
ARTS ENTREPRENEURSHIP AND CULTURAL POLICY INNOVATION IN BEIJING

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Abstract

This article analyzes three cultural entities in Beijing, China: National Centre for the Performing Arts, 798 Arts District, and Today Art Museum using two lenses: Kingdon's Multiple Streams Framework (MS) and concepts of arts entrepreneurship, in order to examine these entities' development and current condition. The performing arts center has become a source of national pride, the arts district now is one of the world's largest, and the museum paved the way for a new kind of "private" institution in China.

Concepts including policy streams, policy windows, and policy entrepreneurs ground the analysis. In order to enrich the perspective, we explore theories in the growing field of arts entrepreneurship and their applicability to the changing economic environment of China. We point to the realities of policy formation as well as the innovative economic growth fostered through arts entrepreneurship in China, grounding the analysis in a positivist perspective due to the opacity of the process in that country.

While Multiple Streams Framework is a powerful tool with which to understand and interpret policy formation, change, and adaptation, it is the arts entrepreneurship principles that provide important ways to look at creative commerce, both from the perspective of the individual and the organization. We find that, while each arts entity was formed under very different circumstances, they all now incorporate facets of arts entrepreneurship including brand building, market development, and audience growth.

Frameworks and theories must be flexible and resilient in order to be adapted to more diverse contexts. By reframing cultural policy and arts entrepreneurship theory to incorporate culturally relevant data, they each can provide valuable tools for scholars, policymakers, and municipal leaders. This allows the understanding of key theoretical components to expand, reflecting political and social realities while ensuring the relevance and viability of these analytical tools in multi-cultural contexts.

Keywords: Multiple Streams Framework; arts entrepreneurship; cultural districts; performing arts centers; Beijing

This article explores three anchor entities in Beijing using a policy framework, Multiple Streams, together with the lens of the emergent field of arts entrepreneurship to understand forces in the process of the creation and subsequent development of the National Centre for the Performing Arts, the Today Art Museum, and the 798 Arts District. This blended research process gives us an understanding of who and what was involved in the formation of these three entities. We ask: Can Western policy theories such as the Multiple Streams Framework and theories within the arts entrepreneurship context be used as tools to investigate other global cultural cases?

We examine the growing field of arts entrepreneurship, with a discussion of the creative economy and business development landscape in China today. We then introduce Multiple Streams Framework, going on to give the history of each cultural anchor and subsequently analyzing them according to these two theoretical frames. The paper concludes by discussing the blended perspective in investigating the three cases, finally pointing to the need for theoretical adaptability in cross-cultural contexts.

The Creative Economy in Beijing

A cultural and artistic boom followed Chinese economic reform, which began in 1978 (Elzen, 2008). After joining the World Trade Organization in 2001 (Keane, 2007), China began focusing on the creative industries to accelerate internationalization. The arts, a key component of this sector, grew rapidly, creating an explosion of contemporary art, the art market, and arts entities. Beijing, the political and cultural center of China, has dual goals: economic success and a desire for global recognition, both of which are factors in the political landscape (Currier, 2008). Arts entities in Beijing not only encompass economic goals, but also reflect political and policy considerations. We find that, while the Chinese economy, arts policies, and arts entities are experiencing globalization, they retain unique cultural characteristics.

Arts entrepreneurship proves to be a valuable instrument for examining what was created and how these cultural anchors have evolved, especially given that the opacity of the Chinese political system in which there are no elections and where policy processes are not transparent, placing limitations on the utility of Multiple Streams Framework. Each of the three entities exemplifies facets of this burgeoning field: The National Centre and the Today Art Museum both are examples of the managerial component of arts entrepreneurship, while the 798 Arts District as an entity epitomizes economic development using arts and culture, also illustrating the role that individual arts entrepreneurs can play in fueling the success of a creative cluster.

This study can be of value to scholars, policymakers, and arts managers, especially when exploring an urban setting in which the focus is a creative entity (Goldberg-Miller and Fregetto, 2016). These cases provide an opportunity to examine the circumstances surrounding the creation of cultural entities, as well as to understand their reality through the arts entrepreneurship lens of fostering creative interventions. Our analysis finds that the concept of creative commerce is different in China than in the US, as is the policy lexicon. We also point out that the circumstances in China are ideal for the recognition of the emergent field of arts entrepreneurship.

Policy analysis is a framework for understanding how these three entities were formed in the context of political and social realities, and the arts entrepreneurship context illustrates how these three cultural anchors are manifest. Together, they provide a more comprehensive look at how concepts can be translated into varying cultural paradigms. For the purposes of this study, we found two caveats: first, that policy in China is made in a “black box,” meaning that one is not able to understand the processes and must instead look only at the outcomes; and second, that the concept of “entrepreneurship” is different there, meaning that arts entrepreneurship as we know it would need to be reframed in order to be applicable in China.

The Arts Entrepreneurship Field and the Multiple Streams Policy Framework

The Growing Field of Arts Entrepreneurship

Arts entrepreneurship is both a developing and a growing discipline. The term “arts entrepreneurship” has entered the conversation within the arts administration, cultural management, and entrepreneurship fields, especially since the early 2000s (Caves, 2000; Mulcahy, 2003; Rentschler, 2003), and often may be referred to as “cultural entrepreneurship” (McNicholas, 2004). As with any emerging field, debate has ensued as to a firmly defined and widely accepted overall parameter to this concept, and as the discipline grows there will be more consensus.

Regarding the establishment of arts entrepreneurship within the literature, the term “arts entrepreneur” has been under debate. This term is recognized by some as business-related and the

outcome of the same kinds of principles for success that exist in the standard entrepreneurship lexicon (Beckman, 2007; Wyszomirski & Goldberg-Miller, 2015). Others posit that this is a new kind of discipline that has dimensions beyond business management, ones that echo a more socially relevant and public value paradigm (Essig, 2015). Understandably, the various fields that incorporate arts entrepreneurship, including arts administration and policy, nonprofit management, and the business world may delineate the term differently according to the framework of their disciplines. One defining factor within the arts entrepreneurship context is the role of the arts in adding value. This is a concept that includes both monetary benefit and the broader totality of benefits that cultural and intellectual production bring to the table as value (Frey, 2005).

Beckman and Essig (2012) developed an initial interpretation of arts entrepreneurship, saying that it could be defined as “individual artist self-management and self-actualization.” The Beckman and Essig (2012) definition was augmented by research conducted by Chang and Wyszomirski (2015), which looked at the most frequent uses of terms in the fields of arts administration and policy, nonprofit management, and business. In the aggregate, they found that the three most frequently used meanings of arts entrepreneurship are: 1) developing new ventures; 2) locating new financial capital; and 3) developing new markets. Subsequent to this investigation, these authors developed the following definition: “arts entrepreneurship is a management process through which cultural workers seek to support their creativity and autonomy, advance their capacity for adaptability, and create artistic as well as economic and social value” (Chang & Wyszomirski, 2015).

Essig (2015), however, highlights arts entrepreneurship as a creative process instead of a management process, as suggested by Chang and Wyszomirski (2015), positing that the managerial process is only the mediation that helps the conversion move from means to ends. According to this author, an aspect of using ingenuity in fostering success despite scarce resources, or what could be thought of as creative inspiration, is a hallmark of the arts entrepreneur. Essig (2015) explores theories of entrepreneurship and firms, forming a means-ends framework illustrative of entrepreneurial activities in US arts and cultural sector.

