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Higher Education, Citizens Engagement and Economic Development Work at the Grassroots: A Case Study of Dayton, Southwest Ohio

Olatokunbo A. Awoshakin

Antioch University - PhD Program in Leadership and Change

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HIGHER EDUCATION, CITIZENS ENGAGEMENT, AND ECONOMIC

DEVELOPMENTS WORK AT THE GRASSROOTS:

A CASE STUDY OF DAYTON, SOUTHWEST OHIO

OLATOKUNBO A. AWOSHAKIN

A DISSERTATION

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HIGHER EDUCATION, CITIZENS ENGAGEMENT, AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT WORK AT THE GRASSROOTS: A CASE STUDY OF DAYTON, SOUTHWEST OHIO

prepared by

Olatokunbo A. Awoshakin

is approved in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Leadership and Change.

Approved by:

_____

Al Guskin, Ph.D., Chair   date

_____

Philomena Essed, Ph.D., Committee Member   date

_____

Alice Diebel, Ph.D., Committee Member   date

_____

Jack L. Dustin, Ph.D., External Reader   date

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Dedication

This is dedicated to our lovely and talented children, Alafia and Ayodele.

Peace and Joy!

Abstract

This qualitative case study focused on the efforts of the Southwestern Ohio Council for Higher Education (SOCHE) to work with citizens and use existing community assets along with Dr. Richard Florida's 4T model to spur economic growth in the area of Dayton, Ohio. This study provides a unique opportunity to closely examine how innovative approaches and nontraditional alliances might fare in the face of a declining economic growth with a view toward creating an environment that can support sustainable economic development. Multiple interview data, archival documents, and participatory observation were utilized during the study. Analysis of transcripts from structured interviews with a sample of the Community Catalysts, drawn from citizens of the region, and members of the Creative Task Force, drawn from participating institutions, were conducted. The study found that economic development planning models that integrate interaction, dialogue, deliberation, and even heated arguments and debates, if properly facilitated, can more effectively help participants move toward shared goals. Sustainable economic change can be achieved by fundamentally changing the working relationship in the community through purposeful citizens-stakeholder engagement. Findings reinforce the value of grassroots learning and SOCHE's process of working with nontraditional stakeholders in the Dayton area to generate a momentum that multiplied through social and organizational networks and connections. While the 4T model in the Dayton initiative had benefits, the inability of the SOCHE effort to fully engage participation on the broader issue of race and poverty may have limited the transformational potential of the process. In this research, I propose an adaptation of the 4D-cycle, an appreciative inquiry model to illustrate how multiple stakeholders can talk and work together toward shared economic goals. Recommendations include encouraging higher education and other institutions to work on economic development that is more intentional in

seeking non-traditional alliances that help communities move beyond politics as usual and solve

problems by aggregating interests. It is further recommended that leading institutions integrate

evaluation parameters in community economic development work. The electronic version of this

Dissertation is at the Ohio Link ETD Center at http://ohiolink.edu/etd.

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Chapter I: Introduction

> Our most serious political problems are those in which the very definition of
> the problem is unclear and the nature of the treatment undefined. Government
> and experts cannot fix these problems. (Heifetz, 1994, p. 24)

Today's global economy is in crisis and citizens in nations, regions, and local

communities are struggling with how to deal with transitioning economies. For example, the

number one issue in the 2012 presidential election in America was how to grow the nation's

economy, which was shaken by the after effects of recession that included a decline of the

financial industry, the collapse of the mortgage industry, and the flight of manufacturing jobs.

In the United Kingdom, Greece, Spain, and other European countries, citizens are taking

to the streets in response to a loss of jobs and the erosion of economic stability as they used to

know it, becoming more vocal as the pains of inflation bite harder. Japan, which was until the

late 1980s the fastest growing economy in the Organization for Economic Co-operation and

Development (OECD) countries, has become the slowest nation in terms of economic growth,

with a meager average growth rate of just 1.1 % from1992 to 2002. This weak economic and job

growth is a lasting consequence of the bursting of Japan's real estate and stock bubble of the

early 1990s (Eaton & Kortum, 1997).

Global economic crisis has also increased poverty for developing countries in Africa and

Latin America, as low commodity prices, depressed external demand, and declining remittances

slowed down the acceleration of economic growth and development. Even the oil-rich Arab

countries are not spared from the adverse effects of the global economic crisis. For example, a

2009 report by the International Labor Organization (ILO) reported that the unemployment rate

in the Middle East and North Africa increased by 25% and 13%, respectively, in the period from

2007 to 2009.

This rise in poverty as a result of soaring food prices at a time when GDP per capita was supposedly rising in conflict-stricken Arab countries has been linked by the authors of the United Nations Arab Human Development Report to the negative impacts of conflict and political instability on economic outcomes. This situation led to increasing levels of discontent, indignation, and mass protests like those in the events of the Arab spring in Egypt and Libya.

Meanwhile, with the global economic crisis and reduced budgets, institutions of higher education are struggling to increase enrollment and meet the growing need to retrain workers. *Access and Funding in Public Higher Education*, a report by the Education Policy Center (Katsinas, D'Amico, & Friedel, 2011) at the University of Alabama, clearly makes the point that insufficient money for work-force training threatens America's economic competitiveness, thus placing substantial pressure on higher education to demonstrate greater relevance to, and better value for, citizens and society.

Florida (2006) has argued that while many universities have bought into the approach of making the research university more relevant to business and the economy, with the mindset that the university's most important contributions are the transfer of research to industry, the production of commercial inventions and patents, and the creation and spinoff of start-up companies, this viewpoint actually fails to include the university's more far-reaching contributions to the emerging "creative economy." Florida (2006) suggested in a "Regions and Universities Together Can Foster a Creative Economy," an article in the *Chronicle of Higher Education,* that the evolving role of the university is shaped by deep changes in the nature of global economy and society.

Accordingly, Florida's (2006) position is that the relationship between the university and the regional economy should be thought of in terms of a simple transmitter-receiver system, with

the university transmitting a signal that the regional economy must be able to absorb. However, in the words of Wesley M. Cohen, a professor of economics and management at Duke University, and Daniel A. Levinthal, a professor of corporate management at the University of Pennsylvania, "Increasing the volume of the signal will not necessarily result in effective absorption or transmission if the region's receivers are turned off or not working properly" (as cited in Florida, 2006, p. 2).

These two viewpoints are in agreement, however, with respect to the relevance of the research university to the economy of the region in which it is located, which provides a useful context for this dissertation evaluating the attempts of the Southwestern Ohio Council for Higher Education (SOCHE), a higher education consortium in southwest Ohio, , to revive the region's economic prosperity by using Florida's creative theories, existing strengths, and open source planning with citizens and the community.

This study focuses on the Dayton region, but provides a unique opportunity to closely study how innovative approaches and non-traditional alliances might actually fare in the face of a declining economic growth. Guided by this purpose, fresh insight into the implications of citizen-institutional engagements will be provided through a case study of the experiment of SOCHE and Dr. Florida in Ohio.

As human creativity continues to replace natural resources and physical capital as the predominant driver of global economic growth, this case study will provide an opportunity to situate Dr. Florida's theories on economic growth within a real-life, higher education and community economic development process, thus providing a unique opportunity to study the implementation and implications of those theories in the Dayton region and elsewhere.

Background

In an article published in *Forbes* magazine in August 2008, "American's Fastest Dying Cities," Joshua Zumbrum listed 10 cities, all formerly part of the manufacturing backbone of the United States, as the worst hit by the global economic recession. These 10 metropolitan statistical areas, as defined by the U.S. Census Bureau, face fleeing populations, painful waves of unemployment, and barely growing economies. "Despite a decade of national prosperity, these former manufacturing backbones of the United States are in rougher shape than ever, still searching for some way to replace long-stilled smokestacks" (Zumbrum, 2008, p. A1). In a grim, final stroke the article predicts that these cities face even bleaker futures.

Dayton Region in Dissertation Context

Dayton, an urban community in southwestern Ohio, is one of the 10 cities listed in the Forbes article. Dayton, Ohio, is the 6th largest city in the Ohio. The 2010 U.S Census Bureau reports the population of Dayton as 141,527. With a total of 841,502 residents, the Dayton metropolitan area ranks as the 4th largest metropolitan area in Ohio and the 61st largest in the United States. The 2010 U.S. Census Bureau reports the racial makeup of Dayton as follows: 51.7% White, 42.9% Black, 0.3% Native American, 0.9% Asian, 0.1% Pacific Islander, 1.3% other races, and 2.9% two or more races, with the population of Hispanic or Latinos at 3.0% (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010).

Dayton has had a long history of racial segregation. For example, Ohio historian, Joseph Watras (2010), records that Dayton, Ohio, fits Orfield's description of an older, formerly industrial metropolis where segregation persisted despite many efforts to implement change. In 1988, Douglas Massey had found the housing patterns in Dayton and its suburbs to be the third most racially segregated among the fifty largest metropolitan areas in the United States (Massey

& Eggers, 1990). In comparison, to other parts of United States, Watras (2010) observed that the persistent practice of segregation in schools in Dayton was strengthened by discriminatory housing practices.

The economic base in Dayton has historically been focused on manufacturing. A study commissioned by the Dayton Region Manufacturers Association (2012) reported that manufacturing drives $5.6 billion in annual payroll, nearly 20 % of the total payroll in a 14-county region surrounding Dayton. A survey of 2,750 companies employing more than 112,000 people found that combined, those companies post $36.6 billion in annual sales.

Although the Dayton metro area has proportionately more manufacturing workers than comparable regions in the Midwest the economic downturn of the early 1990s had a devastating effect on manufacturing in the region. Whereas the United States has been in a recession or depressed economy since December 2007, the Dayton region's economic stress began much earlier. According to a 2011 report titled *Technology Generators in the Dayton region, Leveraging Regional Assets for Economic Recovery* (Fraizer & Docker, 2011), in the decade between 2001 and 2011, the Dayton region lost jobs every year, with an overall reduction of more than 60,000 of the more than 430,000 jobs in the Dayton Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA).

The report published by Wright State University and the Dayton Development Coalition stated that the industry most damaged by the economic recession was the manufacturing industry, which lost nearly 35,000 jobs in the period from 2001-2011, representing a 46 % reduction in the Dayton region's manufacturing workforce. As the region's driver industry, the manufacturing losses devastated the rest of the Dayton economy.

Nevertheless the Dayton region continues to be a hub for significant research and development in fields like industrial manufacturing and aeronautical engineering that have led to many technological innovations. This existence of industries that generate technology in the area—from advanced manufacturing that generates technology and improves productivity to the research and development (R&D) industry that continuously seeks solutions to scientific and engineering challenges—is one of the region's greatest assets. Much of this technology innovation is due to Wright-Patterson Air Force Base (WPAFB) and the existence of more than 35 institutions of higher learning in the area. In fact, Dayton's share of total employment in the educational and health services industry is recorded to be greater than the nation's average (Dunne & Fee, 2007).

Higher education in the Dayton region is another major asset for the region. Many of the local colleges and universities are nationally acclaimed. For example, Cedarville University, the University of Dayton, and Wright State University were listed by The *Princeton Review* as among the Best Midwestern Colleges. The University of Dayton and Wright State University were listed in *The Best 301 Business Schools*, published by *Random House* and *The Princeton Review.*

Table 1.1
College Enrollment in the Dayton Region (Source: U.S. Department of Education, 2009)

Enrollment	Location	Institution
21,994	Dayton, OH	Sinclair Community College
18,447	Dayton, OH	Wright State University
17,472	Oxford, OH	Miami University-Middletown
11,199	Dayton, OH	University of Dayton
4,798	Springfield, OH	Clark State Community College
3,559	Piqua, OH	Edison State Community College
3,205	Cedarville, OH	Cedarville University
2,288	Wilberforce, OH	Central State University
2,272	Middletown, OH	Miami University-Middletown
1,909	Springfield, OH	Wittenberg University
1,542	Centerville, OH	Fortis College
1,435	Wilmington, OH	Wilmington College
1,359	Urbana, OH	Urbana University
1,301	Dayton Region	Miami-Jacobs Career Colleges
917	Kettering, OH	Kettering College of Medical Arts
812	WPAFB, OH	Air Force Institute of Technology
757	Dayton, OH	Kaplan College
689	Wilberforce, OH	Wilberforce University
645	Yellow Springs, OH	Antioch University McGregor
534	Dayton, OH	ITT Technical Institute-Dayton
413	Dayton, OH	Southwestern College
371	Kettering, OH	National College-Dayton
360	Dayton, OH	United Theological Seminary
142	Wilberforce, OH	Payne Theological Seminary
116	Kettering, OH	School of Advertising Art Inc.
98	Dayton, OH	International College of Broadcasting

To be sure, a preliminary report released by the Ohio Board of Regents in October 2012 shows that enrollment has dropped 5.9 percent since 2011. There was a decline of more than 31,000 students at the state's 61 public universities and colleges. Table 1.1 above shows a breakdown of Total Enrollment in Colleges and Universities for fall 2009 in the Dayton region.

The Case Study

Shortly after Zumbrum's (2008) article was published local public office holders; business leaders, and institutional leaders began to seek more information to uphold or deny Zumbrum' s portrayal of the shrinking economy as evident in a fleeing population, waves of unemployment, declining college enrollment, and an increase in vacant office spaces in the downtown area.

Around this same time, Florida (2006) had already captured the attention of urban planners across the country with his "creative class" theory, which gave a name to what he described as a rising segment of the world's workforce, a segment that includes: scientists, engineers, artists, teachers, and architects, as well as all of those who create for a living.

Florida's (2006) argument that business success was increasingly being determined by the output of the creative class and that the success of cities hinges on where members of this group choose to live attracted not just the local press, but also public office holders, business leaders, and institutional leaders concerned with the bleak economic future predicted in Zumbrum's (2008) article.

Meanwhile, a study conducted by CEOs for Cities—a national alliance of civic leaders— also listed educational levels as the single biggest driver of economic growth (Weissbourd & Berry, 2008). After examining census data collected for several cities over the 1990s, this study and findings by other scholars showed that regions with greater numbers of college graduates at the start of the decade gained college graduates faster— i.e., having more college educated people helps attract or retain college graduates at a higher rate (Weissbourd & Berry, 2008).

In January 2007, SOCHE convened a Creative Class Task Force representing a wide array of organizations in the Dayton region. The Task Force included the following

organizations: Caresource, Channel 2, City of Dayton, Culture Works, Dayton Development Coalition, Downtown Dayton Partnership, Dayton Power and Light, Five Rivers Metro Parks, Full Circle Development, Initial Point, Kids Voting, Lexis- Nexis, Miami Valley Research Park Foundation, Montgomery County Economic Development, National Conference for Community and Justice, Sinclair Community College, University of Dayton, Victoria Theatre Association, WYSO public radio station, The Westcott House, Wright State University, and the YMCA.

The SOCHE Creative Class Task Force's charge was to build momentum leading up to the visit by Richard Florida on March 1, 2007 (part of the Wright State University Presidential Lecture Series in partnership with SOCHE) and make a recommendation that would perpetuate a discussion beyond the visit, consequently resulting in actions for attracting, retaining, and expanding a creative class in the region.

The SOCHE and the Dayton Case

Formed in 1967 by ten presidents of institutions in the Dayton/Miami Valley area who met to discuss collaborative efforts in education and research, the Southwestern Ohio Council for Higher Education (SOCHE) is a regional consortium of 20 colleges and universities in southwest Ohio. Originally incorporated in November 1967 as the Dayton-Miami Valley Consortium, SOCHE's founding institutions include:

- Air Force Institute of Technology
- Antioch University
- Central State University
- Sinclair Community College
- Urbana College
- University of Dayton
- Wilberforce University
- Wilmington College
- Wittenberg University

•   Wright State University

According to information available on the SOCHE website, the consortium acts as a

collaborative infrastructure for higher education, helping colleges and universities transform

their communities and economies through the education, employment, and engagement of

students in southwest Ohio. The overarching goal of the Dayton-Miami Valley Consortium was

to strengthen the scope, quality, and efficiency of learning through cooperative activities and

programs.

In 1984, the board of trustees officially changed the name from Dayton-Miami Valley

Consortium to the present name with the intention of inviting members to join the consortium

from areas wider than the Dayton region (SOCHE website). The other institutional members

who were invited to join SOCHE are:

- •   Cedarville University
- •   Central Michigan University-regional campus (located inside Wright Patterson Air Force Base)
- •   Clark State Community College
- •   Edison Community College
- •   Kettering College of Medical Arts
- •   The Kettering Foundation
- •   Miami University – Middletown
- •   Southern State Community College
- •   The Union Institute and University
- •   United Theological Seminary

The focus of this study of SOCHE's involvement in the economic development of the

greater Dayton area was informed by the Dayton community's response to Zumbrum's articles,

the consortium's role in organizing Dr. Florida's presentation at Wright State University, and the

consequential buzz in the Dayton region about Florida's paradigm that knowledge drives

economic growth. As a member of the Dayton community and a doctoral student, I was

captivated by the buzz about the idea of strengthening the Dayton region's relationship with

talent, universities, and community institutions

After the visit of Richard Florida, the SOCHE Creative Class Task force recommended

working with the Florida's Creative Class Group on a year-long process with the following

goals:

- Empowering the community
- Giving emerging leaders the tools to generate economic prosperity
- Building community vibrancy
- Improving quality of life in the region

Richard Florida and the Dayton Case

Richard Florida is an American urban theorist whose work focuses on social and

economic theory. Florida received a Ph.D. from Columbia University in 1986 and is best known

for his concept of the creative class and its implications for urban regeneration. Florida's ideas

on these subjects have been published in his best-selling books *The Rise of the Creative Class*

(2002c), *Cities and the Creative Class* (2004), and *The Flight of the Creative Class* (2005).

