fair September 29 – October 3, 2016

Appendix C

Resource Toolbox for Bricolage

Resource Interdependence Theory--Typology of Capitals

TANGIBLE			INTANGIBLE		
Financial	Physical	Human	Relational	Symbolic	Structural

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University of San Diego

COPY

Institutional Review Board
Project Action Summary

Action Date: October 22, 2015   *Note: Approval expires one year after this date.*

Type: __New Full Review _X_ New Expedited Review ___Continuation Review ___Exempt Review
          ___Modification

Action: _X_ Approved   ___Approved Pending Modification   ___Not Approved

Project Number: 2015-10-031
Researcher(s):   Elizabeth Castillo Doc SOLES
                  DR. Afsaneh Nahavandi Fac SOLES
Project Title: Collaboration as Emergence: A Case Study of Resource Flows and Transformations in a
                  Collective Action Organization

*Note: We send IRB correspondence regarding student research to the faculty advisor, who bears
the ultimate responsibility for the conduct of the research. We request that the faculty
advisor share this correspondence with the student researcher.*

Modifications Required or Reasons for Non-Approval

None

The next deadline for submitting project proposals to the Provost's Office for full review is N/A. You may submit a project proposal for expedited review at any time.

Dr. Thomas R. Herrinton
Administrator, Institutional Review Board
University of San Diego
herrinton@sandiego.edu
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San Diego, California 92110-2492

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SIGNATURE PAGE

All applicable signature lines MUST be signed. If any required lines are left blank, the application will be returned to the principal investigator.

_____ Leadership Studies/SOLES 10/05/15
Researcher (signature)   Department/School and Date

Elizabeth Castillo   eac@sandiego.edu   858.395.0274
Researcher (printed)   REQUIRED: email   Phone

_____ Leadership Studies/SOLES
Faculty Advisor (signature)   Department/School and Date
(Only required if PI is a **USD Student**.)

Dr. Afsaneh Nahavandi   anahavandi@sandiego.edu   619.260.4181
Faculty Advisor name (printed)   REQUIRED: email   Phone

_____
USD Sponsor (signature)   email   Phone
(Only required if PI is **NOT a USD student/faculty**. The USD sponsor must be a
full-time employee of USD).

USD Sponsor name (printed)   Department/School and Date

                                                            10/12/15
_____ _____
School/College IRB Representative   Date
(ALL applications must obtain this signature, whether your unit has a designated
IRB representative or not. Contact the IRB Chairperson if you need guidance.)

                                                     10/15/13
_____ _____
Dean or His/Her Representative (signature) Date

APPLICANT: THE FOLLOWING WILL BE SIGNED AFTER YOU SUBMIT YOUR
APPLICATION TO THE PROVOST'S OFFICE.

**_The project described above has been approved by the USD Institutional
Review Board._**

                                               10/22/15
_____ _____
Chair or Administrator to IRB (signature) Date