The author describes arts entrepreneurship as a creative process that converts the means, such as social and financial capital and applicable knowledge, to the ends -- which include not only profit and products, but lasting impact on society -- through mediating structures. A key takeaway from Essig’s analysis is that the outputs of arts entrepreneurship move beyond the aspect of commerce, providing enhanced value creation and contributing to the growth of cultural capital through fostering sustainable products and services with an inherently aesthetic quality.

In order to further understand and bound the field of arts entrepreneurship, Hausman and Heinze (2016) did a systematic analysis of 50 articles, finding that the definition of the topic area ranged from the managerial aspect of the area that places the focus on the firm, to the central figure of the individual creative producer, as well as recognizing the outputs of arts entrepreneurship that result in experiential opportunities or the production of creative capital as a legacy. Another aspect of the focus within arts entrepreneurship is the self-employment landscape, which can be viewed as part of the study of traditional entrepreneurship (Woronkiewicz & Noonan, 2017). Often located in urban areas, individual artists may take advantage of resources including robust market opportunities, collaborative milieus, and an environment that fosters innovation and experimentation, each of which contribute to the development of the arts entrepreneur.

One of the hallmarks of the creative sector and intellectual endeavors is a focus on experimentation, innovation, and a love of unique solutions, rather than staying with the familiar and established way of doing things both in artistic endeavors and industry (Ahuja & Lampert, 2001). This differentiation must be taken into consideration when understanding the role that the creative sector plays in the entrepreneurial context, rather than forcing the field to echo the norms and structures of traditional entrepreneurship (Oakley, 2009).

Theoretical Frame of Arts Entrepreneurship

The fundamental principles of arts entrepreneurship have been characterized as being on an evolving continuum (Beckman & Essig, 2012), ranging from theories about individuals to those that apply to a firm or entity, whether large or small. Each of these conceptual streams needs to be modified in order to build a set of theories that apply specifically to arts entrepreneurship. As this field develops, theories emerge, are tested and argued, and subsequently become part of the literature. Theories that contribute to the development of arts entrepreneurship include those of “classic” entrepreneurship, innovation and creativity, social enterprise, and management. Researchers in this new discipline have borrowed from other fields, carefully examining the efficacy of each set of theoretical constructs in order to determine the inherent principles that provide the best fit for an emergent field.

Entrepreneurship deals primarily with the formation of businesses, which is not necessarily the case in arts entrepreneurship, when an individual may come up with a new concept or idea or may be working as an artist rather than forming a specific stand-alone entity (Essig, 2015). An additional aspect that differentiates “traditional” entrepreneurship from arts entrepreneurship in the literature has to do with the contrasting bottom line. In the arts entrepreneurship case, scholars posit that a motivating factor may be something beyond the financial remuneration associated with successful enterprises, which would include personal satisfaction, aesthetic fulfillment, or a contribution to society that exceeds the purely economic (Caves, 2000; Essig, 2015; Preece, 2011).

Proponents are developing new bespoke theories that include elements such as resilience, bricolage, and opportunity spotting – all specifically relating to the context of the arts. Bricolage, or finding ways to realize goals without necessary tools – or doing more with less -- is another concept that resonates in the often resource-challenged environment of the creative (Baker & Nelson, 2005; Preece, 2013). Opportunity spotting in the context of this emergent field may have the hallmarks of the creative sector as combined with that of the entrepreneur, including aspects such as innovation, imagination, and the disruption of the status quo (Essig, 2015). As creative individuals seek to develop new ways to move their careers, small businesses, or organizations forward it is this ability to recognize the chance for change that is being positioned as an important differentiator (Chen & Wyszomirski, 2015).

Since two primary streams can be found within this theoretical framework, that of the organization and that of the individual, further research as to the core distinguishing elements of the arts entrepreneurship lens on the micro-and macro-levels can make a contribution to the literature. These principles are the building blocks to forming new theories, which will need to be operationalized and tested empirically in order to determine their efficacy. We believe that this examination of three arts entities, viewed through the lens of arts entrepreneurship with consideration of the individual and the firm, can bring another viewpoint to the ongoing process of field building.

Entrepreneurial Opportunity and Arts Entrepreneurship in China

Here, we build on this literature and reflect upon the meanings of arts entrepreneur and arts entrepreneurship in the context of our research on China. The concept of an “entrepreneur” was developed by Jean-Baptiste Say around 1800, when he defined entrepreneurs as individuals who realized profits through change (Bonin-Rodriguez, 2012). One can also understand those who utilize adaptation to foster new profit streams by employing the word “innovator,” recognizing that today’s entrepreneurs may inherently -- deliberately or inadvertently -- disrupt the status quo (Christensen, 1997). This kind of innovation, which is both disruptive and entrepreneurial, often results from what can be observed as asymmetric information and opportunities (Bonin-Rodriguez, 2012; Eckhardt & Shane, 2003; Shane & Venkataraman, 2001).

Asymmetric access to information can be the result of social networks that have strong connections to power as well as favorable market positioning, together with institutional and/or government relationships that offer unique opportunities (Lin et al, 2013; Walker & Sherwood, 2003). Thus, we can understand entrepreneurship as a successful endeavor when it not only results in financial gain, but also where there is a disruption of the status quo resulting from asymmetrical access to governmental, social, and/or production resources. However, within the arts entrepreneurship context, additional factors such as benefit to society, public good, and increased pride of place may be of value in measuring positive outcomes.

Under Marxist ideology, capitalism was forbidden in China in the era of Chairman Mao. Fostered by a centralized economic plan, agriculture was carried out by collectives in villages, while industry was state-owned and relegated to urban areas. By 1956, the private sector was eradicated in China (Liao & Sohmen, 2001). The concept of entrepreneurship during that time was not a popular one until Chairman Deng took over in 1978, after which time he began to encourage the growth of private enterprise, thereby stimulating the economy. During that period, some individual wealth was created. Since China joined the World Trade Organization in 2001, it has made substantive efforts to become a part of the world economy, following market rules and establishing institutional economic policy.

This process, beginning with Deng, has meant that the concepts of entrepreneur and entrepreneurship have found their way into the economic development lexicon in modern China with the encouragement of the state, which promoted the early-adopter entrepreneurs (Fan, 2006). A government slogan, loosely translated as “let some people get rich first” was touted, with the idea that subsequently others would follow in generating individual wealth. However, the classic definition of entrepreneurship fostered by Hills (1994) points to a process that, “causes changes in the economic system to innovations brought about by individuals who generate or respond to economic opportunities that create value for both these individuals and society.” This is in contrast to the Chinese economic system, in which entrepreneurs in that country face barriers to institutional innovation (Milana & Wang, 2013).

When Deng first opened the doors to global commerce, Chinese society had a positive experience of the ubiquitous term, “Made in China.” There was national pride in being the producer of a multitude of goods for the world marketplace. However, when the words “Made in China” began to be printed below the words, “Designed in USA” on labels, the realization of this negative perception of the country’s production brand hit home. China was labeled as “the world’s factory” for decades, famous for its cheap labor force, but the way this productivity was viewed has gradually begun to change. The economy is experiencing a transition from “made” to

“innovated” (Wei et al, 2017; Keane, 2006). As Chinese society began to rethink the term “Made in China,” the awareness of the importance of creativity began to emerge, fostering the advent of a new brand position, now called “Created in China” (Keane, 2007).