According to Florida's theory, metropolitan regions with high concentrations of technology

workers, artists, musicians, lesbians and gay men, and a group he describes as "high bohemians"

usually exhibit a higher level of economic development. Florida (2004) refers to these groups

collectively as the "creative class."

In early March 2008, exactly one year after Florida's March 1, 2007, presentation as part

of the Wright State University Presidential Lecture Series in partnership with SOCHE, Florida

returned to the Dayton region with three other associates from his Creative Class Consultancy

group to work with 32 catalysts selected by SOCHE to work for one-year on applying some of

Florida's theories in Dayton, Ohio. The energy of these people, the leadership of SOCHE, the

strength of the Dayton community, the involvement of leading area universities, and the culture

of innovation in the Dayton region, are all aspects of this doctoral study.

Talent Attraction, Retention, and the Dayton Region

During fundraising effort to bring the Richard Florida group back to work with the 32

catalysts, the SOCHE and the Creative Class Task Force, representing a wide array of

organizations in the Dayton region, argued that young talent was leaving the Dayton region. The

SOCHE and the task force asserted that this flight of talent was preventing the Dayton region

from reaching its economic potential. The SOCHE and the participating institutions in the task

force relied heavily on statistics from Florida's 2006 work "Regions and Universities Together

Can Foster a Creative Economy," published in the *Chronicle of Higher Education*. The Task

Force contended that enrollment in area colleges and universities was declining and new

graduates were leaving. To make this argument, the task force used data obtained from the U.S.

American Community Survey.
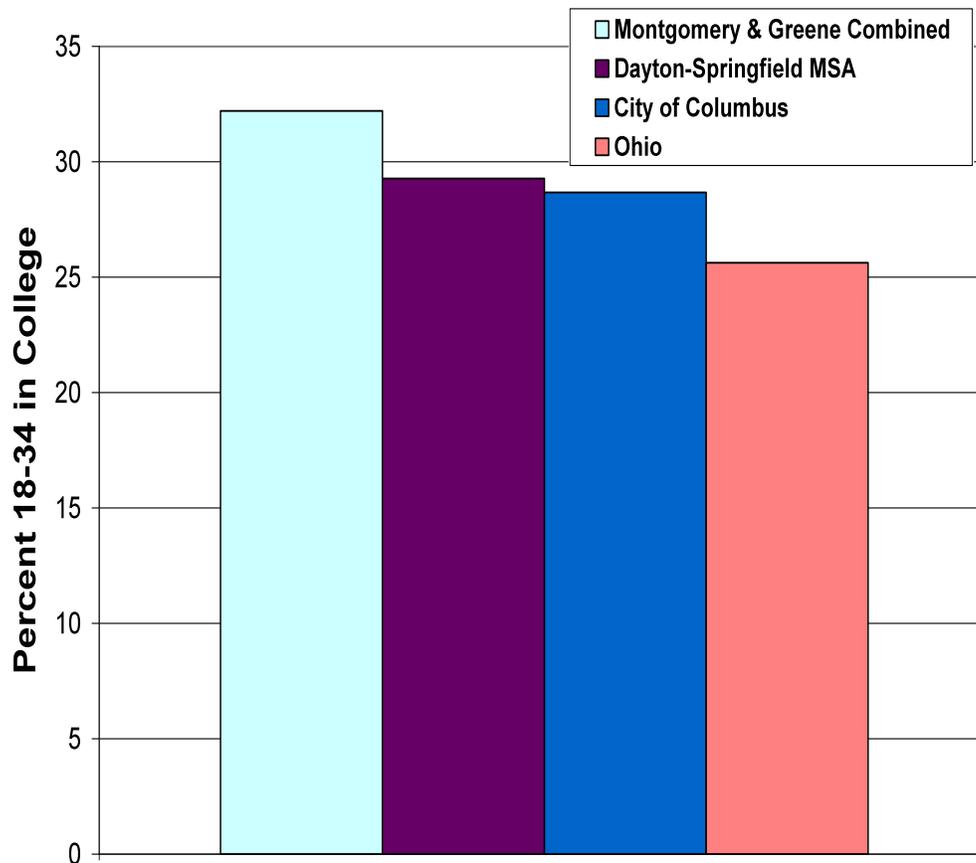
Figure 1.1. Percentage of 18 to 34 population attending college (Source: http://updayton.com/wp-content/uploads/2010/08/Updayton-Year-One-Report.pdf).

For example, Figure 1.1 above shows the percentage of the population ages 18-34 in the Dayton-Springfield Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA) attending college, a key statistic when evaluating the potential for future talent. Comparing the Dayton-Springfield MSA to Columbus (generally known as a college town) and the rest of Ohio, the Dayton or Miami Valley's potential for future talent was high. The results are even more encouraging when looking specifically at the combined population for Montgomery and Green County, which is usually considered the Dayton-Miami Valley.
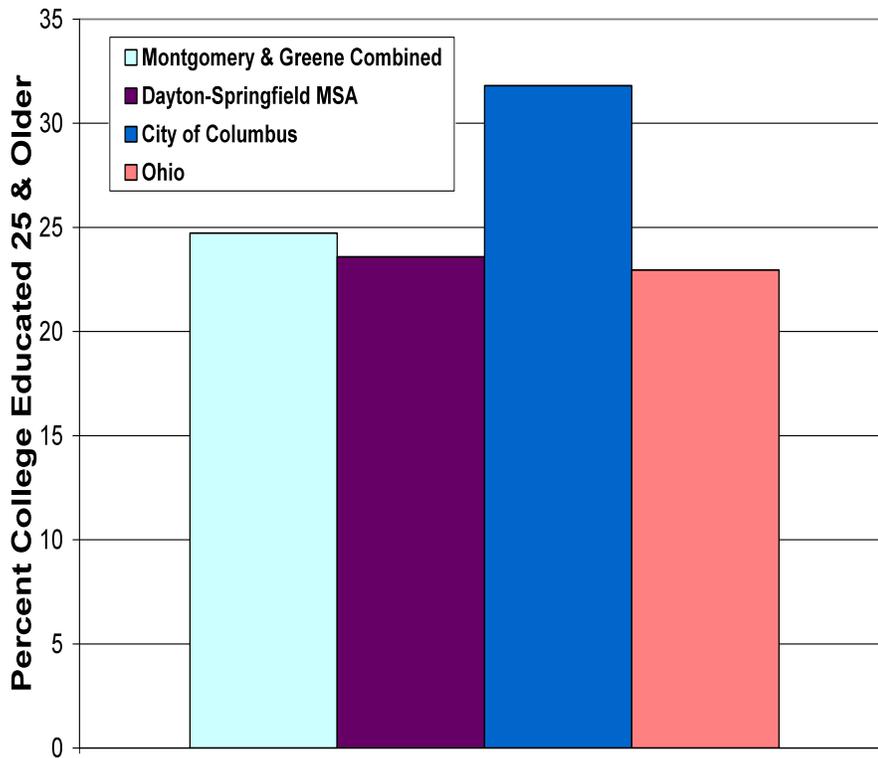
Figure 1.2. Population over age 25 with a bachelor's degree (Source: http://updayton.com/wp-content/uploads/2010/08/Updayton-Year-One-Report.pdf).

Figure 1.2 above shows the proportion of the population over the age of 25 with a bachelor's degree. The SOCHE and the Creative Task Force reasoned that if the Dayton region retained all of its college students, the percentage of people over 25 with a college degree would be the same as the percentage of people ages 18-34 attending college (excluding people who move to the region after going to school somewhere else). The SOCHE and the Creative Task Force then compared these two statistics with Florida's Brain Drain Index (BDI) to compare the ratio of the Dayton region's talent potential to the percentage of people 25 or older with a college degree.
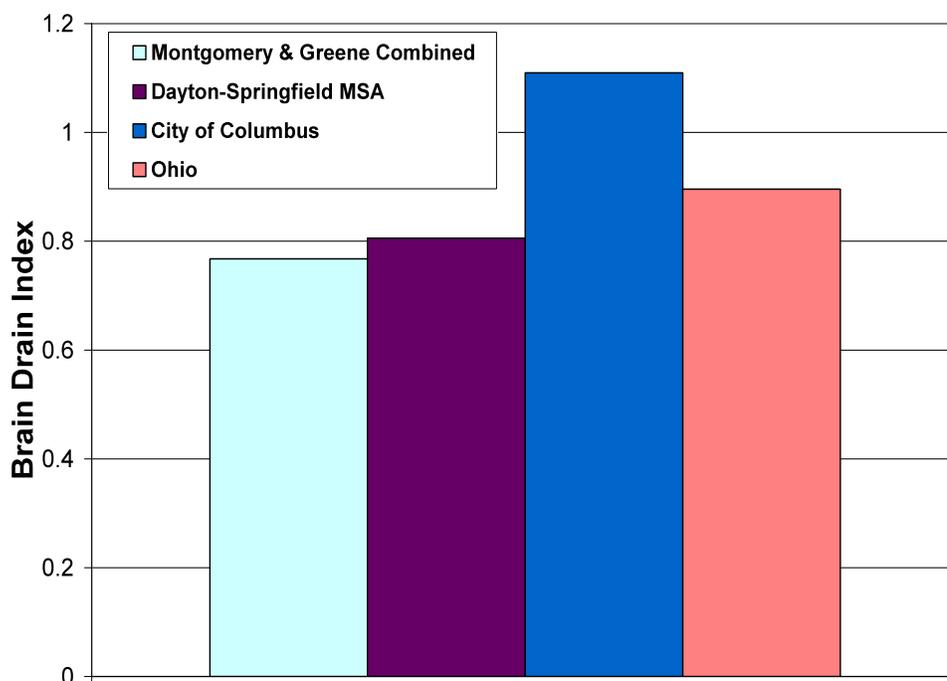
Figure 1.3. Brain Drain Index (Source: http://updayton.com/wp-content/uploads/2010/08/Updayton-Year-One-Report.pdf).

The BDIs for the Dayton-Springfield Metropolitan Statistical Area, which comprises the entire Dayton-Miami Valley Region, in comparison to other regions, are shown in Figure 1.3 above. On this metric the Dayton region lagged behind, revealing that too many of the people going to college in the Dayton-Springfield region were slipping away. According to the SOCHE and the Creative Task Force, by not capitalizing on its talent potential, the Dayton region was missing an opportunity for substantial economic growth.

Working with data collected by CEOs for Cities, a national alliance of civic leaders, SOCHE and the Creative Task Force argued that every 2% growth in a region's proportion of college graduates equates a 1% growth economically. Regions with higher percentages of college graduates gain college graduates faster—i.e., having more existing college-educated people helps attract or retain college graduates at a higher rate. The argument was that if the

Dayton region was able to decrease its BDI to 1.0 by retaining more of its college students and attracting new college graduates, local businesses would benefit from almost 35,000 more college graduates in the market. Data from CEOs for Cities suggests that with this increase in college-educated workers, the region's economy would see an increase in economic growth.

The SOCHE initiative was heavily influenced by Florida's research, which suggests regions can build their economies by targeting the creative class workers, consisting of workers in four key fields:

- Technology

- Arts and Culture

- Professional and Managerial

- Education and Training

According to Florida (2002c), these sectors are expected to grow 20% over the next decade, to include scientists, engineers, managers, innovators, and people in research and development, as well as artists, writers, and musicians. These workers were then expected to fill the role of educated and demanding consumers in the marketplace.

Higher Education-Community Intervention-SOCHE Model

With many institutions of higher education in the Dayton region, it seemed appropriate that the SOCHE should take the lead in implementing Florida's ideas locally. The SOCHE was formed to promote service and inter-institutional cooperation; to hold conferences for representatives of the teaching and research faculty and staff, library, and administrative staff; to serve as a clearinghouse for the exchange of information; to conduct cooperative programs in teaching, research, and enrichment of student life; and to foster lectures, concerts, and exhibits.

Once a plan of engagement was finalized with the Richard Florida group, SOCHE called for applications from ordinary citizens interested in participating in the initiative as "community

catalysts," described as "A dedicated community volunteer willing and able to commit one year to educate and engage and enable fellow citizens to build a more authentic, sustainable, and prosperous region through the Creative Region Initiative" (Creighton, 2008, p. 16). The call for community catalysts appeared in local newspapers and aired on radio and television. It was also posted at community centres. In February 2008, SOCHE selected 32 community catalysts from among 218 applications. This group came to be known as DaytonCREATE. The change goal of the group was defined as developing a community empowerment group that helps to connect people and ideas throughout the Dayton-Yellow Springs-Springfield region.

The 32 catalysts were charged with the task of using Florida's theories and existing community assets to bring the following overall value to the region:

(a) Economic development that focuses on talent, technology, tolerance, and quality of life;

(b) Economic analysis that provides new insights into our economic situation; and

(c) An opportunity to gain national exposure by partnering with a world-class economic thinker.

DaytonCREATE was the umbrella for the five initiatives and one communications team that emerged after the engagement with Florida and his group. DaytonCREATE was founded on the belief that thriving, economically prosperous regions are successful because they attract and retain the largest number of people and businesses involved in the "creative economy," technology, and innovation (Florida, 2002b).

The community catalysts were charged with the task of using Florida's 4-T economic strategies to create community change projects that would help improve the economic competitiveness of the Dayton region in the long run. Talent is the first in the family of Richard's

"4Ts" model. To attract this talent base, a successful region needs the remaining "4Ts"; namely, tolerance, technology, talent, and territorial Assets.

The SOCHE selection process attempted to select catalysts that represented the Dayton region's diversity, with "diversity" being related to ethnicity, age, gender, sexual orientation, and professional and educational background. For example, the 32 selected SOCHE catalysts included a city commissioner, journalists, business owners, an executive director of non-profits, college professors, public administrators, engineers, an attorney, a medical practitioner, artists, urban planners, and entrepreneurs. Figures 1.4 and 1.5 below depict the membership representation of the DaytonCREATE gender and racial distributions.
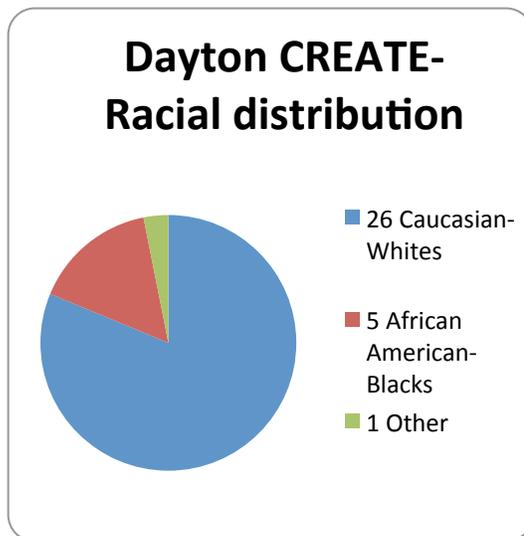
Figure 1.4. Racial distribution.
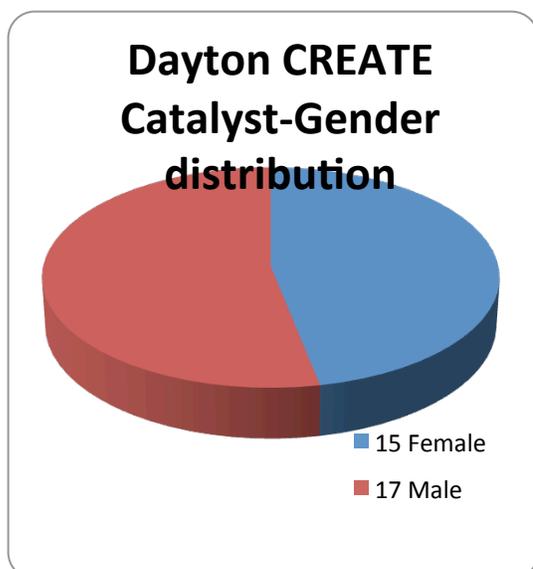
Figure 1.5. Catalyst-gender distribution.

The Five "Dayton Create" Initiatives

As mentioned above, the 32 community catalysts are collectively known as Dayton CREATE. In essence, Dayton CREATE was an umbrella for five different work groups/teams formed by the 32 community catalysts. I will now discuss each work group/team and their respective focus areas.

Creative Incubator. This group set out to improve the economic prosperity of the Dayton Region by focusing on developing an arts-based community. With a focus on tolerance and territorial assets, this workgroup relied on Florida's philosophy that street level culture is an important draw for the creative class. Florida argued that talented people flocked to cities like Portland, Oregon, because it offered an exciting, idealistic, bohemian street level culture.

The efforts of the Creative Incubator group from 2008-2010 were geared toward creating a downtown that is tolerant of artistic, diverse, youth culture while also reviving the popularity of enjoying authentic territorial assets (i.e., downtown buildings, public squares, old architecture, etc.) as a way to attract a smarter more sophisticated populace to the downtown area. The

Creative Incubator group argued that providing a location where talent and tolerance meets "cool" territorial assets will create a "scene" where creative workforce members hang out, converge, meld, and begin the cycle of creativity that is necessary for talent retention (Creighton, 2008, p. 11).