Among the panoply of creative goods and services in China are the “creative industries,” a term that began to be popularized in the mid to late 1990s, specifically at a national level by the UK government’s Department of Culture Media and Sport. This entity defined the field as, “those activities which have their origin in individual creativity, skill, and talent and which have a potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property” (British Council, 2010, p. 16). The Chinese Communist Party currently takes great effort to promote the creative and cultural industries (Hartley & Montgomery, 2009). The government instituted a form of tax-deduction and other policy interventions, while still professing to follow the tenets of Marxism within the leadership and management of the “socialist cultural construction” (Chinese Communist Party, 2011).

Enthusiasm about this sector led to the identification of the creative industries as a policy priority, as evidenced in the 12th Five-Year Plan of 2011 (He, 2014). China’s Five-Year Plans are social and economic development plans for the whole country, produced every five years by the Communist Party of China. The Party sets targets, maps strategies, and establishes overall guidelines for short- and long-term goals. Subsequent to this, regional and local governments compile their own detailed plans in accordance with the tenets of the Five-Year plan (Hu, 2015).

Cultural development plays an important role in the 12th Five-year Plan. The 12th plan (National Development and Reform Commission, 2011) states that the cultural sector will gradually become among the pillar industries of the national economy by 2015. The Ministry of Culture issued several related plans to encourage the growth of the cultural economy and creative markets, especially in the fields of film and television, publishing, entertainment, digital content, and animation. The government signaled that it would focus attention on cultural investment, cultural policies, and the cultural market environment (Qiao, 2012). The central government favors the phrase “cultural sector” in its documentation, while local governments tend to use “creative economy” (National Development and Reform Commission, 2011).

Within this sector in China there are currently three main categories: art, design, and media (Keane, 2013). The art facet of the field deals with economic value that can be created through the arts; design includes technology design such as software and speaks to innovation in industry, creative clusters, and the creative class; and media is an area that encompasses the means of communication and attendant platforms. China’s promotion of the creative economy as a source of revenue and social purpose has brought its own tensions, specifically between the position of the government regarding retaining control of commercialization and the growth of what could be understood as arts entrepreneurship in China (Keane, 2013, p.4)

Understanding the Multiple Streams Framework

Kingdon (1984) presents the Multiple Streams framework (MS), wherein he delineated organizational behavior within what is known as the “garbage can model” (Sabatier, 2007). MS deals with policymaking processes, helping to understand the complex factors that lead to recognition of policy issues, as well as how the scarce attention of policymakers may be focused on one alternative rather than another (Kingdon, 1984). Three streams flow through the policymaking process: problem, policy, and politics. These streams are relatively independent of

each other, but when a “policy window” is open, “policy entrepreneurs” help to join these streams, resulting in policy change.

Problem stream refers to ways certain problems capture governmental officials’ attention. Three mechanisms affect this: indicators, focusing events, and feedback. Indicators and their interpretation help to assess the magnitude of a problem; focusing events such as crises and disasters elicit public attention and push the problem into focus on the government agenda; and feedback from previous programs offers evaluation of similar programs and policies. Conditions are defined as problems only when the polis believes that something ought to be done (Kingdon, 1984).

The *policy stream* is known as a “policy primeval soup,” or messy environment wherein numerous proposals float around policy networks (Kingdon, 1984, p. 116; Planing, 2017; Elson & Hall, 2016). These policy networks include elected officials, career bureaucrats, academics, and government workers. By definition, these disparate actors become aligned within a focused policy framework (Zahariadis, 2007). Both individuals and groups may be influenced by actors called *policy entrepreneurs*; these are policy actors, often outside the main landscape, seeking to influence decision makers to adopt their policies in an attempt to influence both policy communities and the polis. Meeting the criteria of technical feasibility and value acceptability could enhance the chance of proposals’ survival (Kingdon, 1984).

The *political stream* encompasses the national mood, and is influenced by exogenous shocks, such as election results and interest group campaigns, or internal factors including shifts in administration and ideological alignments aggregated behind issues (Kingdon, 1984). When the vast majority of the polis aligns along such lines, politicians and agendas can be influenced. Organized political forces affect and can sway policy outcomes. A final component of political streams is administration, mainly including the turnover of key personnel and issues about jurisdiction. Kingdon’s political stream, which is based on the Western system of interest group influence, partisanship, and electoral outcomes, stands in contrast to that of China. In the Chinese one-party political context, these contents of political streams are only partly applicable.

An important concept in MS is the *policy window*. This is an opportunity that occurs in a time-sensitive manner, wherein there is only a brief chance in which to make change and to introduce a strategy for action (Kingdon, 1984, p. 174). Policy windows open through a problem or an event in the political stream. When the window opens, policy entrepreneurs seize the opportunity to persuade politicians or policymakers to take up their solutions. This is the time that the three streams – problem, policy, and political -- join, bringing a dramatically increased probability of an item rising on a decision agenda.

Chinese scholars have used MS to analyze environment policy, repatriation policy, and housing policy (Bai, 2010; Liu, 2015; Huang and Xu, 2012; Bi, 2007). Some use part of Kingdon’s political stream concept, including national mood and change of administration (Liu, 2015; Huang and Xu, 2012), while others use adaptive contents such as the attention of the central government (Bi, 2007) or nationwide political direction from the central government (Bai, 2010). While we use MS to analyze cultural policy in the Chinese context, it has been applied in various policy domains (Chow, 2014). MS has been used to explain US foreign aid allocation (Travis, Zahariadis, 2002), emissions trading in Germany (Brunner, 2008), municipal emergency management (Henstra, 2010), EU policymaking (Zahariadis, 2008; Ackrill & Kay, 2011) and privatization in

Britain and Germany (Zahariadis and Allen, 1995). However, this study is the first to utilize MS to look at the cultural sector in China.

Case Studies

National Centre for the Performing Arts: A Nation's Dream

Opened in December 2007, the National Centre for the Performing Arts of China is located in the center of Beijing, beside Tiananmen Square, and cost about \$400 million USD. The decision to establish a national theatre dates back to the late 1950s, and from the very beginning until its grand opening was both a top-down and back-and-forth process (Figure 1).