Film Dayton. Film Dayton was launched by the community catalysts to encourage the growth of the local filmmaking industry and the consumption of film production. With a focus on "Promoting Tolerance and Territorial Assets" Film Dayton has since become a 501(c)3 non-profit organization that produces the annual Film Dayton Festival around May of each year in downtown Dayton. Film Dayton also conducts monthly "Film Connections" meetings at which local filmmakers meet to discuss and share their work.

In addition to planning local film education programs and a film festival, this outgrowth of Dayton CREATE has worked with Centerville High School and Wright State University on a student filmmaker "boot camp" as well as with HBO on Dayton premieres of two documentaries on the network, *The Last Truck* and *They Killed Sister Dorothy*.

The Innovation Collaborative Initiative. This group was launched by the community catalysts with the idea of tapping into the area's regional assets of a rich concentration of artists, engineers, and skilled workers. With a focus on technology and innovation, this group wanted to integrate these talented community members into synergistic relationships to stimulate a stronger economy and promote job creation through innovative collaboration. To initiate this collaborative discussion, the group set out to issue an annual challenge to collaborative teams of artists, engineers, and skilled workers. The first challenge was tagged "Walk on Water." The Walk on Water effort was relatively unsuccessful (http://daytoncreate.org/).

Updayton. This group was set up by the community catalysts to spur economic growth within the region by attracting and retaining young talent. With a focus on talent retention and attraction, Updayton's work includes engaging college students connecting with and surveying recent graduates and empowering young "creatives" in the region via internship programs and generally harnessing the creative talent of people to make Dayton a better place to live, work, and visit. The Updayton work group stated the following goals:

- Connect young people and engage them in the region's decision making

- Restore community to Dayton communities

- Build pride and hope in the region

Updayton has become a 501(c)3 non-profit organization that hosts the annual Young Creatives Summit, which brings together the Miami Valley's diverse young talent, leaders from business, non-profits, and colleges and universities, as well as elected officials, to address the issue of the flight of young talent from the region. The group also organizes the annual "Election Forum," a pre-election event dedicated to accepting questions on behalf of local young talent and then connecting them with candidates and issues of importance to this population.

This is Dayton. This work group was launched by the community catalysts to focus efforts on rebuilding community pride. With a focus on "territorial assets," this group worked to highlight the area's many unique assets and diverse population through billboards, kiosks, bus signage, and window signage throughout the region. The idea that birthed this group was that by rebuilding community pride residents will become ambassadors promoting the area's strengths, thus making the region attractive to non-residents and employers looking for a place to locate or relocate.

Dayton CREATE as a Learning Opportunity

As described, each of the five Dayton CREATE initiatives was designed as a solution-oriented project with an overall goal of creating a region that provides the best place for people of all ages to live, work, and build a prosperous community. The SOCHE acted as the host organization, as the catalyst for the collaboration, as the leader of the task force, and as the central location for distribution of information, media relations, and fundraising. As I will report in Chapter IV, I observed that the three workgroups/teams, Film Dayton, Updayton, and Creative Incubator, seemed more proactive in seeking the participation of a large number of citizens and volunteers.

My observation was that the members of these groups used innovative approaches as practical and conceptual processes in the planning and implementation of their change projects. The team leaders and members of these three individual groups invited and involved diverse individuals and groups spanning across racial, age, sexual, and ethnic demographics. I noticed that as a result of the participatory and democratic processes employed by these three groups, their meetings and ideas attracted more individual volunteers in comparison to the other two groups. For example, I noticed that in the weeks after the emergence of Dayton CREATE, there were as many as 45 people signing-up for each of the three groups' follow-up meetings while the other two groups sometimes had less than 10 new sign-ups.

In view of this observation, I was immediately interested in learning more about the process these three groups were using to engage and mobilize large numbers of people to their meetings and events. I was intrigued by the deliberative nature of how these three groups made decisions about what project to focus on and how they would distribute tasks and responsibilities. It was an approach to decision making whereby the participants were are able to

consider relevant ideas and facts from multiple points of view and think critically about options before making decisions.

The inspirations for this doctoral work therefore came from (a) this scenario of ordinary citizens talking, making decisions and acting together to do things they believe would positively influence the economic competitiveness of their region and (b) the notion of a higher education institution providing the platform for the process as part of a community engagement effort. I was curious about the implications of civic dialogue and deliberation as a framework for achieving authentic partnerships, including the efficacy of the engagement strategy of SOCHE in partnership with the community toward affecting desired outcomes of economic development.

For example, in what ways, if at all, did the use of deliberative processes by three of the five SOCHE teams in their planning and, in particular, in their decision-making processes impact their projects in comparison to the other two? Therefore, while this dissertation research is an elaborate case study of SOCHE's role in community development, I will also be looking in some depth at the apparent deliberate process of community engagement and decision making used by three groups as well as the use of Richard Florida's 4T model of regional growth and prosperity.

These all tie back to my purpose of studying how innovative approaches and non-traditional alliances might actually fare in the face of community apathy and declining economic growth brought about by the global economic crisis and transitions. I believe this study will provide opportunities to examine rival interpretations of these issues and the implementation of Florida's creative class ideas in Dayton, as well as probe the degree to which the findings may have implications elsewhere.

Placement of the Researcher

Higher education engaging in community issues has become increasingly widespread. I am writing this dissertation at a critical moment in which the White House under President Barack Obama has started an initiative on higher education and civic engagement. It is a period in which scholars in and outside of universities are not only watching how state governments and higher education will respond to the White House's call but also keenly watching how many financial resources will be directed toward the initiatives on higher education and civic engagement. It is the moment when higher education institutions, especially universities, as part of their leadership role in communities across the country, are re-learning how to practice community engagement on their own, with each other, and with their community partners (Shaffer & Wright, 2010).

This dissertation intersects with a variety of disciplines, including higher education, organizational leadership, urban planning, and community organizing for the economic, social, and cultural development of regional communities, all of which directly and indirectly intersect with my work as a scholar-practitioner over the last ten years.   In the last five years, both my professional and academic life has been based on exploring the causes of critical community and organizational issues. I love problem solving and continue to be attracted to problems that require different types of leaders, processes, and participants.

In my work with community leaders and institutions, I have been learning how to identify the key stakeholders on all sides of an issue, assess interests, and leverage networks of influence. In my work with diverse leaders in the Dayton region, I have been curious about the trust-building process, especially among citizens and institutional stakeholders, including higher education institutions. I am learning new lessons about these areas, as well as understanding the

idea of momentum creation as a mechanism for managing team dynamics and spurring action among stakeholders with different points of view.

As a researcher-practitioner in this emerging and evolving arena, my work straddles and blends several fields of endeavor. My work serves the field of organizational politics and leadership, citizens' engagement, and economic development for towns, cities, and urban neighborhoods through economic development strategies and community building.

My professional exposures in the last seven years have also contributed to a keener focus on my dissertation subject areas. While working with the Charles F. Kettering Foundation, first as a fellow and later as an embedded researcher, I was introduced to public policy ideas, such as deliberation, issue framing, and active citizenship.

As a journalist-researcher who came to the United States from Nigeria, my learning curves have been many. I grew up and practiced journalism in a culture of military rule. It was a culture of arbitrary cancellation of a national election alleged to be free and fair. It was also a culture where certain institutions—the press and the universities—were the key defenders and incubators of both the political and economic well-being of the people and the nation.

My interaction with the Kettering Foundation turned out to be critical in the sense that it exposed me to the history of Western democracy as well as classic and contemporary theories and answers to the questions: How do we make democracy work as it should? The Kettering experience also evoked a careful appraisal of certain decision-making and problem-solving practices rooted in African cultures but not acknowledged as such because they have been given foreign names. For example, the act of bringing citizens, experts, and authority figures together to tackle issues and problems is at the very core of collective decision making in many African cultures, especially among the indigenous Yoruba and Benin people of West Africa. Organic in

nature, these same practices and norms seem to have been renamed by Western researchers and practitioners of dialogue and deliberation, as if these are original to them. In other instances, I acquired fresh twists on what I knew and what I thought I knew about the organic nature of talking together to solve problems and make strategic decisions.

I had the opportunity of working as a White House correspondent and covered multi-national events at the United Nations; however, covering and reporting meetings and events in Washington, D.C., and the United Nations was different from working on projects with diverse citizens, researchers, and grassroots leaders. Working at the Kettering Foundation gave me an opportunity to closely study how innovative approaches and non-traditional alliances might actually fare in the face of declining community and economic growth and global transition.

Meanwhile, the destiny of citizens continues to be determined by the three advanced industrialized economies, the United States, Western Europe, and Japan, and a few emerging markets in East Asia. The less developed nations in Africa and Latin America remain largely excluded from real economic growth in the global market, except as exporters of food and raw materials. Interestingly, income inequality, high levels of unemployment, and widespread exploitation are becoming alarmingly global.

Will higher education be able to leverage new advancement in technology and innovation to produce a workforce and citizen-leaders that are able to deal with shared political problems and respond to a highly interdependent, competitive global economy? My hypothesis is that urban cities in America as well as communities in Europe, Africa, Latin America, and Asia are struggling with various economic, political, and social problems that require a fresh way of thinking, the application of innovative approaches, and the involvement of multiple stakeholders.

Higher education can play a critical leadership role, one that aligns with and supports the roles of local and regional leaders.

Scope, Limitations, and Ethical Considerations

To fulfill the ethical requirement of studying the process of community engagement that was employed by SOCHE to create community change involving the deliberate processes of the project teams and the use of Richard Florida's "creative class" ideas in this project, I must acknowledge the potential for bias on my part as I was an active participant in Updayton, one of the five groups of community catalysts. I had the opportunity to know and work with several members of the case study population. The research sample for this study consists of multiple interviewees, including the leadership of the five SOCHE groups, and members of the Creative Task Force, including the leadership of SOCHE, city and county commissioners, officials with the Dayton Downtown Partnership, and the Dayton Human Relations Council. Some of these people I know, some I have worked with, and some I have become friends with. There is therefore a possibility that my relationship with some of these people may have introduced bias to some of the statements made to be during interviews. This possibility of bias is greatly reduced, however, when these statements are filtered through other validity checks included in my research method.

The Next Chapters

Chapter II: This chapter contains a comprehensive review of the literature, identifying the major streams of thought, or themes, used in this study and presenting a review of the literature currently available on those themes.

Chapter III: This chapter contains a description of the design of the study. Included in this chapter is the rationale for the qualitative research paradigm and methods. Also included are

explanations of the researcher's role, data sources, data collection methods, data analysis, the verification of data, and the results of the pilot study.

Chapter IV: This chapter contains a discussion of research findings .The presentation of the results is organized in relation to the three main research objectives: (1) investigating and describing the significance and the outcomes of SOCHE's work in the 2008 community-economic revitalization effort, known as Dayton CREATE; (2) describing the benefits, disadvantages, and trade-off of the use of Florida's 4T model as an engagement strategy; and (3) investigating the possible effects of dialogue and deliberation, as a decision making framework. This chapter also discusses the significance of research findings in the context of the relevant academic literature.

Chapter V: This chapter restates the primary research questions and considers how evidence from the study provided possible answers to each individual question. This is followed by the introduction of a scholarly proposal, "the 4D-cycle of engagement," a theory that is adapted from an appreciative inquiry model in the context of the Dayton area change efforts discussed in Chapter IV. This is followed by a discussion of how this case study might be applied to other change initiatives.   The chapter concludes with some additional recommendations that are further analyzed from a scholarly perspective that connects them to the multidisciplinary literature supporting the study.

Chapter II: A Scholarly Look at What Is Out There

This review of the literature focuses on higher education in large-scale community engagement and economic development efforts in light of theories of the creative class, urban development, organizational development, deliberative practices, and public policy. This chapter also includes a review of the theories of community change, citizen participation, and education and economic change. Given the multi-faceted and interdisciplinary nature of this particular dissertation, this chapter will cover the following four broad areas of scholarly literature:

1. Literature on higher education and community partnerships (i.e., what are community-campus partnerships for; how do they work; what are the outcomes; what are the challenges; and how are scholars rethinking these types of work?).

2. Literature on deliberation and citizen participation in decision making (i.e., what and how citizens participate; what are the outcomes as well as impact on individuals, institutions, and community; what are the challenges; how does race, power, and education impact participation?).

3. Literature on creative class Theory and community economic growth (i.e., what is the creative class economic model; how is it different from traditional models; what is the Florida's 4Tmodel and how is different from the human capital theory; and how does the creative class theory impact larger urban issues and system change?).

4. Literature of race, ethnic relations, and marginalization in the community development field (i.e., the social and institutional context of racism in America; how does the focus on diversity intersect with race, gender ,and class; how do racial hierarchies, residential segregation, and ethnic competition impact participation in community economic model mediated by a higher education institution?

Literature on Higher Education and Community Partnerships

According to the Merriam-Webster online dictionary, a consortium is a "combination or group (as of companies) formed to undertake an enterprise beyond the resources of any one member" (http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/consortium). Consortia have further been defined as associatiosn of institutions for the purpose of improved and expanded economic collaboration to achieve mutually beneficial goals (http://education.stateuniversity.com/pages/1881/Consortia-in-Higher-Education.html#ixzz2R4riC8oZ). Consortia exist in different industries and sectors.

The Association for Consortium Leadership (ACL) has identified 125 member consortia in the United States varying in size from 3 to 100 institutions engaged in a variety of collaborative projects. Higher education consortia were originally designed to foster inter-institutional cooperation among a group of colleges and universities for the purpose of enhancing services within a region or community.

These consortia involve institutions that prepare most of the professionals who develop, lead, manage, teach, work in, and influence other institutions in the community (Dotolo & Strandness, 1999). With recent advances in information and communication technologies, more national and international higher education consortia have formed, and colleges and universities have joined corporations and governments to take seek alternative resources for research and development purposes (Watson & Jordan, 1999).

Formal collaborations and partnerships between higher education institutions and community organizations increased substantially during the 1990s (Chronicle of Higher Education Editors, 2001-02). Higher learning institutions are expected to address society's needs, but often do not have the resources to respond to some of these needs. Ways in which higher education institutions can generate additional capital are limited, and efforts to free resources by

reducing administrative overhead and reallocating responsibilities have often produced Pyrrhic victories (Eckel, 2003). Nevertheless, it is important to note that according to reports in 2000, the 4,100 higher-education institutions in the United States are in and of themselves large economic engines with annual operational budgets totaling $200 billion (Chronicle of Higher Education Editors, 2001-02, p. 7).

According to a report by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, a growing number of higher education institutions in the United States made significant contributions to nearby neighborhoods by developing partnerships with local community-based agencies and organizations (Vidal et al., 2003). This work was accomplished through the HUD's Community Outreach Partnership Center (COPC) Program. The COPC program supported the adoption of both new approaches to teaching and research, and new roles in the community. COPC-funded activities involved entrepreneurial forms of engagement (in addition to more traditional teaching and research activities) more often than outreach activities. .

Studies by Harkavy (1999), Holland and Gelmon (1998), and Zlotkowski (1999) acknowledge that communities seeking to improve the quality of life of their residents potentially have a lot to gain from partnerships with institutions of higher education. A notable argument proffered is that colleges and universities in the community can provide expertise, volunteer resources, and certain other amenities that are not readily available from other institutions in the community.

Pros and cons of campus-community partnership. As more communities across the United States understand that global wealth today is concentrated less and less in factories and machine tools and as the economy continues to transform from an industrial to information base, the relevance of higher education institutions and their role in creating and updating a

knowledge-based economy has become more apparent. At the same time, evidence in the

literature suggests that higher education institutions have begun to see themselves as key

stakeholders in envisioning more feasible ways of revitalizing communities and entire regions.

There are a number of reasons why community and campus collaboration and

partnerships are becoming popular, but at the top of these are dwindling public resources. Others

include:

- Increasing social needs and the complexity of social problems such as rising demands

  from states that higher education institutions reach out to their local communities.

- Growing emphasis on multi-agency partnerships and collaborations as a condition for

  awarding grants. (Holland & Gelmon, 1998)

The literature on community-university partnerships tends to focus more attention on

certain types of community engagement such as service learning, experiential education,

internships, community-based research, faculty professional service and outreach, and student

volunteerism (Furco, 2002; Ward, 1998; Zlotkowski, 1999). For example, partnerships between

universities and community groups have been commonly enacted through pedagogic models like

community-based research or service learning.

> Community-based research or service learning is a
>
> credit-bearing, educational experience in which students participate in an organized
> service activity that meets identified community needs and reflects on the service activity
> in such a way as to gain further understanding of course content, a broader appreciation
> of the discipline and an enhanced sense of civic responsibility. (Bringle & Hatcher, 1995,
> p. 112)

This type of engagement with community frequently raises several questions about how people

engage with the institution? Whose agendas do university-community partnerships serve? How

are community participants selected? Who really benefits from these partnerships?

Challenges that community and higher education partners face are also well documented in the community-building literature (e.g., Batten & Leiderman, 1995; Delgado, 2002; Maguire & Leiderman, 1998). Ferman and Hill (2004) conclude that enactment of such partnerships in the form of community-based research (CBR) is a response to the growing animosities between universities and their neighborhoods, and also a way to address the imbalances of power between universities and the community partners.

Hawe (1994) identified three different concepts of community in community-based research: geographic, demographic, and social entity. First she contended that "the most common notion of community found in health promotion is the most simple…community as `lots and lots of people' or community as population" (p. 220). Hawe argued that such ideas of community interventions are propelled by the concern to reach as many people as possible and make the best use of scarce program resources. The second concept is "borne out of the first, [and] could be described as community as 'giant reinforcement schedule' or community as setting, with aspects of that setting being used as levers to support and maintain individual change" (Hawe, 1994, pp. 199-210).

In this approach, organizations, groups, and key individuals in the community are valued because of their capacity to translate the messages of the campaign into the local culture. The geographic concept is to see community as an ecosystem with the capacity to work toward solutions to its own community-identified problems, or community as social system. Hawe (1994) argued that such ideas of community interventions are propelled by the concern to reach as many people as possible and make the best use of scarce program resources.

Hatch et al. (1993), on the other hand, identified another concept that is important to community interventions, one that provides more of a psychological context. These scholars

relate communities to the sense of nationality; "a political community that is imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign" (p. 28). The Dayton region can fit into a similar context that can be described as imagined because members will never know most of their fellow-members; yet, in the mind of each community member, they all belong to one community. The region is imagined as a community because it is conceived as a deep, horizontal relationship among its members. Hatch et al. drew a line between the concept of community as a geographic/demographic cluster and community as a unit of social identity. With regard to the argument of Hawe, Hatch et al. contended that identity differs as a consequence of social, economic, and personal factors.

There is some evidence that community-based projects are comparatively cost effective because of lower levels of bureaucracy and better knowledge of local costs (Downie & Cottrell, 2001; Gostin, 2002; Green, 2004; Khanlou & Peter, 2005).There is evidence in the scholarly literature of the costs and benefits of participation. Cooke and Kothari (2001) have written extensively about cost and benefits of participation in community-based initiatives. In some cases it is regarded as a means to better define problems, whereas in others it is regarded as something that has inherent value and is thus an end in itself.

Some scholars contend that well-designed community-based projects have the potential to be more inclusive and to empower communities, especially marginalized groups (Alkire et al., 2004; Narayan, 1995).

While the approach of many higher education institutions involved in community engagement typically aims to build social capital, Harris (2002) and Fine (2001) have argued that this approach is often applied uncritically without enough understanding of the cultural and political context or of vested interests in the status quo.

Rethinking higher education-community partnerships. A review of literature on higher education-community partnership shows little attention to community voices and perspectives on the issues for which such partnerships are formed. Not much has been written about community/ campus partnership from a community perspective (Cruz & Giles, 2000). This dissertation's focus on SOCHE's involvement in the Dayton area presents an opportunity for situating theory in practice for a more in-depth understanding of the nature of citizen involvement and the emergent role of higher education consortia in large-scale community engagement and economic development. Importantly, this case study presents an opportunity to seek fresh insights into the impact, if any, of the involvement of ordinary citizens in the agenda-setting and problem-solving framework in a community under duress. The role of institutions of higher learning in the Dayton area to harness knowledge and creativity as sources of innovation and productivity growth is essentially linked to the ongoing economic shift from an older industrial to an emerging "creative" economy.

Literature on Deliberation-Citizen Participation in Decision Making

Deliberation is an important process in public life. It ideally occurs when individuals (workers, residents, students, decision-makers) with different perspectives gather to make decisions in their organization or community. Relevant to this study, two questions need to be asked: How does deliberative democracy and dialogue produce meaningful decisions at the grassroots level? What has been learned from these processes? The answers to these questions can be sought by first acknowledging that there are different perspectives and misinterpretations of what *deliberation* means.

Research by the Kettering Foundation found that public deliberation is crucial to combating the alienation of citizens who feel shut out of the political system, citizens who want a

stronger hand in shaping their future but do not see how they can make a difference. According

to David Mathews of the Kettering Foundation,

> Public deliberation is useful when there is a discrepancy between what is happening to people and what they think should be happening—yet there is no agreement on what should be happening. There is no such thing as an expert on what should be; that is a matter of judgment. To make sound judgments, people have to weigh possible actions against what they consider valuable. This careful weighing is at the core of deliberation. Recalling Thomas Jefferson, public deliberation informs our discretion. (Mathews, 2002, p. 1)

Mathews (2002) argued further that unlike purely rational decision making based on objective

data, people's subjective experiences and the intangibles they hold dear must be taken into

consideration. Facts are important, but determining what they mean is also important. Because

deliberation deals with what should be, it has been called moral reasoning (Mathews, 2002).

Maeve Cooke offered five relevant arguments in favor of this type of community-based

deliberation: its educative power, its community-generating power, the fairness of the procedure

of public deliberation, the epistemic quality of its outcomes, and the congruence of the

deliberative democratic ideal with who we are (Cooke, 2000). According to Rosenberg (2007),

deliberative democracy occurs when the following conditions are met:

- Suspension of action to create the political space for deliberation to take place. There

  must be assurance the decisions will not be taken and practical action will not be initiated

  until after deliberation has completed.

- Space for deliberation must be inclusive. This requirement is variously elaborated as the

  inclusion of all those parties potentially affected or all the relevant points of view.

- The deliberation must be public so that all those affected but not directly involved can be

  apprised of and can potentially respond to the substance of the deliberations.

- Results of deliberation must be binding on those involved, and participants must not be able to circumvent deliberation outcomes by recourse to alternative means of affecting policy.

- The deliberation must have some bearing on the formulation of public policy. This may involve playing an advisory role to elected officials or public administrators, or the deliberation body may be more directly involved in the formulation of law or policy.

(p. 9)

Barabas (2004), on the other hand, defined deliberation as a process "where participants soften strongly held views, encounter different perspectives, and learn readily" (p. 687). He characterized it as a process by which civic participants decide to alter their opinions and do so based on the quality and diversity of messages and the ability of participants to keep an open mind. Barabas further noted that the primary goals of deliberation are enlightenment and consensus.

Dutwin (2003) drew on the works of Bessette, Bohman, Gutmann, and Knight and Johnson, Thompson, Walton, Knight, and Johnson to define deliberation and its characteristics. He described deliberative processes as a method that allows for the justification of decisions and politics in a manner that is equal among citizens—a form of public discourse that employs practical reasoning. Yet he focused less on what it is but more on what it does in terms of promoting formalized disclosure using processes that allow citizens to define political goals and weigh available alternative choices or formulate goals (Dutwin, 2003).

Deliberative terms and community involvement. Some scholars prefer the term public participation to deliberation. For example, Wang (2001) provides a detailed explanation of this term strictly within the context of citizens interacting with local government and called it citizen involvement in making service delivery and management decisions. Hays (2007) used the term civic engagement to denote "participation in voluntary, community-based organizations and associations" (p. 401).

Pelletier, Kraak, McCullum, Usitalo, and Rich (1999) use the term deliberative democracy which captures the sense of the collective nature of the process as "founded on the premise that citizens can collectively and self-consciously reflect on goals and purposes, think critically, and make value judgments" (p. 104). It is interesting to note that Rosenberg's (2007) list of conditions for deliberation acknowledged the intersections between deliberative democracy, civic engagement, and political action. His conditions for successful deliberative practices also require the elements of inclusivity, equal participation, and a commitment to carrying out an established process of deliberation (p. 33).

In the Dayton case study, it is important to ask these questions because for many community partners, whether overtly addressed or not, parity, power and privilege play significant roles in partnership dynamics. For example, some scholars have argued that: "the more people fail to raise and openly discuss issues of power, racism, classism, oppression, and privilege, the more they must make assumptions, often incorrect, based on incomplete information about why their partners make various strategic decisions" (Leiderman, Furco, Zapf, & Goss, 2003, p. 27).

The extent to which such complex issues as empowerment can really be addressed through participation in community development projects has been questioned by Mosse (2001).

Other commentators (Joshi, 2002; Ribot, 1995) argue that community based initiatives simply amount to shifting the financial burden of service delivery to potential beneficiaries. Yet, the mobilization of community members to identify problems and plan and manage projects remains a strong factor in strengthening local capacity for collective action.

Research shows that increased citizen participation decreases the gap between citizens and government (Berman, 1997). Studies by Callahan (2002) and Ebdon (2002) suggest that by increasing citizen involvement, citizens will be better informed, and therefore they will be more capable of making decisions. Schachter (1997) argued that citizens see themselves as more than simply consumers of government and, as such, a decision-making process is legitimized when citizens are included (Callahan, 2002). Driving these theories are the following questions: Do these processes and experiences really happen for citizens and communities where higher education coalitions partner with communities? If so, how, why, and what are the challenges and the lessons to be learned?

Impacts of deliberative practices on community development. Deliberation and public participation have become relevant because of the perception of the importance of public gathering for the purpose of problem solving and defining a plan of action. Wang (2001) pointed to two types of participation; one is connected to public services, and the other is associated with government management functions stemming from policy making and decision making. Wang's research was limited to traditional forms of participation, such as public hearings and meetings of citizen boards and commissions. He focused on community and neighborhood groups convening at the request of the government. Although Wang measures the occurrence, purposes, and amount of public participation outreach efforts by city administrators and leaders, the research does not explore the types or designs used to guide decision-making processes.

Weeks (2000) used results from four public deliberative processes to distinguish "informed dialogue from simple public opinion" (p. 370). By designing a process that allows members of the public to solve problems in small groups, with sufficiently detailed and current information, deliberative processes produce outcomes that are highly valuable to policy and decision makers. Weeks (2000) argued that deliberative processes can be used to facilitate broad community consensus building and decision making for certain problems and issues and achieve valuable results for subjects of significant levels of political and policy legitimacy; however, he notes that in each of the four trials the media played a large role in "publicizing the dialogue, raising its visibility in the community, and encouraging participation" (p. 370).

Similarly, Abelson et al. (2003) and others have argued that effective involvement of citizens in deliberative decision making should be about purposeful discussion. For this to be meaningful, the process must produce a result in the form of recommendations consensus about a course of action, or an outlining of the next phase of deliberation by participants. A similar argument was made by Beierle and Konisky (2000), who stated that the overriding premise and general purpose of deliberation is to improve the quality of decisions and promote equal participation among participants. Other scholars have pointed to the ability to help resolve conflicts in decision-making processes as another benefit of deliberation and public engagement (Karpowitz, Chad, & Hammond, 2009). In his research on deliberation and policy opinion Barabas (2004) noted the work of theorist Dahl and the idea of enlightenment as an "essential connecting ingredient for deliberation and democracy" (p. 688).

Korfmacher (2001) used the democratic theory inherent in Kettering Foundation's perception of deliberation to advance, support, and rationalize the incorporating of public perspectives into government processes. He based his justification on the premise of value,

contribution, and buy-in, and local technical expertise. According to him, these things can inform and enrich the final outcomes of decisions crafted purely by subject matter experts.

While the idea of the small town hall meeting is not new in America—from the Boston town hall meetings process and as the basis for small government—the practice must have become eroded at some point, at least in the full sense of citizen's participation. Although a revival of sort seems to be gathering momentum, devising a credible evaluation process for deliberation and public engagement processes may be critical to ensuring that more public and private institutions, including government agencies and departments, buy into the idea of involving citizens. This argument may be used to support the work of Abelson et al. (2003) who focused their work on developing a set of evaluation criteria that can be used in health sector-related public engagement processes. Abelson et al. noted that determining the benefits and outcomes of citizen involvement requires a standard measure. Although the study by Abelson et al. was developed for the health sector, the criteria used appear general enough for broad application to other engagement forums including representation, procedure, information, and outcomes/decisions.

Aggregating the impact of citizen-workforce participation has become another thing to check on the list of many hierarchical institutions. This type of constituent involvement is different, however, from the more informed and engaged public participation that is essential to successful processes when agencies and communities have to work together to tackle difficult challenges. A lack in citizen-workforce participation in a period of meager economic resources might actually lead to a situation where citizens and or constituent members are involved on the periphery. Wagenet and Pfeffer (2006) have warned that "too often, agencies appear to view

public participation as something to check off in a list of steps to effective environmental management" (p. 811).

Aggregating access, power, and status in grassroots deliberation. Many studies of citizen participation focus on process guidelines and discussion of the actual citizen engagement and participation techniques utilized. In their exploration of enclave deliberation among disempowered groups, Karpowitz et al. (2009) argued that concerns about the representation and inclusion of ideas and input and comments from underrepresented groups are the root of this focus.

Similarly, Pierce, Neeley, and Budziak (2008) argued that "inequalities of power stemming from status differences may discourage the sort of equality envisioned by deliberative theorists and practitioners" (p. 3). Although their study focused on organizations that are hierarchically ordered, such as universities, corporations, and military groups, they argued that just like these institutions, differences in status also occur in local communities.

Evidence suggests that status differences among participants cause some members of a group process to limit their comments and expressions. One the other hand, attendees with formal power, as displayed through title and position, are not likely to feel limited in their involvement and ability to contribute. This argument may explain the marginalization of those without "status" and "power" in grassroots decision making.

Karpowitz et al. (2009) focused on this issue in a study that proposed the use of "enclave deliberation" to promote greater equality of opinion in the public sphere. Enclave deliberation is described as a type of civic engagement that "promotes fully inclusive public discourse by giving disempowered or marginalized groups an opportunity to develop their own unique perspective and arguments, which might be otherwise overlooked or ignored [in a group that is

disproportionately white, middle class, affluent or college educated]" (p. 582). Enclave

deliberation is therefore a specific approach used to equalize conversations among advantaged

and disadvantaged citizen groups.

Cultural differences have also been identified as both a catalyst and road block for

effective deliberative decision making. Zapata (2009) gives specific attention to the designs of

deliberative civic engagement to address issues of power, equity, and ethnic differences. Using a

case study approach, Zapata explores the use of dialogue in planning to better understand how

cultural and power differences among participants impact their participation. This study and the

Pierce et al. (2008) study are two good examples of how power imbalances based on authority

and "power-over" positioning can occur in group settings and reduce the effectiveness of

deliberation at both local and other settings.

This deliberative idea aligns with original thinking about democracy as a system that

requires responsible individuals who can make choices and a society of citizens, or a community,

who can work together. This concept of working together to solve problems and create better

futures has been described as deliberative democracy, or participatory democracy, as opposed to

representative democracy. For example, Berman (1997) argued that deliberative democracy is a

nascent social movement, a response to the perceived inadequacies of representative democracy.

Deliberative democracy, according to Carson and Hartz-Karp (2005) involves three basic

tenets: "representativeness, deliberation, and influence" (p. 98). "Representativeness" suggests

that there is opportunity for ordinary citizens, representative of the population, to come together

to deliberate on issues important to the society. Deliberation, the second tenet, is the opportunity

for disparate people to engage in egalitarian discourse on a public issue, taking into account

multiple views and comprehensive, balanced information. The hope is that through respectful

dialogue, people will creatively problem solve and find common ground that reflects the common good. The third tenet of influence is about getting back to democratic basics—heeding the will of the people, particularly the informed will of the people. According to Levine (2007) democracy requires public deliberation for three reasons:

- to enable citizens to discuss public issues and form opinions;

- to give democratic leaders much better insight into public issues than elections are able to do; and

- To enable people justify their views so we can sort out the better from the worse.

Deliberative processes allow for weighing possible actions carefully by examining what is most valuable. Deliberative processes connect with leadership as espoused by notable scholars. For example, they align with Burns' (1978) definition: "Leaders inducing followers to act for certain goals that represent the values and motivations—the wants and needs, the aspirations, and the expectations—of both the leaders and followers" (p. 19). In *Leadership without Easy Answers*, Heifetz (1994) says that the act of leadership itself is a change or adaptive process "to address conflicts in the values people hold, or to diminish the gap between the values people stand for and the reality they face" (p. 22). In *The Elements of Leadership*, Sarah Noonan defined leadership as "developing potential and building community" (2003 p. 3). In *Developing the Leader within You,* Maxwell (1993) defined leadership as simply "influence."

The theory of deliberative practices therefore aligns with the theory of transformational leadership with the latter being described as a set of behaviors of individuals who accomplish change. According to Lashway, Mazzarella, and Grundy (1995), "Anything that leads to change is *transformational*" (p. 60). Transformational leaders make decisions based on a broad perspective, organizational vision and mission, group goals, and network development.

Literature on the Creative Class Theory and Florida's 4T Model

Economic growth and development in many communities across America and globally has transformed production processes. There has been a shift in the old paradigm of cities thriving by simply influencing the location decisions of companies through tax breaks and other incentives. As globalization becomes a reality in North America, and as manufacturing companies outsource the bulk of production and others actually shut down production, the challenge of finding new ways to attract new businesses and talents and create jobs to restore economic vitality has shifted focus to regions rather than cities and communities. This shift makes engagement not only more critical, but also more difficult.

As more regions across the United States come to the realization that global wealth is concentrated less and less in factories, the three waves of economic development and Florida's argument for the creative class become more attractive. The three waves of economic development are as follows:

- First Wave: Attraction of talent

- Second Wave: Retention of talent

- Third Wave: Building the base of educated workforce-the creative class (Florida, 2004).