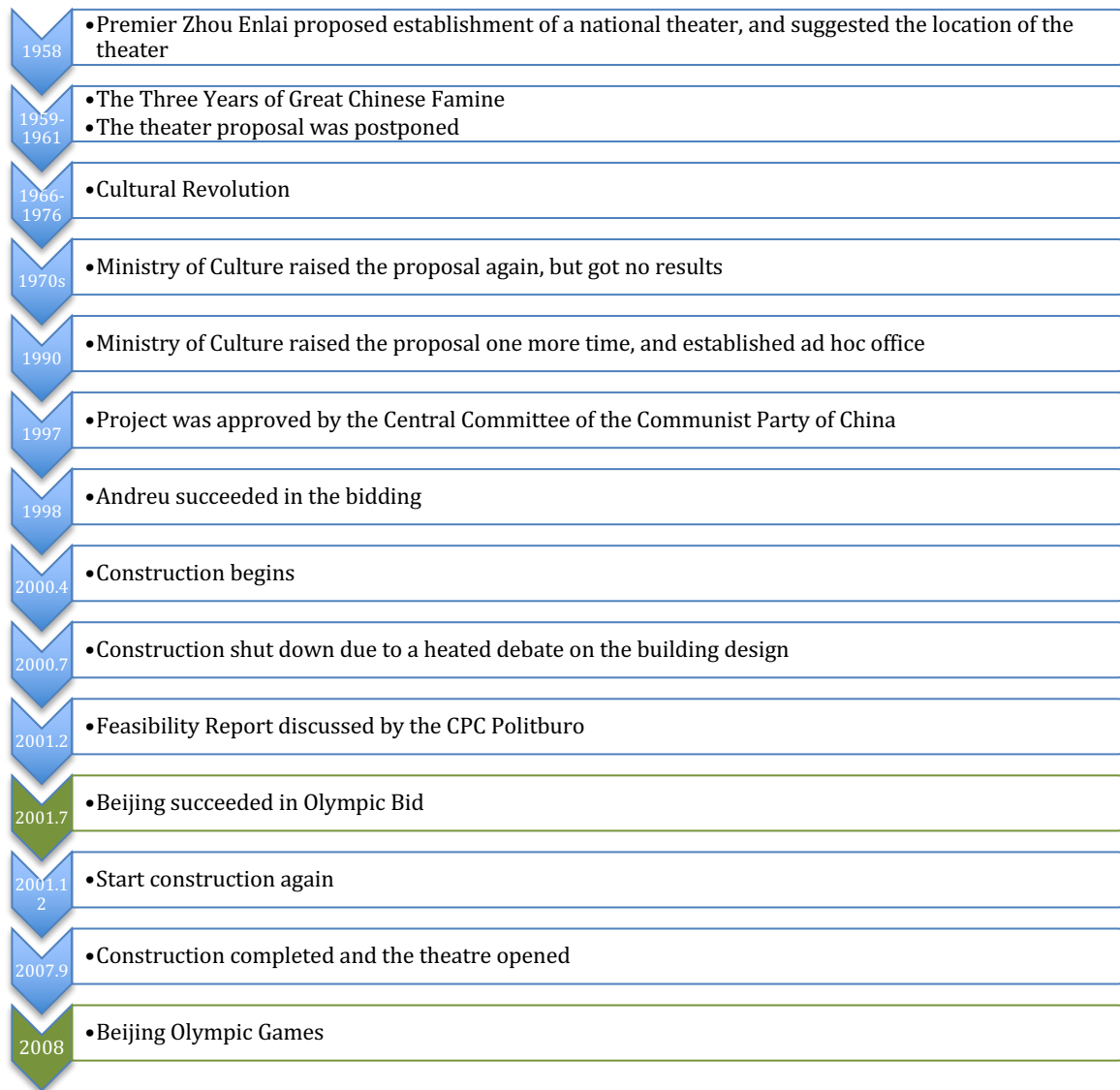


Figure 1. *National Centre for the Performing Arts Timeline*

Following the success of the 2008 Olympics bid, the policy window was open, and construction began and was completed before the Beijing Olympic Games. The three streams came together, allowing us to visualize the policy process of establishing a national theatre and subsequently to use key MS concepts to analyze the debate after 2000.

The Three Streams: Problem, Policy and Politics. Prior to the opening of NCPA in 2007, Beijing had some theatres and concert halls, such as Great Hall of the People--where high-level performances took place--but they were not of a stature to be known as the “cultural center of China,” and the facilities were not sufficient to present world-class performances that showcased Chinese culture, enhanced soft power, and improved performing arts domestically.

The policy stream, which we define as the proposal to establish a national theatre, appeared several times before 2000 (indicated in Figure 2 as a dotted line), but did not influence the policy agenda until the successful Olympic bid in 2001. The politics stream, defined as a policymaker or politician’s attention towards an issue, existed for a long time but it was not as relevant as other political issues, such as “class struggle.” In Figure 2, the political stream is shown by a dashed line, indicating the less important position of the proposal on the policy agenda. A solid line illustrates the central government’s active decision on this project.

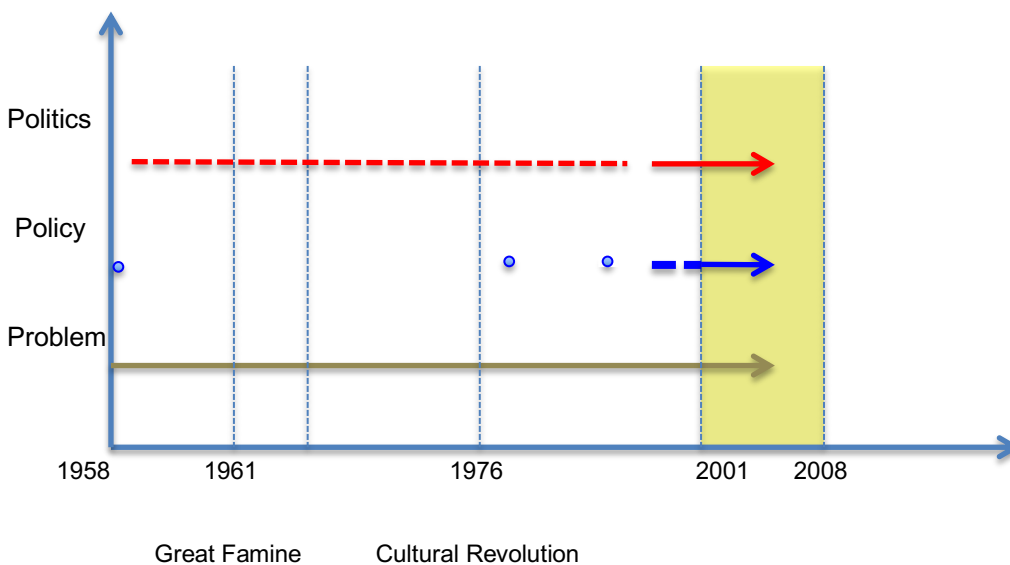


Figure 2. *Processing towards NCPA and its Three Streams*

The successful 2008 Olympic bid provided the policy window, which would last only through the Games, so the final decision was made to seize the opportunity to join the three streams.

Focusing on the design debate: Do policy entrepreneurs work? In July 1999, French architect Paul Andreu’s design was selected (Zhong, 2000) from among 70 international design submissions. Surrounded by a man-made lake, his imposing, gargantuan domed glass structure with its reflective exterior was meant to be a defining structure -- an architectural magnet in the heart of the enormous city of Beijing. In 2000, soon after it began, construction was suspended amid opposition from Chinese scientists and engineers.

When a policy window opens, hesitation may prove to be unwise, as the window will close. Wan Li, the former head of the Ministry of National Urban Construction, said, “We want to grasp the chance of the Olympics to establish the national theater, which is a long-term wish” (Shan, 2004). Paul Andreu’s design was reinstated. In this case, the academics served as policy entrepreneurs and used their own resources to influence policy communities, giving information and suggestions to policymakers and influencing the government to suspend the construction. However, when the policy window opened with externally imposed deadlines, these suggestions and influences were not critical factors for final decisions and policies in light of the opportunities for China to shine in the global spotlight.

Budget Constraints: The Management Problem of NCPA. Historically, the National Centre for the Performing Arts (NCPA) promoted an image of Chinese culture to its citizens. This role is consistent with our broader understanding of arts management, especially as seen in the literature, where the field is interchangeably referred to as “cultural management” (Brkić, 2009; Dewey, 2004). This is particularly the case when art is used to build social cohesion (Evrard and Colbert, 2000). Given the establishment of the National Centre with a tourism focus, there is a policy opening for a more innovative range of performing art offerings as the NCPA competes more globally to attract tourism (Teece, 2010; Evrard and Colbert, 2000).

Multiple Streams sees the budget as a special component of the problem stream. Often, the budgeting process inhibits action, preventing proposals from reaching policy agendas because the idea would put a strain on previous financial commitments (Kingdon, 1984). When the proposal to build a national theatre emerged, the economy was not robust enough for implementation. In some ways, the budget problem is subjective. The question is not “can we afford the cost” but rather, “is the project worth the cost?” Regarding the NCPA and other expensive arts flagship venues in China, the cost-benefit discussion is raised before and after the construction since, as a developing country, other issues such as income disparity are always on the policy agenda. In this case, a window was needed to spur the establishment of a national theatre and the Olympic bidding was just that window.