There is evidence in the literature illustrating that cities in trouble often struggled to adopt new economic processes: According to Markusen, some approach such economic transitions by establishing industry task forces, e.g., steel in Chicago, polymers in Akron. There is also the example of states setting up special industrial bureaus (e.g,. the Michigan Commerce Departments' Auto and Steel division) and communities establishing training and displaced workers' programs focused on the peculiarities of specific sectors (Fitzgerald & Leigh, 2002).

Although traditional economic development and growth strategies have been driven by a demand-side strategy whereby regions focus on attracting jobs to get the people, the new economic paradigm shift favors a supply-side strategy. This is also true for talent retention and attraction. In today's economy, regions face a war for talent because people are more mobile than ever—creating a "free-agent" economy. This has forced economic development organizations to retool their business development strategies.

Regional leaders and economic development practitioners are now implementing tactics to recruit and retain talented workers for their region. According to Florida (2002b), such a strategy depends upon understanding the 4Ts of regional economic development. The 4T strategy of talent, technology, tolerance and territorial assets essentially focuses on improving the ability of places to compete for people as well as for companies. For this strategy to be effective, regions, cities, and communities must offer substantial and balanced performance across all four to sustain long-run growth and prosperity.

Florida's creative class theory argues that due to advances in globalization, communication, and technology, workers are no longer compelled to move to where companies are located. Instead, the work force chooses where to live according to personal preference, and companies must follow. As a result of these new dynamics, cities no longer need to invest in becoming more appealing to companies but must attract the work force (Florida, 2005). It should be noted that this seems more of a path defined for developed nations, like the United States, because evidence of this theory being equally useful in developing nations as in developed nations is scarce.

Meanwhile, Florida identifies the creative class as the work force necessary for growth. The creative class is divided into two categories:

- The creative professionals and

- The super creative core (Florida, 2002a).

The former is made up of individuals working in intensely creative occupations such as scientists, artists, architects, and writers. The latter include those working in fields such as health care, financial services, and high-tech sectors. Florida (2002a) argues that these workers bring growth and economic vibrancy to a city, and companies, corporations, and commerce will follow this work force to reap the benefits of their creativity and innovation.

After studying occupational patterns to create and measure several indexes in cities across the United States, Florida argues that in order to attract and retain the creative class cities must have the 4Ts (Florida, 2002c, 2006). According to Florida, all four characteristics are related to and correlated with one another. According to him, all four must be present for a city to effectively attract the creative class and reap its benefits. The 4Ts are defined below:

- Technology : Measured by the concentration of innovation and higher-technology

- Talent: Defined as those with a bachelor's degree or above

- Tolerance: openness to inclusiveness, and diversity to all ethnicities, races, and walks of life

- Territorial assets: the natural, built, and psychological settings that give the community that sense of place of a region. (Florida, 2005 p. 37)

It is worth mentioning again that this dissertation is influenced by my desire to further understand how Florida's creative class theory, his 4T concept, and the polemics about "quality of place/quality of life" may indeed act as drivers of economic development for not only developed countries but perhaps for developing nations as well. My sense is that there is a need to further review existing literature to examine if and how Florida's ideas may be critical to

economic development on the grassroots level, especially in communities transitioning from factory-based manufacturing to a knowledge-based economy. If we can gain that understanding of the creative class theory, regions wishing to implement its strategy can do so with greater clarity and understanding of their position and direction.

Talent in the creative class theory has been described as a class of workers whose job is to create meaningful new forms of work that improves economic well-being (Florida, 2002a). The creativity thesis put forward by Florida (2002c, 2004, & 2005) has been summarized by Nuur and Laestadius (2009) as follows:

> Competitiveness depends on success in recruiting talent—and this is true more than ever in the knowledge based economy. There is a new and intensive global competition on talent—due to globalization as well as to the rise of new Tiger economies. The highest probability to get into contact with these talented workers is in highly urbanized regions. (p. 3)

Nuur and Laestadius argued further that talented people have strong expectations based on lifestyles, which have a significant impact on their willingness to follow job opportunities. They want to optimize their whole life not just their work. Accordingly, closeness to the opera may be as important as career options.

The creative class argument contends that cities interested in spurring growth should look to successful role models like Austin or Seattle, which have used the 4T model, while also nurturing their community's unique qualities. The theory argues further that creating buzz and energy are very real factors in a city's popularity but falls short with respect to discussion of what defines "buzz" and "energy" in a city. Drawing from Florida's extensive research, this theory submits that cities and municipalities using the 4T model are better positioned to identify strategies for how their region can leverage their competitive advantages and strengths to achieve lasting growth and prosperity.

"Technology and tolerance"—motors for economic growth. I have discussed the emergent idea in regional development based on the theory that creative type people are the motor for economic growth. I will now discuss the intersection of technology and tolerance in the mix. By correlating job growth in technology centers with specific demographic characteristics, Florida's (2005) regional growth theories focus on knowledge-based, cluster-oriented, and technology-led job growth. According to him, communities with a high degree of diversity attract young, educated, and creative people who directly contribute to economic growth.

Many cities and regions seem to have caught the Florida bug. Seemingly unrelated cities, such as Providence, Austin, Memphis, Tampa, and Pittsburgh have based the bulk of their economic development strategies on building amenity-rich communities attractive to the creative class worker.

Some proponents of this theory refer to it as the human capital theory of regional development. Their argument is that the key to regional growth lies neither in reducing the costs of doing business nor in the clustering of firms, but in enhancing regional endowments of highly educated and productive people (Porter, 1998). This raises the question of what happens to those who cannot afford college, including African Americans and Latinos. Are they caught in the tolerance net rather than being deliberately engaged as equal contributors to the common good?

Scholars of the human capital theory found the resurgence in city living to be strongly correlated to human capital levels. Like Florida (2005), they connected human capital to technology, suggesting that "Higher levels of education influence later growth...through influencing the growth of technology" (Glaeser & Shapiro, 2003, pp.139-165). Glaeser and Shapiro identified the education-growth connection to be the most persistent and summarized the

theory saying, "Urban planners who want to attract residents would do better to worry about the human capital level than on providing denser downtowns" (pp.165).

In a study analyzing why and how economic and community development planners might target occupations as well as industries in shaping an economic development strategy, Ann Markusen (2006) found that key occupations can be identified on the basis of capturability, high relative employment growth rates, and connectivity across industries. She argues that this fits with underemployed workforce groups and has the potential for self-employment and entrepreneurship.

This same argument by the proponents of human capital theory can be traced to the earlier work of Jane Jacobs, who first noted the ability of cities to attract creative people and thus spur economic growth (Jacobs, 1969). Studies of national growth have linked the economic success of nations to their human capital, as measured by the level of education. For example, in the United States, scholars have found considerable empirical evidence that human capital is the central factor in regional growth (Audretsch & Feldman, 1996).

The link between territorial assets and a positive sense of place came from a study by Lloyd and Clark (2001), who used a large survey sample of individuals across US locations to examine the effects of beauty and aesthetics on community satisfaction and tested for these effects in light of other community-level factors, such as economic security and employment opportunities, the supply of public goods, and the ability for social exchange. Lloyd and Clark argued that beauty or the aesthetic character of a location has a positive and significant effect on community satisfaction. This was actually one of the most significant factors alongside economic security, good schools, and the capacity for social interaction.

Similarly, research by Florida, Mellander, and Stolarick (2009) for the Martin Prosperity Institute studied how and why community satisfaction affects "mover-stayer" decisions and confirmed that although beauty and aesthetics are not the only factors that drive community satisfaction, these things often likely work in tandem with other key factors, such as overall economic conditions and opportunities for social interaction.

There is also evidence in the literature that the issue of quality of place is as important to the attraction and retention of new firms and businesses in a region as it is important for attracting and retaining skilled individuals. In a study that focused specifically on the interaction between individual and firm location and the role of both market and non-market forces in shaping the distribution of human capital in places, Arora, Florida, Gates, and Kamlet (2000) suggested that location preference of workers is an important factor in the location of firms, particularly for firms where individuals with high levels of human capital—so-called knowledge workers—constitute a primary input to production.

In a study using data for 15 cities between 1969 and 2006 to determine whether spending on the arts enhanced economic growth, Charles Gray found that spending on the arts increased economic growth in four of the fifteen metro areas: in New York, the growth impact was short term, dissipating after four years; in Atlanta, it was longer term, dissipating after only eight years; in both Dallas and the Twin Cities, the effect was short and long term. He argued that one cannot just recreate these achievements by changing budget allocations in another city because while fostering the creative environment may pay off, there are so many other factors involved that it is not clear there is a guaranteed payoff (Gray, 2012).

Disadvantages of the Florida creative class theory. Several scholars have faulted the logic of the creative class theory. Academics like Reese and Sands (2008) have expressed concern about the applicability of Florida's theory to cities of various sizes. In their study, these researchers compared the economic health of 40 mid-sized Canadian cities and found that there was no correlation among the creative class, diversity, and tolerance .They also found that although these measurements may be related to economic health at a certain period in time, they are not related to economic growth over time. This suggests that while the presence of creative amenities can be a positive force for a city, it may not be clearly correlated to economic growth.

Others have argued that Florida's ideas are actually not entirely new except for the more specific claim that places where creative types live function as talent magnets. The urban policy prescriptions that are derived from this assertion have attracted critics. Glaeser argues that although human capital (broadly defined) has become a principal determinant of urban fortunes, the fundamental forces at work in these regions are not Florida's 4Ts but, instead, the three S's of " skills, sun, and sprawl" (as cited in Shea, 2004, p. D1); "most [creative people] like what most well-off people like—big suburban lots with easy commutes by automobile and safe streets and good schools and low taxes" (Glaser as cited in Shea, 2004, p. 2).

Malanga (2004) argued that the best performing cities on measures like employment and population growth, or the rate of formation of high-growth companies, are not creative capitals like San Francisco or New York, but low-tax, business-friendly cities like Las Vegas and Memphis, ostensibly the creative losers. Using Florida's own indices, Hoyman and Faricy (2009) found no statistical evidence that cities with higher proportions of creative class workers correlated with any type of economic growth from 1990-2004.

Similar criticism has been voiced by Montgomery (2005), a scholar who disagrees with the cities that Florida calls most creative. Montgomery asserted that "What Florida has devised is a set of indices which simply mirror more fundamental truths about creative milieu or dynamic cities" (p. 339). In Montgomery's mind, London, not Manchester and Leicester, should be one of the top in the ranking of prospering cities in the United Kingdom.

In "Urban Development and the Politics of the Creative Class," Markusen (2006) argued that many of those labeled as being in the creative class have no concept of group identity, nor are they in occupations that are inherently creative, adding that the definition of the creative class is based largely on educational attainment. As such, she argued further that Florida's indices become insignificant once educational attainment is added to his data. This argument opposes Florida's position that it is not what one knows in terms of formal education; rather it is what one does that makes the difference in urban sustainability (Florida, 2002b, 2005).

Peck (2005) in her seminal writing "Struggling with the Creative Class" asserted that the creative class theory offers no causal mechanism. According to Peck, the theory lacked sufficient logic to explain the economic prosperity of one city over another. Stern and Seifert (2007) noted that Florida had ignored the potential for exacerbation of income inequality due to creative class clustering.

Melanie Smith argued that Florida's theory is based on circular logic. According to her, Florida's theories falsely rely in part on the effect of people belonging to a particular network to describe the attraction of creative class people to a place. Accordingly, it would not be correct to say, for example, that the number of technology workers or artists in a community would be a factor in the migration of more technology workers or artists to that community (Smith, 2007).

The critics of Florida's theory are not restricted to academic circles. A grassroots group in Toronto, Canada, known as the Creative Class Struggle has challenged Florida's creative class theory, including its widespread adoption into urban policy. This Toronto group has been using various media to broadcast their complaints of the creative class theory. Creative Class Struggle manages an online clearinghouse for information about creative city strategies and policies, publishes a newsletter and other materials, and works to engage the media and public in critical discussion..

Literature of Racial Inequality and Community Development Work

There is no doubt about the existence of racism in America. It is real and still impacts every aspect of people's lives in more ways than may be obvious to people who have never experienced it. This is because racism is now sometimes hard to see.

The most overt and legally sanctioned forms of racial discrimination have been eliminated, yet Jim Crow era racism has been replaced by subtler forms of racism that permeate the political, economic, and socio-cultural structures of the United States. These new types of racisms, aptly called structural racism, still generate differences in well-being between people of color and whites (Aspen Institute, 2004). According to a report by the Aspen Institute Roundtable on Community Change, "the statistical portrait of the American population, broken out by race, reveals persistent disparities between people of color and white Americans in almost every quality of life arena, the most basic being income, education, and health" (Aspen Institute, 2004, p. 8). The report further suggested that certain power, access, and other legacies, dating back to the history of United States, often illustrate why significant numbers in the current generation of adult white Americans, along with their parents, grandparents, and other generations, are still the dominant race. For example:

Caucasians/Whites:

- Came from access to good educational institutions;

- Had access to decent jobs and fair wages;

- Accumulated retirement benefits through company programs, union membership, and social security;

- Benefited from homeownership policies and programs that allowed them to buy property in rising neighborhoods.

By contrast, significant numbers in the current generation of adults of color, along with their parents, grandparents, and other generations:

- Came from a background of slavery or labor exploitation;

- Were limited by de jure or de facto segregation;

- Were generally confined to jobs in areas such as agricultural, manual, or domestic labor, and excluded from jobs that allowed them to accumulate savings and retirement benefits;

- Were discriminated against by lending institutions and were excluded from owning homes in economically desirable locations through redlining and other policies.

This breakdown is useful for historical contextualization of the Dayton case study, especially in light of common perceptions of African Americans as having failed to uphold certain traditional American values like individualism, hard work, and self-reliance. This perception, some scholars say, provides symbolic racists with the rationalization they need for opposing redistributive social policies like affirmative action (Sears, Van Laar, Carrillo, & Kosterman, 1997).

The fact that a dominant race can trace its powers and privileges to a previous generation is interesting but is not a plausible rationale for race-based behaviors among the present-day

members of the dominant group. Evidence exists to show significant economic and social inequalities among racial and ethnic groups in the United States 30 years after the passage of civil rights legislation (Staveteig & Wigton, 2000). Since this study concerns Florida's human capital economic development model and a case study of events and activities after a period of recession, it is important to properly situate race in the research context.

A 2002 U.S. Department of Health and Human Services report titled *Trends in the Well-being of America's Children and Youth* revealed a significantly increasing disparity along racial lines for high school graduates ages 25-29 who have received a bachelor's degree or higher. According to this report, the number of African American and Latino students able to attain a college degree has had a slow increase while the number of white students has seen a relatively higher increase. The disparity in the rate of change per period further makes this point (see Table 2.1).

Table 2.1

Percent Over Time of High School Graduates Ages 25-29 Who Have Received a Bachelor's Degree or Higher
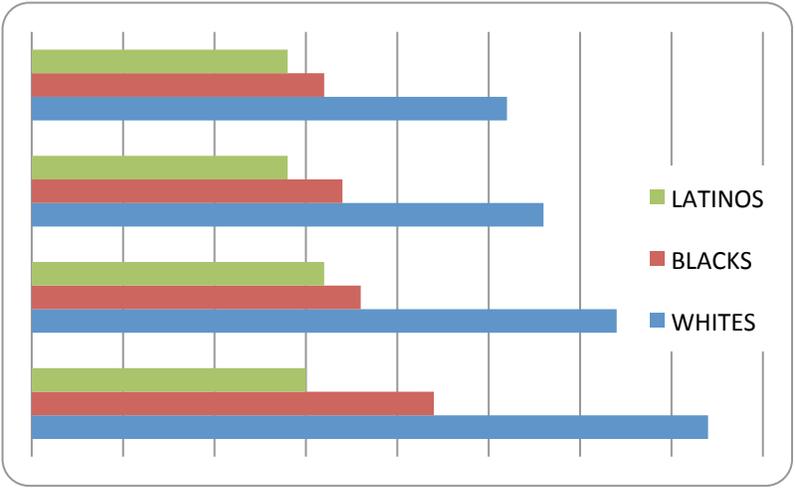
Similarly, an analysis of well-being by race and ethnicity using data from the 1999 National Survey of America's Families (NSAF) confirms that disparities exist both within and across all racial and ethnic groups. Even at higher incomes, whites and Asians repeatedly fare better than blacks, Hispanics, and Native Americans. This NSAF finding is significant to the Dayton study because it shines a bright light on the fact that income differences alone cannot fully be used as the parameter to measure racial inequalities. Scholars have argued the point that differences in income do not fully explain inequities in the well-being of people across racial and ethnic groups in the United States (Dalaker & Naifeh, 1998). This argument is relevant for understanding how race and the perception of how income and education assists and hinders participation in large-scale community economic development work. According to the 2004 Aspen Institute report from the roundtable on Community Change, which explored Structural racism and Community Building?

> "Millions of Americans still think and talk about race in terms of fixed biological or genetic categories. A strikingly different way to view the concept of 'race' is as an unequal relationship between social groups based on the privileged access to power and resources by one group over another. Race is historically and socially constructed, created (and recreated) by how people are perceived and treated in the normal actions of everyday life. (Aspen Institute, 2004, p. 22)

As stated earlier, this study explores Florida's creative economy theory, which urges cities to respond to an increase in the global mobility of people by fostering conditions conducive to the lifestyle interests of certain segments of this mobile population while promoting tolerance. Race and racism, whether overt or more subtle in its more structural forms, continues to adversely impact the social and economic well-being of minorities in the United States and explains the high concentration of racial and ethnic minorities in areas that are generally isolated from the economic mainstream.