The Today Art Museum: China’s First “Private” Museum

An increased interest in contemporary Chinese art coincided with the Chinese government’s 1978 Economic Reform, but contemporary artists, such as Ai Weiwei, are considered unofficial artists outside of the Chinese Artists Association. These are individuals who attack the regime’s status quo and push the boundaries of propriety with their art, which has been called, “heterogeneous, chaotic, anarchic and often provocative” (Elzen, 2008, p. 5). The Chinese government often appears threatened by these individual artists, many of whom have a worldwide following (Salmenkari, 2004). Therefore, state-owned art museums could not freely showcase contemporary art without risking losing political power and financial support. The lack of official places to exhibit contemporary art created a gap between demand and supply.

In Kingdon’s theory, there is a difference between a condition and a problem. The latter is something with high social or political value that merits consideration and that could lead to policy change (Kingdon, 1984); but if the value is low, then it is only a condition. The government’s ambiguous attitudes towards contemporary art were based on the assumption that contemporary art was meaningless for socialist culture because it, “distorted Chinese international image,” was “instigated by the Western ideology,” and “aimed to subvert socialism” (Lü, 2014, p. 93). Because

the government viewed the mismatch as a condition, contemporary artists had to find an outlet, which was the so-called “private art museum,” a nonprofit and non-governmental entity.

Conservative politics, fractures between urban and rural society’s access to contemporary art, and ideological frameworks all were challenges to contemporary art’s development (Lü, 2014). Nevertheless, the art market prospered as a result of economic openness, and Chinese artists gained international fame in the early 2000s (Elzen, 2008; Keane, 2013). Private art museums, born as a solution, tried to find their identity and function as a part of the creative economy. Without official support from the government that saw a condition, not a problem, the only patrons of these museums were private companies, which meant no guaranteed funding.

Policy stream: Policy entrepreneur and Today Art Museum. Today Art Museum opened in 2002 as the project of Zhang Baoquan, the owner of a real estate company called the Antaeus Group, with a complex of more than 2,000 luxury apartments adjacent to the museum. Beijing’s Municipal Civil Affairs Bureau had no criterion for this kind of entity (Wang, 2009). After some investigation, the bureau issued the museum a license, wherein it is named as a “private art museum” separate from the Antaeus Group (Ma, 2010). Although no commercial purpose is mentioned in organizational materials, the museum’s function in the promotion of the neighborhood can be seen as a factor in its development. Most of the private art museums in China are backed by real estate companies (Lü, 2014), which are financially sound enough to sponsor an arts organization. Having an art museum near their developments could promote the reputation both of the neighborhood and the company. As of 2015, approximately 140 private art museums exist in China (Anon., 2015), each facing financial challenges due to lack of government funding, as well as the need to secure artists, calling into question their future sustainability (Xu, 2016).

Political stream: Private entities on the public radar. For a long time, the Chinese government held the view that an important aspect of art is its role as a servant of political regimes and social movements, rather than as a tool for individual self-expression (Salmenkari, 2004). This role for the arts resulted in a lack of official support for contemporary art and private art museums. As of early 2016, there was no state-level regulation released by the Chinese Ministry of Culture, nor official statistics specifically focusing on private museums. The Vice-Director of the Arts Department of the Ministry of Culture estimates that private art museums currently make up nearly one-third of all art museums in China (China Culture Daily, 2013).

Waiting for the window. Government consideration of the private art museum has begun to be evidenced, but a true opening for change through a policy window is still on its way. The Ministry of Culture acknowledged private art museums as part of the cultural landscape in a 2014 report (Lü, 2014). Without policy consideration and the financial benefit of government support, these museums explore a cultural ecology that takes advantage of the growth of the Chinese market economy. In Multiple Streams, a pre-policy situation such as that of private art museums in China is a kind of policy primeval soup (Kingdon, 1984), or a solution waiting for a policy window.

Policy or Economics? Is the Today Art Museum, China’s first private contemporary art museum, an example of “nonprofit boosterism?” One of the key considerations for the survival of an organization, especially one that is dependent upon governmental and public support, is its ability to maintain a resource stream (Froelich, 1999; Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978). The management of dependencies becomes a crucial competency when balancing a drive for innovation and continued support; this strategic responsibility falls upon the booster for the organization (Froelich, 1999; Kushner & Poole, 1996). One nonprofit management strategy is to secure trust through

relationship building and sometimes being purposefully vague on the immediate outputs (West, 1987). This strategy allows for nonprofit entities to cater both to the public and governmental interests, while allowing wiggle room to push the boundaries regarding arts offerings.

The lack of policy considerations in the case of Today Art Museum and Chinese contemporary art is due to the fact that the window for policy change is not yet open. Policy entrepreneurs need a pet solution or a set of pet solutions to advocate within epistemic policy communities. In interviews with the directors of private art museums, in speeches during the Private Art Museums Forum, and in news and academic articles about the issue the most frequently-mentioned problem facing these museums is the lack of the kind of tax-exempt policy found in the Western system (Gong, 2013; Gu & Wang, 2012; Hu et al, 2017; Zhang & Gao, 2012). As ideas float about in the “policy primeval soup,” the suggestion of tax-exempt policy does not meet the survival criteria – technical feasibility and value feasibility – both of which help ideas to be considered as serious, viable proposals.

The argument against technical feasibility says that tax-exemption is not a policy limited to the arts; rather, it is a huge systematic project that needs cooperation and coordination from many different central governmental departments including the State Council, Ministry of Culture, Ministry of Finance, and National Administration of Taxation. In addition, the charity system in China is not the same as in the West, as it relates to what is known as the “government-involving-corporate-sector,” which would make tax reform more complicated (Li et al, 2015; Tan & Tang, 2014).

An additional concept overlay from MS is that of value feasibility (Kingdon, 1984). This points to the way that strategies and options for policy change must be aligned with goals and agenda items that are high priorities for the value landscape of policy specialists. In China, supporting contemporary art is not a policy concern, but a value one. In the political stream, one question that might be asked is whether these 140 private art museums represent an organized political force. At the First Private Art Museums Development Forum, the participants formed the Private Art Museum Association. However, the Association has not had a visible role subsequently.

798 Arts District: Public-Private Cooperation

Beijing’s northeast Dashanzi District was famous for its 718 Joint Factory, established in the 1960’s with East Germany’s help. After 10 years of operation, 718 divided into six factories, including 798. Semiconductors eventually replaced electron tubes, resulting in vacant factory facilities. In 2000, these factories were incorporated into the Seven-Star Huadian Science and Technology Group (Seven Star Group), which sought to populate the derelict, massive structures with tenants (Yin et al., 2015). American publisher Robert Bernell moved into 798 in 2002. Subsequently, buildings were rented to other artists and 798 began as an informal art zone. The former electronic component factory’s Bauhaus-influenced interiors were massive, and skylights provided natural light, fostering ideal conditions for art exhibits.

On the edge of demolition. After Seven Star Group’s establishment, the city supported plans for 718 District as a technology hub (Currier, 2008), refusing to rent to artists, anyone related to arts and culture, or foreigners, preferring the economic advantages a technology hub would bring. The Group argued that there was no role for the creative community in this decision-making process, since they were not the owners of these properties (Yin et al., 2015). In 2003, artists in 798 gained public attention by launching the “Reconstructing 798 Movement,” an arts festival

calling for the conservation of the complex. The standoff between the different visions for this area provide the focusing event for this case, illustrating how problems capture the attention of policymakers and the public and pave the way for subsequent advocacy. Artists used exhibitions and arts festivals to reinforce 798's identity as an art zone and to gain a place on the policy agenda as well as a more powerful position when negotiating with Seven Star.

Policy entrepreneurs and agendas. In 2003, Li Xiangqun, a professor from Tsinghua University who had his own studio in 798, submitted a proposal to the National People's Congress that had the twin goals of creating an arts district while recognizing the importance of heritage buildings in city planning (Zheng, 2008, p. 48). Professor Li acted as a policy entrepreneur, trying to place 798 onto the policymakers' agenda. Using robust relationships both with government officials and private sector actors to leverage the possibility of success on the project (Kingdon, 1984), Li called for a halt to the destruction of this area, claiming that the district has architectural relevance as a historic site (Yin et al., 2015).

Professor Li's and the artists' actions illustrate the process of influencing policy communities and the polis by leveraging worldwide acceptance of the creative city concept and value (Kingdon, 1984). Two kinds of targets of agenda influence appear in this case. First, the activism and arts festival received a great deal of attention aimed at educating the public about 798 as an art hub, which in turn prepared art advocates for policy action. Second, Professor Li educated the policy community through his personal relationships with officials. Without his advocacy, a proposal to protect the 798 Art Zone likely would have failed, due to little understanding or support.

Since the early 2000s, China's interest in the creative industries has escalated as it focuses on upgrading worldwide demand from inexpensive goods to higher-cost products and services (O'Connor and Gu, 2006; Keane, 2013). This opportunity is a "policy window" for the creative industries, wherein creative clusters are viewed as valuable for the development of the economy. In 2005, the government identified 798 as a modern architectural heritage site, and in 2006 officially designated the area as "The 798 Art Zone," listing it as one of the first "cultural creative industries clusters." Together with the Seven Star Group, the State established a "798 Arts District Construction and Management Office." In 2011, the government created the "Beijing Administrative Committee of 798 Arts District," thus insuring the pre-eminence of the government as a key actor in this public-private enterprise (Zielke and Waibel, 2014). The 798 Arts District now receives millions of visitors annually. Both the city government and the Seven Star Group agree that the site serves as a stellar example of cultural policy and economic development (Currier, 2008).

Illustrative examples of 798 Arts District arts entrepreneurs are artist Hang Rui and gallery owner Yang Yang. Huang Rui is a well-known artist who was among the first to introduce contemporary art into Chinese society at the end of 1970s. In 2002, he went to the 798 Area for the first time with fellow artist Ai Weiwei. Several artists were working there, lured by the Bauhaus-style factory building and low rent, but 798 was far from an arts district as it faced demolition and replacement by a high-tech cluster. Huang recognized the value of this opportunity to foster an art district, believing in its future. Together with other artists, he drafted petitions and launched arts festivals in order to secure social attention and thereby change the fate of 798. Huang had the "alertness" of an arts entrepreneur (Essig, 2015), seizing the opportunity to transform the 798 Factory into an arts district though leveraging art world connections, the media, and social

capital. Although Rui left the district in 2007, he still claims that of all of his art projects, the 798 is his best work (Huang, 2008; Wu, 2010).

Yang Yang, the owner of Gallery Yang, studied computer science and after graduating in 2003, this would-be programmer worked for a contemporary art gallery in Bangkok. After three years as an administrator, she developed a keen interest in art and built a network among artists. Subsequent to moving back to Beijing in 2006, Yang pursued a degree from the Central Academy of Fine Arts. She started Gallery Yang in 2010, moving it to the 798 Arts District two years later. Yang, born in the 1980s, promoted primarily the younger generation of Chinese artists. Her husband also operated an art gallery, providing her with professional advice and assistance in networking. As Woronkowicz and Noonan (2017) posit, being married can be among the positive predictors in the choice to be an entrepreneur. For arts entrepreneurs such as Yang, labor market experience increases the propensity of being self-employed (Woronkowicz and Noonan, 2017), which gives them the startup knowledge resources and confidence to succeed (Contemporary Art Magazine, 2011).

Discussion: Arts Entrepreneurship and Cultural Policy Innovation

The three cases presented here provide a way to understand the conditions and evolution of each cultural entity through policy analysis, and to examine how they exemplify the tenets of the field of arts entrepreneurship as it stands today. While the lens of Multiple Streams is useful in looking at the creation of these cultural anchors, we employ arts entrepreneurship to look at the current snapshot in Beijing. Figures 3, 4, and 5 following illustrate the blending of these two perspectives, examining the actors, conditions, and outcomes related to each entity profiled.