Florida's advocacy of tolerance by itself is problematic for cities and regions because it seemed founded on intolerance; even more so, when placed in the context of overt and structural racial differences. This proposition points to a "raceless" society, which, as Seib-Adese (2007), quoting Goldberg, characterized as

> the neoliberal attempt to go beyond– without (fully) coming to terms with—racial histories and their accompanying racist inequities and iniquities; to mediate the racially classed and gendered distinctions to which those histories have given rise without reference to the racial terms of those distinctions; to transform, via the negating dialectic of denial and ignoring, racially marked social orders into racially erased ones. (p. 55)

Given Florida's (2005) argument in the diversity index that "in the Creative Economy, diversity is no longer a matter of legal compliance–corporations realize the value of diverse hiring, reducing barriers that had once been faced by racial and ethnic "minorities" (p. 5). Seib-Adese (2007) contended that Florida may have idealized a world where homophobia is the last remaining prejudice, where racism and ethnicism are no longer, arguing further that on the contrary, tolerance has always constituted a type of permission granted to the existence of "Others" by the dominant class. Contemporary city planning's employment of "tolerance" thus implies a regulatory agenda of the emerging and dominant "creative class."

Summary of Literature Review

In an attempt to properly situate this study of the involvement of a higher education consortium in large-scale community economic development work, I have referenced a range of scholarly works suggesting that higher learning institutions can and should play a critical role in creating and updating the knowledge-based economy. According to Freeland (2005), "Leveraging an academic asset… remains one of the greatest untapped urban revitalization opportunities in the country" (p. 1). As a result of this, the literature shows that communities seeking to improve the quality of life of their residents potentially have a lot to gain from

partnerships with institutions of higher education (Harkavy, 1999; Holland & Gelmon, 1998; Zlotkowski, 1999).

I have also presented evidence in the literature showing that partnerships between higher education institutions and communities for social, public health, and economic issues are often enacted through pedagogic models such as community-based research or service learning (Furco, 2002; Ward, 1998; Zlotkowski, 1999). As such, scholars have argued that little attention is given to community voices and perspectives on the issues for which such partnerships are formed (Cruz & Giles, 2000). Meanwhile, evidence suggests that higher learning institutions are expected to address society's needs, but do not often have the resources to respond to some of these needs. Additionally, ways to generate additional capital are limited (Eckel, 2003).

I discussed this in relation to what some scholars called "the emergent rethinking of higher education missions and relationship with community" (Hoppe, 2004, Strand, Marullo, Cutforth, Stoecker, & Donahue, 2003). One emergent rethinking is that citizen involvement is critical to the decision-making process for effective higher education-community partnerships (Daley & Marsiglia, 2001; Gaunt, 1998).

Since this study investigated an economic intervention that relied on Florida's human capital theory, I critically examined his argument that to achieve and sustain long-run growth and prosperity cities must focus on the 4T's strategy—talent, technology, tolerance, and territorial assets—which focuses on improving the ability of places to compete for people as well as for companies (Florida, 2002b). I also considered the potential for Florida's 4T model to be negatively disempowering for some people, especially in light of his model that the key to regional growth lies in enhancing regional endowments of highly educated and productive people (Porter, 1998). It is thus possible as argued by Seib-Adese (2007) that the contemporary

city planning's employment of "tolerance" may be perceived by those in the minority as a term to implement the regulatory agenda of the emerging and dominant "creative class."

Finally, I have attempted to situate the work of citizens and the Dayton CREATE Community catalysts in academic discussions that public deliberation as both a theory and process is useful only when there is a discrepancy between what is happening to people and what they think should be happening—yet there is often no agreement on what should be happening (Mathews, 2002). So while inequalities of power stemming from status differences may discourage the sort of equality envisioned by deliberative theorists and practitioners, there is evidence in literature that that the overriding premise of deliberation is to improve the quality of decisions and promote equal participation among participants (Beierle & Konisky, 2000).

Chapter III: Methodology

Preamble to Case Study Methodology

This dissertation describes and discusses a particular example of how SOCHE, a middle-size higher education consortium in Southwest Ohio, attempted to use community engagement as a means for responding to adverse changes to the economy and quality of life. This dissertation emerged from and is based on this experimental, large-scale community engagement effort by SOCHE to weave existing community initiatives into the creative class ideas of Dr. Richard Florida. SOCHE's purpose was to recruit higher education to engage with the community to spur economic growth within the Dayton region. This study is not undertaken simply because the case represents other cases or because it illustrates a particular trait or problem, but because, in all its particularity and ordinariness, the case itself is of great interest due to its uniqueness and as such requires holistic, in-depth investigation.

According to Merriam (1998), a case study approach strives toward a holistic understanding of cultural systems of action. This means that as a researcher I set out to consider not just the voice and perspective of the actors in my case, but also the relevant groups of actors and the interaction among them.

The Research Questions

1. What leadership role did SOCHE play in the 2008 community-economic revitalization effort known as Dayton CREATE?

2. What are the benefits, disadvantages, and trade-off that resulted from using Richard Florida's 4T model as an engagement strategy?

3. How did community dialogue and deliberation affect economic development?

Qualitative Research Design

This dissertation employs a qualitative case study research design as defined by Merriam

(1998): "A qualitative case study is an intensive, holistic description and analysis of a bounded

phenomenon" (p. xiii); and Yin (2003) who provides more specific boundaries for a case study:

> It is an empirical inquiry that, (a) investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its
> real-life context, (b) copes with the technically distinctive situation in which there will be
> many more variables of interest than data points: and as one result relies on multiple
> sources of evidence, with data needing to converge in a triangulating fashion; and as
> another result, benefits from the prior development of theoretical propositions to guide
> data collection and analysis. (pp. 13-14)

This case study is bounded by several contexts: (1) SOCHE and the partnering

institutions; (2) the 32 community catalysts selected by SOCHE and the Creative Taskforce; (3)

the community revitalization initiatives defined by the community catalysts; and (4) the larger

Dayton region and its citizens. The case study has been written in narrative form and will be

concerned primarily with providing the reader with insight and understanding of the unique case

or situation.

According to Stake (1995), "Qualitative research tries to establish an empathetic

understanding for the reader, through description, sometimes *thick description*, conveying to the

reader what the experience itself would convey" (p. 39). This case study systematically looks at

the work of citizen and institutions and community catalysts brought together by SOCHE. Data

were collected from 8 of the 32 community catalysts and 4 members of the Creative Task Force,

through face-to face, one hour interviews. The use of interviews and observations are relevant to

qualitative case study research (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Fontana & Frey, 1994; Merriam, 1998;

Stake, 1995; Yin, 2003). These tools provide one standard for obtaining an insider's perspective

regarding the issues being studied. The interaction between researcher and participant through

the interview is "the establishment of human-to-human relation with the respondent and the desire to *understand* rather than to *explain*" (Fontana & Frey, 1994, p. 366).

Interviews with participants were semi-structured. Semi-structured interview questions provided consistent data on topics and also enabled me to engage the research participants in natural conversation that provided deeper insight for the researcher.

> Use of a semi-structured interview technique therefore becomes an honest, morally sound, and reliable technique, because it treats the respondent as an equal, allows them to express personal feelings, and therefore presents a more 'realistic' picture than can be uncovered using traditional interview methods. (Fontana & Frey, 1994, p. 371)

Also, Merriam (1998) notes that highly structured interviews do not allow a true participant perspective; they simply, "get reactions to the *investigator's* preconceived notions of the world" (p. 74). Other scholars stressed the observation and notation of body language and verification of shared meanings during the interview—it is important that the researcher and participant fully understand each other and the particulars of the conversation (Fontana & Frey, 1994).

Pilot Framing of Methodology

Two pilot interviews were conducted using questions that framed the engagement of the research participants. The design of the questionnaire focused on how and why questions that were relevant to the following research questions:

- Whether or not what SOCHE catalysts did was innovative or deliberative and how so;
- How the involvement of SOCHE was seen; and
- Whether the process was seen as partnering, pushing an agenda, or a helping effort?

These questions were then refined with a methodology mentor, Alice Diebel, after an initial reading of interview techniques. Based on the analysis of the interviews from this pilot study, I was able to refine my questionnaire. The pilot study also gave me useful insights into

how research interview techniques may support or hinder the researcher's perception of case study as a good fit (Yin, 2003).

In addition, the pilot study helped me to move beyond casual investigation to in-depth inquiry due to the fact that after the pilot study, I was able to drop and add interview questions based on the outcome of the initial research. I found enough support in the recommendations of Yin (2003) and Stake (1995) that the approach offered the opportunity to maximize what can be learned within the parameters of the study, knowing that time is limited.

Data Collection

Interview data collection occurred from the fall of 2010 through the spring of 2012. It took that long to collect the data because of the need to be able to evaluate the concrete effects of the work of the community catalysts. I also gathered secondary data, including field notes, observations, and archival materials dating from 2007. All data gathered from participant resources have been collected with explicit permission from the participants and in full compliance with Institutional Review Board (IRB) guidelines. In accordance with qualitative research tradition (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Merriam, 1998; Stake, 1995; Yin, 2003), multiple data sources were used and organized into three sets.

Interview data. Interview data were obtained from approximately eight one-hour audio semi-structured interviews in addition to four one-hour interviews with members of the Creative Task Force. Interviews were conducted with SOCHE leadership, City of Dayton commissioners, County and City officials, leadership of Dayton Downtown Partnership, participants from the University of Dayton, Sinclair Community College, Central State University, and Wright State University, as well as community leaders.

Participant observation data. Participant observation was a critical part of the data collection process. Most significantly, I participated in meetings, town halls, focus groups, and site tours. Observation also took place through sustained involvement with the catalysts, research participants, and other community members in Dayton. My participation in meetings and events led to continued dialogue and a deeper understanding of the projects and the actors. It enabled me to gather extensive field notes in my research journal and informed the questions for my interviews.

Archival data and media publications. I also consulted various archival data and media publications, including copies of the Southwest Ohio Task Force, SOCHE's program plan, charters of the five Dayton CREATE groups, materials from the Richard Florida group, and articles in the *Dayton Daily News* plus media programs aired on other local public broadcast stations, including WYSO, Channel 7, and Think T.V. The data collected were grouped in a way that kept all interview data together and all observation data together. Two categories of interview data for this study were collected.

Primary Interview Data

Primary interview data comprised approximately six one-hour audio semi-structured interviews with community catalysts. For the purposes of this dissertation study, the term community catalysts describes those selected by SOCHE to participate in the large-scale economic development project using Florida's ideas and existing community resources to engage citizens and institutions in the Dayton region in the implementation of specific projects over the course of a year.

Secondary Interview Data

Interviewees in this category included four members of the Creative Task Force. These interviews were also one hour in duration. All were audio-taped, transcribed, and shared with research participants for verification of data. The rationale for interviewing this group of people was to get a sense of their institutional engagement with SOCHE, the community catalysts, and other citizens and institutions in the community. Handwritten notes were taken during the interviews for the purposes of follow-up questions or as the researcher's personal notes for further investigation. The interviews were conducted in private rooms, reserved at the Dayton Metro Library, and sometimes at respondents' offices. Accommodations were made for participants' schedules.

Observations

Similarly, observations were conducted carefully with strict consideration for the research participants, as observations represent a "firsthand encounter with the phenomena of interest" (Merriam, 1998, p. 94). The observer role played in this study was one of an "observer-as-participant" (Adler & Adler, 1994). I served as one of the SOCHE assembled Catalysts, and as a result had direct knowledge of one of the five groups being observed. One of the hallmarks of observation has traditionally been its non-interventionism.

> An observer neither manipulates nor stimulates his/her subjects....Qualitative observation is fundamentally a natural process that occurs in the natural context of occurrence, among the actors who would naturally be participating in the interaction, and follows the natural stream of everyday. (Adler & Adler, 1994, p. 378)

As an observer, I selected the least obtrusive location during the planning meetings, mini-forums, and town hall summits from which to observe and take notes on the actions of the SOCHE group, their interactions with one another and community leaders. I noted group process for goal definition, implementation, and related contextual elements. This observation was in

essence naturalistic: it occurred in the natural context among the actors who were participating in the interaction and followed the stream of everyday life (Adler & Adler, 1994). I was observing an effort that was part of my work and interest.

Data Analysis

My data analysis process relied mainly on the recommendations of Miles and Huberman (1984) beginning with descriptive analysis, which led to later inferences. Although I used the Hyper RESEARCH technology software to assist with coding, the analysis of data included the collecting, comparing, and contrasting of themes.

A large amount of raw data (in this case in the form of interview transcripts) often comes with qualitative case study research; therefore, it is essential to maintain the data in an organized and timely fashion (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Huberman & Miles, 1983; Merriam, 1998; Stake, 1995; Yin, 2003). Stake (1995) emphasized the fact that data is continuously interpreted since qualitative research is inherently reflective, explaining that "in being ever reflective, the researcher is committed to pondering the impressions, deliberating recollections and records...data [are] sometimes pre-coded but continuously interpreted, on first sighting and again and again" (p. 242).

I followed the procedure outlined by Huberman and Miles (1983) for assembling the data. This process included:

- coding (organizing and theme data),
- policing (detecting bias and preventing tangents),
- dictating field notes (as opposed to verbatim recordings),
- connoisseurship (researcher knowledge of issues and context of the site),
- interim site summaries (narrative reviews of research progress), and

- note taking on emerging issues.

Although these procedures are usually used in a large, multi-site study, I found it useful as a framework for my data analysis. For example, I used Hyper RESEARCH software as a complementary qualitative data analysis tool to assist in bringing discipline to the data. Given my direct involvement in the SOCHE effort and my professional experience in the substantive area of the study, this tool seemed appropriate. It provided a method to deal with my experience while controlling the risk of introducing bias into the study. According to Dupuis (2002), Hyper RESEARCH is a software tool for qualitative data analysis, developed by Research Ware, Inc. It is one of several CAQDAS packages available. (CAQDAS is an acronym for computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software.) Like many CAQDAS programs, Hyper Research's essential capabilities are for qualitative analysis—to code-and-retrieve data analysis features, report-generating capabilities, and multimedia support.

There is little research into how users actually experience qualitative design application (QDA) software, but a study by Lee and Fielding (1996) suggests that control can be achieved by the constant comparative method, which forces researchers to examine their assumptions and their own knowledge about the data and compare these data with other data from the study as a way of validating, modifying, or rejecting the expert researchers' observations. While this may not completely eliminate the risk of bias-induced distortions, it ensures that it is significantly reduced.

Triangulation of Data

Triangulation of data is not only valuable for establishing the validity of research data but also for broadening the scope of the research. To this end, validity, in qualitative research, refers to whether the findings of a study are true and certain—"true" in the sense that research findings

accurately reflect the situation, and "certain" in the sense that research findings are supported by the evidence.

Triangulation therefore refers to a method used for checking and establishing validity in studies by analyzing a research question from multiple perspectives. Patton (1990) cautions that it is a common misconception that the goal of triangulation is to arrive at consistency across data sources or approaches; in fact, such inconsistencies may likely be given the relative strengths of different approaches. According to Patton, these inconsistencies should not be seen as weakening the evidence, but should be viewed as an opportunity to uncover deeper meaning in the data.

There are different types of triangulation that can be used to analyze the data. One method is data triangulation, which involves using different sources of information in order to increase the validity of the study. Another way is theory triangulation, which involves the use of multiple perspectives to interpret a single set of data. These two are different from methodological triangulation, which involves the use of multiple qualitative and/or quantitative methods.

In the triangulation of data for this study, I used source triangulation. I shared the transcription of interviews with the participants so they would have an opportunity to check and review data materials and provide further responses to the research questions. This was done as an additional measure to guide the data analysis and ensure its quality. This triangulation of data also acted as a method for verifying and validating information that I observed and/or transcribed (Merriam, 1998; Mertens, 1998; Stake, 1995).This triangulation of data also acted as a check and critique of the data and provided material for further investigation and triangulation, as Stake (1995) observed "They [the participants] also help triangulate the researcher's observations and interpretations...The actor [participant] was asked to review the material for accuracy and

palatability" (p. 115). This process of triangulation of data through the sources of the data was

very helpful for validating the data and analyzing text to discover themes and subthemes.

Chapter IV: Research Findings

Development of Research Themes

Opler (1945) established three principles for thematic analysis. First, he observed that themes are only visible (and thus discoverable) through the manifestation of expressions in data. Conversely, expressions are meaningless without some reference to theme. Second, according to him, while some expressions of a theme are obvious and culturally agreed on, others are subtler, symbolic, and even idiosyncratic. Opler observed therefore that cultural systems comprise sets of interrelated themes. The importance of any theme, according to Opler (1945) is related to the following four main factors:

- How often it appears,

- How pervasive it is across different types of cultural ideas and practices,

- How people react when the theme is violated, and

- The degree to which the number, force, and variety of a theme's expression is controlled by specific contexts.

I used the research questions to frame the data and therefore exercised discipline and flexibility of coding to elucidate the major themes as contained in the data. Using Hyper RESEARCH software as a qualitative analysis software tool allowed me to code and retrieve data for the purpose of identifying themes and building theory. I applied codes from my own knowledge, from a thorough review of the data and from prior research, to sections of text in the transcriptions of the interviews and focus groups, as well as to the archival materials, group documents, field notes, and participant-observer notes. I then assigned codes to sections of the data based on the topics or themes presented through the voice of those interviewed and in the

pattern and the frequency or major count of the population in the research study that gave similar responses (Creswell, 1998).

After the first round of coding all data, I ran the Hyper RESEARCH frequency report generation tool which generated an initial frequency distribution shown in Table 4.1 below.

Table 4.1

Theme-Codes Frequency Distribution

THEME- CODES	FREQUENCY
Talent: Economic Drivers	56
City-County Engagement	47
Dayton's Competitive Edge	18
Engaging Colleges-Universities	13
Engaging Engineers-WPAFB	14
Community Involvement	17
Engaging Students	10
Planning-Decision Making	48
Grassroots connections	14
Limitation of Volunteers	5
Diversity & Inclusion	19
Technology R&D link	17
Perception of SOCHE-Florida	30
Assets and Quality of Place	12
Regional-Urban Center	18
Selection of Participants	18
Transformation, Growth, Success	43
4T Model -Engagement Strategy	15
Race and Poverty	9

SOCHE's leadership	28
Downtown - Urban Fabric	9
Partnerships-Networking	10
Young - Old Talking	11

To see the data holistically, I revisited the coding scheme derived from the research questions and revised these where necessary. I read through each of the transcripts as well as the relevant documents and took notes about issues or ideas that came up that added to or changed the initial coding scheme. Although a researcher cannot claim absolute objectivity, as part of my coding and analysis process, I made a significant effort to focus more on the data rather than on my questions or on the interviewee. This allowed me to see the participants' words for what they were.

I noted that there were sections that did not fit within the coding scheme and themes category. I flagged these and analyzed the data further by repeating the coding process two more times, revising and refining the coding scheme for broad patterns or themes in a way that may incorporate or reject ideas in the flagged sections. Next, I developed a table of key themes based on the significance in the responses, that is, by the frequency or major count of the population in the research study that gave the same or similar responses. Since repetition is one of the easiest ways to identify themes, I looked for most reoccurring words and ideas and association of similar words and ideas as they are repeated, to filter out some and arrive at the key themes. Bogdan and Taylor (1975) have argued that some of the most obvious themes in a corpus of data are those "topics that occur and re-occur" or are "recurring regularities" (p. 83).

Table 4.2 below shows key themes from the data:

Table 4.2

Key Themes From the Data

Primary themes
TALENT -UNIVERSITIES- CREATING COMPETITIVE ECONOMC EDGE
PARTNERSHIPS-COMMUNITY PLANNING- CREATING SYNERGY
DELIBERATIVE DECISION MAKING –CREATIVE EXPRESSION
SOCHE'S WORK: CONNECTING CITIZENS-CITY-CAMPUS CREATING MOMENTUM
DOWNTOWN=THE BRAND OF URBAN FABRIC
Secondary themes
UNADDRESSED RACISM+PERCIEVED DISCONNECTS =MISSED OPPORTUNITIES
Auxiliary themes
LESSONS, CHANGE, INNOVATION, TRANSFORMATION

The presentation of the results is organized in relation to the three main research objectives:

(1)   Describe the significance of SOCHE's work in the 2008 community-economic revitalization effort, known as Dayton CREATE;

(2)   Describe the benefits, disadvantages and trade-offs of the use of Richard Florida's 4T model as an engagement strategy;

(3)   Investigate how dialogue and deliberation, as a decision-making framework, impacted the desired outcome of Dayton CREATE.

Talent—Create Competitive Edge for Regional Economy

Answers to the question of whether the focus of talent attraction and retention is a good strategy for revitalizing the region's economic fortunes suggest that creating a talented workforce is perceived as the key strategy to gaining a competitive advantage for Dayton's regional economy. Both citizen-participants and representatives of institutions, including SOCHE, reinforced this perception. These participants said that creation and retention of a highly skilled and well-educated workforce is the critical lever that higher education, corporate institutions, and businesses in the Dayton region should call upon to reposition the region to compete nationally. According to interview data, repositioning the Dayton region to be a leader in advanced manufacturing required that all stakeholders double their efforts to ensure that the region is able to attract and retain highly educated citizens. According to research participants, the attraction and retention of concentrations of knowledge can lead to creativity, innovation, and entrepreneurialism. Participants contended that these qualities, promoted in the rebranding idea of "Dayton Originals" will be the "fuel" for the region's economy.

A Caucasian male participant put it this way:

The creative class idea of attracting and retaining talent by revamping the brand is something the City of Dayton saw as a viable economic model. "Dayton Originals" was a branding effort that aligns with the idea of creating a community where educated thinkers are engaged and where young people are able to take control over their space. It is important to growing the Dayton region.

A Caucasian female participant said:

We need a talented workforce because they are innovative. We need the innovation in order to create manufacturing; to create the jobs that will create more jobs and more innovation, because what the manufacturing does is it creates a supply chain and also

there is innovation and when those things are made here, that happens, because they think of other products its being made.

Another Caucasian participant added:

Manufacturing is central to Ohio's competitive edge but we lost a significant portion of that, I mean, manufacturing is basically the only thing the region had, and it's still a huge driver. Now it's advanced manufacturing and creativity that is happening and these are being leveraged upon every day. So you don't want to lose the manufacturing edge. If the reason why Ohio's economy has rebounded faster than others it's because we still have that manufacturing edge, and that's why you're seeing a loss in our...unemployment rate go down...a bit quicker than the national average. So curriculums are changing in higher education and municipalities are doing more stuff to encourage people that can make these contributions to feel engaged and welcome.

Yet another Caucasian participant added*:*

You're not just trying to recruit companies to your region anymore, you have to look at where people want to live, and try to make your quality of life for your cities attractive for the people that will work for those companies, and I think that is really relevant to Dayton when you see the kind of NCR departure, and things like that. You see a lot of that when you actually talk to the people that are making the choices about relocating their companies, they're saying, well, their employees feel like they could have a better lifestyle in a better area.

Universities and Talent Creation

Research participants contended that higher education has a critical role to play in stimulating greater economic activity in the Dayton region. This theme came up repeatedly in answers to the question of the role of area colleges and university at a time when factory manufacturing was fast declining. Research participants contended that higher education investment in preparing students to take up the challenges of advanced manufacturing and the retraining of the old manufacturing workforce will generate enhanced returns for both higher education and the region. Participants also stated that mid-size cities and urban regions would need to invest in innovative higher education curriculum, which can help colleges and universities create the concentration of innovative talent.

According to respondents, to be competitive in today's tough global marketplace and for the Dayton region to recapture the lead in science and technology, stakeholders in the region have to work with colleges and universities to inform these higher learning institutions about the skills and knowledge needed in today's advanced workplace. Participants contended that such an effort would help universities to design courses that would prepare students for the workforce, attract people seeking needed skills and knowledge, and retain talent. Participants were of the opinion that for the Dayton region to prosper, colleges and universities must play an important role in creating a new set of talented people who are skilled in areas that give the region a competitive economic advantage.

Here is how a Caucasian male participant described the situation:

Now you can see that the University of Dayton deciding to do GE Aviation, which is the technology piece, and really starting to do investments right there on their campus; Wright State is talking about trying to do a School of Psychology expansion over in Wright-Dunbar, and to really have a place in the city, which is really important.

Changing the curriculum in colleges and universities to allow students and young people to gain the experience and skills needed to understand people, risk, technology, economy, and role of institutions was linked to the need to offer educational programs that develop individuals who can make decisions that apply to an uncertain and changing world. The required investment for this may be huge on the part of higher education institutions, but participants believe this type of investment will not only pay off but result in auxiliary reinvestment in health care, public safety, education, aviation, and other sectors in the Dayton region.

A Caucasian male participant's comment reinforced this finding as follows:

I think the education piece is key because it's a different kind of manufacturing than what we talked about 30 years ago, it's more advanced and it requires a higher set of skill level; it's not just you graduate from high school and then you can go work in a manufacturing facility. It's completely different it's not dirty, it's more high tech, it has a lot more computers, it's a lot more technology based and so I think talent attraction and

retention is going to be critical for the economy and I think it ties in with the education of how we have all this talent. And it fits naturally with us, it's not like Dayton's trying to fit a square peg in a round hole. No, it is what we are; it's what the Midwest is. So, I think talent attraction and development it's super important for Dayton region long term.

Respondents expressed a belief that creating greater numbers of skilled workers will ensure competitiveness that will in turn benefit the economies derived from a highly educated citizenry. Data revealed that people were excited about the focus and/or investment in increasing the number of educated young people in the region because these young people are the future workforce that can produce innovation, which makes young people huge economic drivers for regional prosperity.

An African-American female participant captured it this way:

Bottom line, this whole Richard Florida thing is about talent attraction and retention, not just young, all ages; it's about talent attraction and retention. Universities produce the talent. So I think that's how SOCHE see it as relevant to the community.

A Caucasian male participant summarized it this way:

Communities that are successful in keeping that young talent, that smart talent, that young professional, they're the communities going to have one leg up, because 10 years from now, believe it or not, we're going to have a shortage of workers, all of the old people, like me, are going to be out of the job force, so you know, there's a lot of work, this is why universities have a different role. It is why communities are fighting so hard to keep young people and to keep that talent, and attract talent.

Partnerships—Community Planning—Creating Synergy

Participants contended that the partnership developed by SOCHE seemed to have been based on the philosophy that working together with others will strengthen the values of responsibility and integrity. They argued that this mindset by SOCHE and the Creative Task Force was critical for surfacing diverse ways of repairing the ailing regional economy. SOCHE served as a platform for partnering with the surrounding community—nonprofits, local governments, artists, and others—in the Dayton CREATE project. Participants stated that the

position of SOCHE enabled colleges and universities to reach out to neighborhoods and helped

the community catalysts to tap the existing infrastructure as they collaborated with local leaders.

In effect, universities and other regional institutions worked together as social change agents and

volunteers. This aligns with evidence in the literature that community partnership as a leadership

strategy is important for dealing with the complexities of economic change.

Evidence in the data suggests that the institutional partnering initiated by SOCHE

flourished because participating institutions agreed that the Dayton economy was ailing.

Partnership also formed due to the realization that the needs confronting the region could be

better addressed if a broad cross section of organizations and their leadership teamed together to

achieve a set of common goals. Partners and participants perceived the process as a public-

private partnership as has been documented in the literature on new urban governance (Davies,

2002; Lowndes & Skelcher, 1998; Stewart, 2005).

> This point was expressed by Caucasian male participant:
>
> Developing partnerships was very time consuming, I mean but we took it on, several individuals at the other organization took on pieces of it, like I took on a fair amount of it and then we had a director of conferences at the time who was really involved in helping organize meetings, getting materials ready, like that kind of back-end office support, was available and then hosting events, conferences, we utilized our technology for doing that, so, we had, I mean we, as an organization, we put events on, like major events, so we had the resources internally to help some of the organizations, our initiatives, carry out their activities, just by utilizing what we already have here. So it's sort of like we had the platform already, but we were doing something that went beyond our traditional programming.

This theme occurred repeatedly as participants stated that because SOCHE partnered with

local non-profits and professionals in these institutions who do community organizing work on a

daily basis, those involved in the Dayton CREATE effort were able to take greater responsibility

for their shared roles. Participants further commented that this partnering scenario helped the

community catalysts to discover more effective ways of working together to achieve not only the

objectives of their individual groups but also the shared goals of the entire project.

Data also suggest that SOCHE invested effort in gauging and shaping perceptions with

multiple stakeholders in the Dayton region.

According to a Caucasian male participant:

SOCHE selected individuals to work with the Florida group, because it had that citizen involvement, and at the same time, it had higher education's involvement, you know, senior leadership at some of the institutions, senior leadership at foundations in the area, so it was this mix of having some real senior leaders at different organizations. So we worked closely with the Dayton Daily News, television and radio stations and they did multiple stories about the initiative, and the launch of the application and what was involved. We worked, you know, with the libraries and used them as sort of a distribution center by having applications there.

This partnership design incorporated some elements of what French and Bell (1998)

called *Feedback,* a two-way process whereby the five groups in Dayton CREATE were

reporting back what they were learning to members of the group and to SOCHE. This allowed

SOCHE to have something to report back to the partners in the Creative Task Force, thus

offering the opportunity for these other partners to become more involved in the process.

Participants also stated that the feedback loop built into the partnerships set by SOCHE helped

the group learn about the different efforts and created opportunity for citizen-participants to

participate in the activities of other groups in Dayton CREATE.

In an African-American male participant's words:

When you're going to undertake anything in the community realm, you can't just say this is what we're going to do and this is how we're going to do it. You have to bring the community into the process, you have to engage them. You have to make sure they have some sense of ownership.

Responding to the question of how the groups organized and connected with others,

participants repeatedly stated that SOCHE's partnership-centered approach was critical for

building local ownership of the projects initiated. Local and shared ownership was about who

will do what, who will own the productive capacity, who will control it, and who will benefit

from the wealth created. A Caucasian male participant described it this way:

> We embarked on a real significant community planning process for downtown. And this one was different because there was room for everybody. It wasn't the same people around the table trying to resolve the same issue there is a feeling that now a plan was shaping up. Things may not be great, but we know where we're going. And that's half the battle, which we know where we're going. And that we're making progress and that there's not a silver bullet. That there are layers of things that make a difference, and we're working on short-term things while we solve the big issues and the big problems.

Interview data revealed that participants took advantage of existing resources and

infrastructures in the region while working on "Activated Spaces," an initiative of the Greater

Downtown Dayton Plan, which was set up to give new life to vacant downtown storefronts. The

initiative, which included the renovation and marketing of vacant storefronts at discounted rents

to members of the community as "pop-up shops" got more visibility in the region because of the

involvement of the Dayton CREATE catalyst.

The Activated Spaces initiative showcased the vibrancy of downtown's art, culture, and

shopping potentials. Interview participants described the Activated Spaces initiative as a better

way to showcase downtown properties and increase interest and investment in available office

spaces.

> One Caucasian male participant shared this comment:

> Pop-up shops, (small businesses) are a great example of how Dayton CREATE and the Dayton Downtown Partnership came together. The greater downtown plan called for more activity and more life on the street and this objective connected with one of the objective of Dayton CREATE. To promote the growth of retail outlets that is unique and local.

> The synergy that resulted from the efforts of the community catalysts and the partners in

the SOCHE network was repeatedly mentioned by participants who commented that many

objectives and programs of Dayton CREATE groups connected with and accelerated activities that were part of the greater downtown plan. The comment below by a Caucasian male illustrates how this is related to biking as a lifestyle choice.

> The work of SOCHE catalysts with bicycling became a key piece for all the activity going on downtown that fits in with the plan of the Dayton Downtown Partnership for making the Dayton region the hub for biking as a lifestyle.

SOCHE's Leadership Work: Creating Momentum

Participants commented that SOCHE stimulated a kind of entrepreneurial drive. They also indicated that the ability of SOCHE to connect the community catalysts to resources and organizations in area colleges and in the community as having both educational and social impact. Participants said this created new learning opportunities for students and young people in the Dayton region.

Selection of Community Catalysts

SOCHE's work was perceived as being mainly facilitative in nature. The higher education consortium provided the framework and followed the Florida process, yet the selection of the 32 catalysts who led the SOCHE effort was perceived by some participants as negative because it excluded others who would have contributed to the effort but were not selected for leadership within the Dayton CREATE project.

> One interviewee commented thus:

> SOCHE should have let it been open to anybody's who's interested, I mean, 'Why limit the group?

> SOCHE's leadership contended, however, that the selection process was democratic.

Applications were reviewed by a team consisting of 15 people who were from the Creative Task Force. Each application was evaluated using the Florida criteria sheet, a document that listed criteria like education, diversity and age as some of the parameters for selecting catalysts.

Reviewers also had to make comments on each application in a fashion similar to a systematic rating scale. There was a cut-off point, where the committee put a certain number of applicants aside to focus on those that met the benchmark suggested by Florida. Finally, according to SOCHE, the task force discussed the applications and selected the 32 catalysts

SOCHE maintained that the participants selected catalysts to achieve diversity even though some participants expressed skepticism about whether SOCHE actually achieved this objective. A situation in which 75% of those selected as community catalysts were Caucasian-white was perceived by African-American participants as evidence that the Dayton CREATE project lacked true diversity.

Apart from racial diversity, participants also had concerns about the diversity of skills and whether selected catalysts represented only Dayton and Montgomery County thereby failing to represent adequately other municipalities in the Greater Dayton region. There was, however, evidence from interviewees suggesting that in spite of the issues raised with selection of catalysts, many believed the projects and initiatives that emerged encouraged grassroots involvement in regional efforts. This grassroots involvement subsequently attracted diverse participation.

An African-American female participant described it this way:

These types of things would have been done in a closed board room without the involvement of the SOCHE catalysts, you know, the smoke filled backroom kind of thing, so it's exciting to see how many hundreds of people come in for public input, and participated on these different volunteer committees to put together the Greater Dayton Downtown Plan.