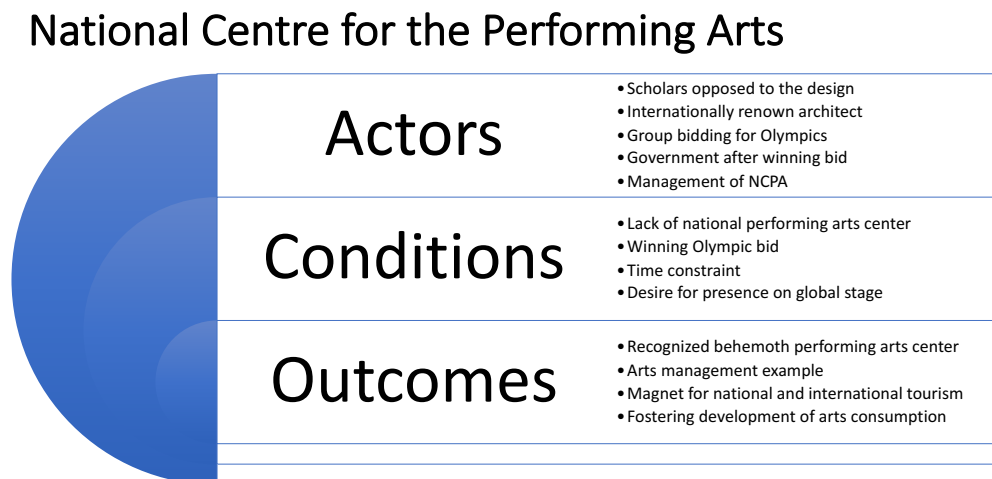


Figure 3. *NCPA - Actors, Conditions, and Outcomes*

Today Art Museum

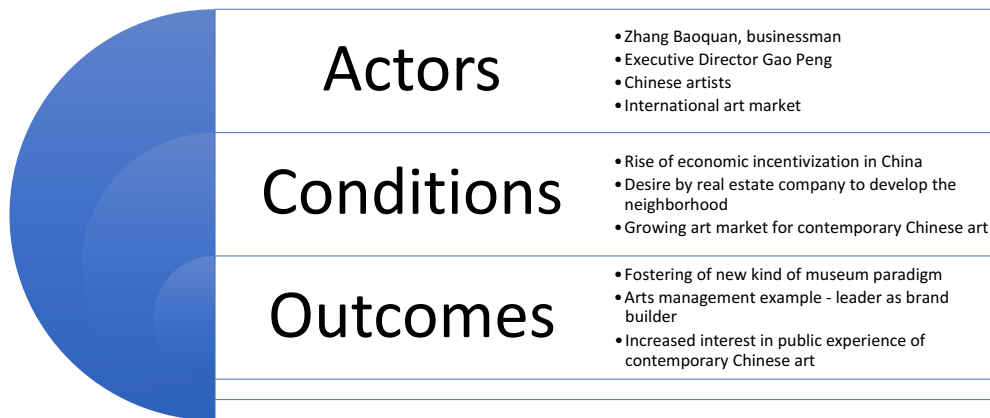


Figure 4. *Today Art Museum - Actors, Conditions, and Outcomes*

798 Arts District

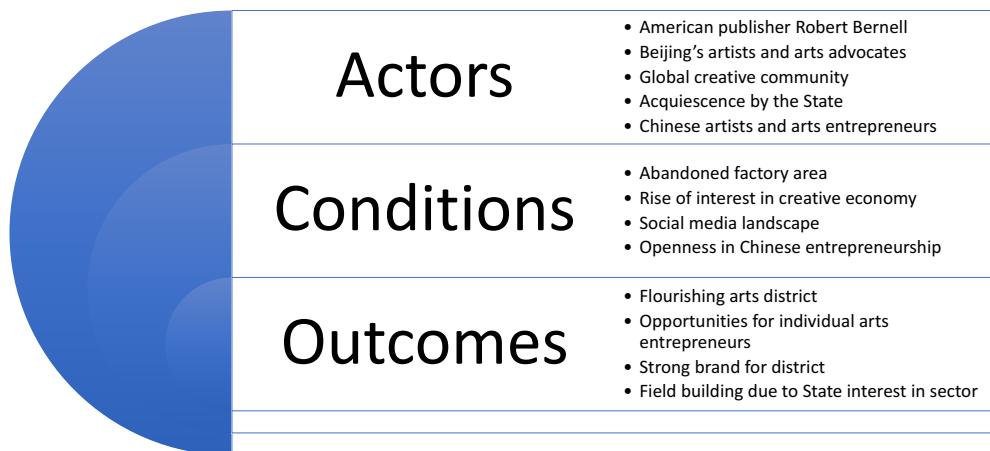


Figure 5. *798 Arts District - Actors, Conditions, and Outcomes*

Arts entrepreneurship in China

China today is eager to utilize tools for creative city-building, and among these is the growing field of arts entrepreneurship. The 798 Arts District fosters economic development through arts entrepreneurship, as well as incentivizing the individual arts entrepreneur. Chinese government interest exemplifies a characteristic of field building, specifically in the developing arts

entrepreneurship field. Evidenced primarily in the 798 Arts District, this is an instance of government interest in developing a creative place -- especially one with individual arts entrepreneurs -- in order to foster its agenda of promoting the creative economy, as outlined in the 12th Five-Year plan (He, 2014).

The National Centre for the Performing Arts illustrates the managerial aspect of arts entrepreneurship, and is more aligned with the context of arts management within the creative sector, giving us an understanding of the way that China values creative outputs in a public context. We view the National Theatre as opening the door to excellence in arts management, as it has become a symbol of China's dedication to the arts and its cultural power. While it is important not to conflate arts management with the arts entrepreneurship mindset, NCPA is an example of the component of this field that looks at management as an aspect of entrepreneurship in the arts.

The Today Art Museum exemplifies the way the door has been opened for the world to see a nonprofit leader who has brought interest and attention to the explosive growth of the global market for contemporary Chinese artwork. The Today Art Museum points to the role that a visible, global arts administrator with a highly entrepreneurial mindset can play in championing a burgeoning fine arts scene. However, it is the 798 Arts District that has paved the way for a locally-based kind of arts entrepreneurship often found in creative clusters, urban centers, and arts districts. The 798 serves specifically as an example of the conflation of arts and economic development and the manifestation of individually-focused arts entrepreneurship theory (Table 1).

Five Aspects of Arts Entrepreneurship	NCPA	798 Arts District	Today Art Museum
Arts Entrepreneur	Government acting in an innovative way	Li Xiangqun; individual artists and business owners	Zhang Baoquan
Opportunity	Lack of a national cultural center	Emergence of creative sector in China	Lack of contemporary art museum in China
Managerial structure	Creation and management of a national theatre	Creation and management of an art district	Creation and management of a museum
Purpose	Artistic and social	Artistic, social and economic	Artistic and social
Content and programming	Performing Arts	Arts, creative businesses, and artists gathering	Contemporary art

Table 1: *Five Aspects of arts entrepreneurship applied to Beijing's three cultural anchors*

Arts management writ large: The behemoth NCPA. Since its inception, the National Centre for the Performing Arts has grown to become one of the best-managed arts organizations in China (Chen, 2017), making it an example of effective management structure within the arts

entrepreneurship lexicon. From its opening date in 2008 until 2015, the NCPA held nearly 6,700 events, with an overall attendance of more than 600,000 people (Cai, 2015). This kind of robust attendance, the result of deliberate marketing efforts, belies the stereotype of inefficiency at the helm of state-owned arts and cultural institutions in China. Another facet of innovation in arts management is the way that the NCPA takes advantage of new media, offering a mobile application for classical music that has been downloaded nearly 700,000 times (Chen, 2015, Jan. 22).

One of the hallmarks of the NCPA's dedication to vitality, innovation, and concern for the long-term sustainability of demand is its arts education program. This is a signal that the organization's leadership cares about the development of future audiences, which is emblematic of the arts management aspect of arts entrepreneurship. Management's concern about keeping the cost of tickets affordable while maintaining high artistic quality also points to a dedication to public good, or the concept of social value creation in arts entrepreneurship theory (Essig, 2015). The administration of the NCPA even lowered the price of admission twice. When it opened in 2009, the average price was 480 RMB, the admission price was lowered to 316 RMB in 2013, and it dropped to 271 RMB in 2014 (Chen, 2015).

Global entrepreneur in the Arts: Today Art Museum director Peng. Gao Peng, the executive director of Today Art Museum, took over the museum when he was just 31 years old. Capped with the moniker, "the youngest director of a museum in the world" (Hao & Zhang, 2015), he had an excellent educational background in art, a media-worthy appearance and personality, and rich arts management experience, which together gained him significant media attention. Consequently, an arts management star was born.

Peng fits the profile of an arts entrepreneur in the management category -- his innovations include programs such as holding exhibitions with content that connects to entertainment stars, combining artistic design and fashion, building partnerships with foreign embassies, and introducing performing arts to the museum to attract a general audience. Peng's open-minded work to expand the boundaries of art in order to increase audience attendance, build the museum's brand, and draw local and global attention both to the museum and to Chinese contemporary art make Today Art Museum China's most visited modern art museum.

The 798 Arts District: Challenges of economic success. Although Beijing's 798 Arts District began spontaneously as the dream and vision of an arts community outside of the governmental gaze, it has experienced many of the same problems that have been found in other arts districts throughout the world. Subsequent to its success, there has been a process of the "pricing out" of the creative sector, a challenge common in revitalizing and/or gentrifying areas (Goldberg-Miller, 2017). The 798 has a number of more established cultural entities, such as Pace Beijing, the Ullens Center for Contemporary Art, and the Asia Art Center, as well as art studios and stores that sell creative and cultural products. Recently, a plethora of cafés, restaurants, bars, hotels and even fashion retail outlets are emerging in the district. By 2015, the data showed that there were four million Chinese and one million international visitors to the arts district's nearly 250 arts organizations, shops, and businesses that year. In a recent interview, Wang Yanling, Chair of the Board of Directors of the arts district's governing entity, 798 Creative Industry Investment Ltd., admitted that some galleries were leaving, noting, "that is a result of the development of the market and of time" (Zhang and Wang, 2016).

The Multiple Streams Framework in Beijing

The processes of adoption – or non-adoption -- of policy in China differ significantly from Western policy processes. We look at the core concepts of MS in terms of the three arts entities, adapting the framework into a tool for the analysis of arts policy in China, as summarized in Table 2.

	798 Arts District	NCPA	Today Art Museum
Problem Stream	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Possible demolition of the arts area • Artists had already been in the district 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Vacancy of a national cultural center 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Contemporary artists wanted institutional places to exhibit • Lack of public support for private art museums
Policy Entrepreneur	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Li Xiangqun • Artists and academics 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Government • Performing arts center proponents 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Zhang Baoquan, businessman with art background, founder of Today Art Museum
Policy Stream	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Official certification designating 798 as an arts district 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Proposals for building a national theatre 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Little funding • No regulation
Political Stream	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Industrial upgrades 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Shift of political focus to creation of a flagship cultural institution 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ideology • Politically, no preference towards contemporary art
Policy Window	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Emergence of creative sector as a target cluster 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Olympic Games • China would be on the world stage 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • International interest in Chinese contemporary art

Table 2. *Multiple Streams in the Chinese Context: Three Cultural Entities in Beijing*

Policy Entrepreneur. One of the purposes of MS is to evaluate the roles of policy actors, as well as policy entrepreneurs, within the context of the development of policy (Kingdon, 1984). In China, the fragmented authoritarianism framework mitigates the rules of the policymaking process. Policy entrepreneurs in this context can be defined as those outside of the core of the authoritarian-like government structure. This includes the media, NGOs, and minimally powerful government workers (Mertha, 2009). In our three entities, the policy entrepreneurs we discuss include Li Xiangqun in the 798 case, the proponents of the performing arts center in the NCPA case, and Zhang Baoquan in the Today Art Museum case. Most of these actors operate outside of the government, especially in the instances of the Today Art Museum and the 798 Arts District.

Policy Stream. In MS, the policy stream refers to policy proposals under consideration. In the Chinese cases explored here, the trajectories are not transparent and it often is hard to clarify who

is in the policy community. Given these challenges, we focus on analyzing policy *outcomes* in the Chinese creative city context.

Political Stream. Because China does not have election results, changes of administration, or changes of partisan distributions, in this investigation we explore the bargaining processes between different interest groups. The ideology of the Chinese political system and the directions of the central government are essential factors in the political stream. Due to the Internet, policy actors throughout the world now have much more interaction than ever. Overseas forces can play a role in China's political stream, as the 798 Arts District case illustrates.

Policy Window. Policy windows, by definition, are open only briefly, and are a chance for change to occur. The case of NCPA has a clear window, but the other two do not. The current local, national, and global attention to China's emerging creative industry may prove to be the "window" for China's development opportunity for China as it attempts to gain economic power.

Policy Change. The Multiple Streams Framework is a theory about policy change, but in our cases we extend this theory to policy creation. Prior to the 798 Arts District, there was no creative cluster in Beijing; the NCPA is the first and most prominent national cultural center in China; and Today Art Museum is also the first officially approved private art museum in China. The Chinese government is facing a rapidly changing world and is creating new policies to deal with the growth of the creative sector and other burgeoning issues.

Conclusion

We use the lens of arts entrepreneurship to examine each of these entities as they have evolved and are positioned currently in the context of creative commerce as understood in China, specifically exploring the organizational aspect as well as looking at the individuals involved. Additionally, stakeholder groups, budget constraints, and policy windows are key Multiple Streams concepts we examine in the context of the cases. Policy concepts here are utilized to unpack the creation of these three cultural entities in Beijing, and arts entrepreneurship helps to explain the manifestation and the economic reality of emergent arts entrepreneurship constructs as applied to the Chinese context. While our policy analysis focuses on open policy windows, the arts entrepreneurship lens provides us with the chance to look at how a variety of actors are opening the doors to economic opportunity and creative freedom.

Theories and constructs offer frameworks for researchers, but they are not stiff; rather, they are changeable and applicable within diverse research contexts. These cases have three different perspectives. The construction of NCPA is a top-down process conducted by the government, showing strong political value. The 798 Arts District has a semi-governmental management style, as it incorporates the government, is a state-owned company and is influenced by artists; its development process is more motivated by economic value. The Today Art Museum, similar to other Chinese private art museums, is founded and supported by the burgeoning private sector. While some private art museums have positive effects on creative commodities in the private sector, these museums are fighting for artistic value in the Chinese contemporary art scene.

Our investigation points to ways that arts entrepreneurship is alive and flourishing in Beijing. The examples discussed here echo those found worldwide in the context of the arts entrepreneurship field, especially with regards to benchmarking excellence in innovative and strategic arts management practices, bricolage, and opportunity spotting. However, it is the occupants of the 798 Arts District, rather than the district itself, that exemplify the kind of

individual artist or business owner that fit the arts entrepreneurship definition posited by Essig (2015).

The entities explored here exemplify three types of arts entities (governmental, semi-governmental, and private) and values (political, economic, and artistic). They have different funding systems, organizational structures, and development trajectories. However, no matter what led them to their current positions, they now are facing a similar future. If we say that China is like a dragon flying into an open world at the fastest possible speed, culture plays an important role for this dragon, along with economic development, technological growth, and social advancement. All three of the cultural anchors profiled here are facing the world with its global economic practices and multi-modal audience. Whether looking at the NCPA, 798 Art District, or Today Art Museum, each strives to diversify its income, develop educational programs to cultivate more art enthusiasts, and attract more residents and tourists -- goals similar to those of their Western cultural counterparts. Additionally, the entities work to improve Chinese society's cultural opportunities and experiences.

These efforts are made through the arts, and the organizations described here have varying degrees of intention regarding their purposes and missions. As an arts district, 798 provides a focal point for residents and tourists and is an example of creative cluster. NCPA's diversified performances and educational programs mean that, while it enjoys significant government support, its role may not be viewed as a tool for propaganda. The Today Art Museum, created and sustained by market-force actors, serves as an anchor institution in its neighborhood and has emerged as the leader of a new kind of art museum in China. Each of these seeks to influence the policymaking process in order to gain more freedom (deregulation) and support (tax-exemption policy) from the government.

Innovation, strategic thinking, and adaptation to changing circumstances -- all of which are endemic to the definition and scope of arts entrepreneurship -- are found in these three entities, albeit to varying degrees and with diverse manifestations. Multiple Streams offers a powerful tool with which to understand the nuances of the three cases; however, one can only go so far using this framework. As a developing field, arts entrepreneurship has the flexibility and plasticity to be a relevant lens under disparate conditions. As evidenced here, these include dissimilar economic, social and political landscapes, affording the study of the applicability of an emerging discipline to a variety of circumstances. The ability of arts entrepreneurship to be understood across cultures can make the precepts of the field essential tools in the development of strategic planning for success in the arts worldwide, in both the for-profit and nonprofit contexts.

Although the three entities under study were formed under very different circumstances, we find that they have grown to become similar in many ways, thus exemplifying a process known as institutional isomorphism (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983). This is evidenced in their common global perspectives, attention to branding and the demand side of offerings, and the diversification of their revenue strategies. Each has shifted its priorities to take advantage of new opportunities to deepen and expand the market, provide an understanding of the contemporary Chinese art world, and educate tourists and residents. While the three organizations profiled have different origins, financial structures, and market orientations, all are responding to the wealth of opportunity afforded by the global attention China now enjoys.

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