Deliberative Decision Making—Creative Expression

Although all catalyst group members, regardless of their role in the five groups, shared the common vision that the economic well-being of the Dayton region needed energizing,

observation and interview data showed differences in how the five catalysts groups made decisions about what initiative to focus on. Findings revealed that deliberative or inclusive decision making was critical to launching community-economic development projects. For example, the two most successful Dayton CREATE groups (Updayton and Film Dayton) primarily made decisions regarding initiatives and projects using multiple deliberative processes including public dialogues, focus group, mini-town halls, debates, and sometimes voting.

As mentioned earlier, the three groups on which this study is focused (Updayton, Film Dayton, and Creative Incubator) were more intentional in seeking out opinions and participation of others who were different from themselves. Although the design given to SOCHE by Florida and his Creative Class Group projected that each group would have the autonomy to seek diverse participation, the other two groups (This is Dayton and Innovation Collaborative Initiative) did not seem to have been as successful in this regard as the other three groups.

A Caucasian male participant described it in the following way:

> With Updayton, we sought out groups of people, people from all parts of Dayton not only from within the city, but also the suburbs, people that didn't necessarily look like me, people of different ages, young and old. It was challenging but also nice to have discussions with a group like that, who were not only interested in taking about the city but willing to do something.

Interview data showed that participants felt that the participation of citizens, who were not originally part of Dayton CREATE, had an educative and community-generating effect. Although not fully taped, interview participants repeatedly described how the participation of members of the public fostered fairness during planning thereby improving the quality of outcomes.

Here is how a Caucasian male participant described what Updayton did:

> We reached out to the Hispanic Chamber of Commerce, and Latino Connection, Gay Man's Choir Young Democrats the Urban League, and the African-American Chamber

of Commerce, You know, we had people join us from Parents, Families, & Friends of Lesbians and Gays(PFLAG),we care that they're involved. And not saying that other organizations don't, but we had to go out and really try and ask them to be a part of it, and they, folks still might not, but at least, I mean, they know that they're welcome into our group. We've tried to make sure that we're reaching out to everybody, you know, to bring everybody in, part of the conversation.

Participants stated that getting the diverse participants together was half the job;

according to them, getting these people to talk and make decisions together was even more

difficult but was equally rewarding once it happened

Below is a Caucasian male participant's description of the process used by Updayton and

Film Dayton:

I work with a lot of folks that think like me, so I'm trained to operate in a particular environment, and that the dialogue and debate process of our group kind of throws you into a group of people that are very different, and, you know, looking back, I think it's great, we come at it from all these different perspectives. I mean, it can be a little bit chaotic sometimes, and it's a little bit hard to navigate because of that but, I also think that's one of the strengths of the process our group made.

A Caucasian female participant commented thus:

We ask members of our group the question: What do you want to talk about? Then we draw up the agenda or plan, we say, because Film Dayton has three diverse missions under our very big umbrella. Everything we do is about film, with the end result of the, with economic development, but our, kind of, mission is art, education, and economic development. So we've got three very specific areas that we are always working on, all in regards to film. So that's what our meeting looks like, We talk about what's happening in our art, what's happening in education what's happening with economic development, then we discuss what else do we need to talk about.

A Caucasian male participant illustrated this point by saying:

I think we started the mini-town halls and summit was a way for us to get smarter. You know, have that quantitative information about what people are saying, but when you started to hear the conversations, you really start to understand some of the issues that yeah...entertainment, nightlife isn't good enough, in Dayton. So, you know, one, it was a way for us to understand more, to better characterize what issues were affecting downtown. Also too, you know, we brought in community stakeholders, three or four for each Updayton mini town hall forum, it was an opportunity to get them involved in the organization, and probably give them the opportunity to hear the concerns of young people, more than they ever have before. And then, also, it was getting people involved in

the group and I think people really enjoyed the idea of being able to come in and just talk, kind of get stuff off their chest for an hour or hour and a half with people there who could actually do something about it.

Observation, archival, and interview data from this study show that while two groups, (Updayton and Film Dayton) explored who the individual members were, members' skills and capacity, how to identify problems, and how the group could make a collective difference, Creative Incubator started by identifying the group's immediate objectives. The former groups made a smoother transition into organizing themselves to achieve set objectives, based on a previous knowledge of who had the skills or capacity to do pieces of the set tasks.

Another Caucasian male participant captured the scenario like this:

For our team, it was an ongoing conversation, a dialogue, and we had friction, often, but I think over time we kind of worked through it, and kind of learned. I think it was trust, was the biggest issue, when you're working with people you don't know, and you're all under the gun, like we were, to come up with something, you know, useful, it's hard to trust people you don't know, but I think over time you build up that trust, and that people are going to say, do what they said they were going to do.

Below is an African-American male participant's comment:

The process for moving forward during our discussions...I mean, after some point, you need to stop talking and start moving forward and I think we discussed a lot of things for those first five or six months, but at some point, I think we started using things like voting on things and as a way of establishing consensus and I think you have to, once you go through that process, you can't keep bringing up stuff that's gone passed, you know, you need to say, "Okay, that's it, and it's behind us, we've decided that and to move forward," and I think, I think that's one way that we handled it.

The other two groups, (Innovation Collaborative Initiative and This is Dayton) were unable to have such discussions. A good example is the Engineer-Arts collaboration organized by Innovation Collaborative Initiative—this group could not even agree on a goal or workable plan for the "Walk on Water" initiative that they were all passionate about. One reason for this was the inability to thoroughly talk and think through the concept. The collaboration failed largely because there was no discussion and no real connection made among group members. As

a result, the goals of the "Walk on Water" project were not properly defined and had no concrete outcomes. In this example, innovation was in abundance, but deliberation was minimal. As a result, the group was never able to establish a structure, the members lost momentum, and the group lost its identity.

For the Creative Incubator, a group that had diverse membership and volunteers from both traditional arts and new art forms, the result was different. Although this group had lots of conversations like Film Dayton and Updayton, findings suggest that the intergenerational nature of the membership brought a different dynamic to the group's decision-making process. While older members of this group were generally content with the progress and structure of the group, younger members expressed frustration. Interview participants said the ownership and or access to physical assets, like the venue of meetings, became a "control tool." The fact that the older members have the keys to the venue was perceived by younger members as giving power and control to older participants. Younger participants expressed a lack of group identity, a feeling of exclusion from the decision-making and knowledge-management processes. One interview participant from this group actually expressed a feeling of being used to do the physical grunt work. There was a feeling of disconnect and lack of genuine appreciation.

The Caucasian female participant captured it this way:

Having discussion was hard in our group, I guess because of being forced together, so, that was difficult. So you have to get through group dynamics. But we pretty quickly realized we had the asset of an actual space that one of our members had access to, which was great, and, I guess, so we started talking together about multi-use kind of arts facility, multi-media kind of meeting space, all kinds of different facets but, the control over the process became very difficult. You had people that were actually doing the legwork, and bringing, you know, literally heavy lifting, and, you know, trying to see this vision for the city, and other older people who had just been brought into it but they were in leadership and had control of the space.

Decision-making with "Creative Incubator" was done during discussions based on a traditional board room model. Members attended weekly meetings where plans were discussed and roles assigned. This process was different from those of Film Dayton and Updayton, which were more democratic. The younger members of the "Creative Incubator" group felt shut out by the traditional board room discussion model, adopted for the group by the older members.

An African-American male participant explained the situation this way:

We had an elected chair person, elected vice-chair, and, the other volunteers, but it was entirely just the few people on the Board making the decision, like the volunteers were expected to come in and help but no empowerment in terms of decision-making, really, and that was a big sticking point... *[Laughter]*

This participant's words were echoed by another interviewee:

Yea, young people were invited to meetings, sometimes, and then I think these were like separate like, "Okay now it's a closed process after a certain point," kind of. It changed as we went, but that was probably the hardest thing for me, having, you know, a couple older people from the suburbs that aren't necessarily involved in the art making, or anything being in control of the decision making.

A Caucasian male participant summarizes this situation thus:

In our group we had discussions and sometimes open, I mean, generally pretty open, and then there were a couple of times that we attempted like big volunteer meetings like open forums for people that want to get involved, you know, where twenty-something people would show up and talk, but, I think, especially with artists, since that was our focus, artists have to feel some kind of ownership over the process. I think it's natural for anyone, especially creative people but that piece was missing. But, I think, we would not have lost ground if we had done a more democratic process with it our discussions.

Perception of Florida's Work

SOCHE's decision to hire Richard Florida, the criteria used for selecting the 32 community Catalysts and the process for engaging the catalysts were perceived differently by citizens and participating community institutions. SOCHE's leadership maintained that Florida's creative class model had produced diverse partners and recruited responsive, passionate, and motivated individuals who were engaged with the need to make changes in the community;

however, some participants felt the Florida model fit the Dayton region into a one-size-fits-all

stamp.

A Caucasian interviewee commented thus:

I think our town kind of needed that, in order to pull enough people together, to have that kind of celebrity status that Florida has.

Another Caucasian female participant contended this way:

I think our community leaders have been kind of drinking the Richard Florida Kool-Aid for so long that they, like, have been talking about Richard Florida for so long that, by and large, kind of bought into it. I think the hard thing is that there are no new resources in our community.

An African-American male stated:

I think the SOCHE-Florida process was a little bit different with our two-day workshop. That two-day workshop felt very rushed, and we didn't have a lot of time to really come up with a strategy. Forming teams after 1 day of training; I think that, it's kind of managed chaos.

Another African-American female participant said:

Three hour kind of semi-slugfest, on the second day of the Richard Florida Seminar could be better. It is definitely, you know, they come in and they say okay you have your project now, go be part of whatever project you want to be part of, and the community's coming in at 4:30, and you have to tell them what you're going to do. That certainly forces an outcome but not necessarily as one that's to the benefit of the team or the community.

In spite of the rushed encounter with the Florida Group, the groups developed strategies

relevant for the Dayton region, especially in the areas of talent attraction and retention. Interview

data revealed that some members of the Dayton region had concerns about SOCHE's adoption of

Florida's theory of regional prosperity. Some believe the cost of bringing Dr. Florida and his

group could have been used to jump start other economic initiatives.

A Caucasian female participant makes this point:

I mean, there was so much upfront funding, and then, in terms of really getting behind implementation funding, you know, there are pockets that teams access, but some of us

were kind of like, "Okay, we're supposed to make stuff happen, and Richard Florida got all this money," to speak for two days, basically.

Some people expected the Florida group to be more prescriptive in its approach while others expected SOCHE to remain involved, ensuring that the projects that came out of the intervention could be achieved.

The two comments below make these points:

Florida described where talent is locating, but he doesn't really have the how-to manual, for, as a region, what you can do to change that, he just kind of sets you free, gives you some case studies and things like that, but we thought we would get a Creative Community Builders Handbook of sort, so I think there's kind of a missing piece of that.

It's almost like the dilemma, with this kind of initiative where maybe an organization like SOCHE or some foundation comes into the community and work with people to sell something and then, get the money, it's done, and this organization pulls out and then these people have to struggle with it.

Interview, observation, and archival data revealed that the SOCHE initiative definitely energized things happening in the Dayton region. For example, the Activated Spaces activities that Generation Dayton, Creative Incubator, and Updayton had been working on, became an important economic initiative for bringing more business to the downtown area of Dayton.

A Caucasian male participant described this momentum:

I think some of the things would happen anyway, they probably would happen slower, and they wouldn't have had any umph behind them, Updayton I don't think would have happened. So without the SOCHE CREATE, you wouldn't have had Up Dayton without Up Dayton you probably wouldn't have the pop up shops you definitely wouldn't have the activity going on at Garden Station, you wouldn't have the murals on the Wayne Avenue corridor, you wouldn't have the painting at the bridge, you wouldn't have the other stuff going on, I mean so I could go on and on point is, SOCHE's Dayton Create did this and I think that that has just been a real positive for the community.

Interview data also showed that SOCHE's decision to work with the Florida group was considered a success, more so by those institutions that were involved in the partnership than

ordinary citizens in the community. Partnering institutions pointed to the outcome produced by

two of the five groups from Dayton CREATE.

The following interviewee made the point:

You know, in 48 hours he created two organizations that worked to benefit my city, I said, that's all the proof I need. They exist five years later, they have a dedicated following, they do good things, they bring in revenue to people of the city, he knew something. He had some idea of what he was doing, because it worked, you know! And, you know, whether it's a business or an organization, if you start five new organizations, or five new businesses, or five new restaurants, or 5 whatever's, probably 40% will survive five years, that's probably a pretty good percentage, actually, if you get one, it probably is pretty good.

In summary, SOCHE's work was seen as being critical to the grassroots effort that

engaged young people and created momentum for economic activities that needed that kind of

energy. The decision to work with the Richard Florida group and the selection of the 32 catalysts

was not perfect. More people could have played a role in developing projects. Hiring Dr. Florida

and associates proved costly and provided limited training to the catalysts. SOCHE leadership

agreed that maybe the process was rushed but blamed this on a lack of funding for Dayton

CREATE. Nevertheless, the Consortium continued to be involved with the three groups that

remained from the original five.

A SOCHE member commented as follows:

I mean, we pulled out a little bit, but our, I see it more as our roles changed, and I often wonder if we would have stayed, as actively involved, with everything, what impact that would have had, if it would have helped sustain things even further. But, what we've done, like we are a major supporter of Film Dayton. This year we gave them $12,500, it doesn't underwrite everything, they still have to raise money elsewhere, but it's the largest gift, single gift that they usually get. We gave Updayton $10,000 and provided them office space. We provide advice. So we're staying involved that way. And then the C{space, almost funny, they still have the money we gave to them, cause that was one of the things they were talking about, like if we don't do anything, they have like $7,000 in this fund, they're like, I think we are going to give it out as mini-grants to individuals and artists in the community.

From the interviews and observations, SOCHE could have been more involved, playing a facilitator and providing training for the groups. Some participants opined that a trained facilitator would have been useful because this person could have assisted in cataloging the skills and knowledge of the group members. This would have in turn assisted the groups when they needed to call upon individuals with expertise relevant to later projects.

Downtown—Creating the Urban Fabric

Interview, observation, and archival data from this study showed that Dayton CREATE attracted young people with creative talent and energy to the goal of making downtown Dayton the core of the urban region. Interviews documented that for many of these creative types, remaining in the Dayton region or deciding to come in the first place was about being part of the urban fabric. For many young people and creative talent, the decision to come to or stay in the Dayton area was about becoming part of that unique place that was not like anywhere else in the region. Many wanted to optimize their whole life as well as their work.

A Caucasian female participant described this attraction like this:

There's just a new level of excitement going on than many can remember. I think the kind of downtown urban arts people feel a new commitment to the city that they haven't for several years.

A Caucasian female participant's comment illustrated this:

One thing we did early on was building a value proposition. You know, like a business, "What's our value proposition?'" Why should we go to you and say, "Move your business downtown.'" Or, invest your money downtown, or buy a condo, or come downtown for dinner. Any of the above and the value proposition is creating that unique sense of place. That it feels good, that attracts young talent, a place where you feel safe.

Building Confidence, Changing Patterns

Evidence the 2010 Dayton Citizen Perception Survey supported the conclusion that Dayton CREATE developed a sense of a renewed confidence about Dayton among young

college educated people and the general population. The survey, which is conducted for the City

of Dayton every two years by the Center for Urban and Public Affairs at Wright State

University, surveyed 1,287 people. In 2007 as compared to 2010, satisfaction with the city as a

place to live improved from 71.1 % to 75.3 %. This represents a statistically significant increase,

but is still lower than satisfaction from 2001 and before. An increasing number of respondents

indicated that they feel safe downtown during day and evening hours. Interview participants in

this study linked these positive statistics to changes in the pattern of public administration.

Interviewees contended that as more young creative people increasingly get courted to

either serve on boards or on committees, they have more opportunities to provide input and

become more engaged in making Dayton a good place to live. Similarly, Updayton stated in their

2011 annual report that the number of internship opportunities available to young college student

in the Dayton area increased significantly as a result of the awareness created by Dayton

CREATE.

A Caucasian male participant described the change brought about by Dayton CREATE

like this:

> I think things are changing because the leadership of the region has changed a lot. What
> I've noticed is that people who have shown leadership in those two organizations that
> emerged from Dayton CREATE also sit on a lot of the non-profit boards and sit on a lot
> of the community activities; so I think that has changed a lot from three years and I think
> a lot of that is the SOCHE piece but then also people that are young professionals and
> people that are 20's are finding their voice in this community, so that I think is a change
> from 10 years ago. We wouldn't have even talked about young professionals 10 years
> ago and now it's a critical part of public administration.

A Caucasian female participant on the board of the Dayton Downtown Partnerships

stated:

> We try to connect young people, with these community leaders and officials, and I think
> that has been important. So, they're engaged, we've got young professionals in our

community steering committee, so they're well-represented, you know, I get that ,perhaps having them as part of the board is something that we probably ought to consider.

Unaddressed Racism and Perceived Disconnects

Unaddressed structural racism negatively impacted community-economic work. Research interviewees disclosed that Dayton CREATE members were aware of the negative impact of racism or perception of it in Dayton, but just did not know what to do about it.

A Caucasian female discussed racism this way:

We're still one of the most segregated communities in the United States. And, you know, that's a challenge for the region and our downtown. And that's something we continue to work through, and we're not going to solve all the social issues, we're not going to break down all those barriers.

Some Dayton residents commented that there was a lack of parity because African-American colleges were not involved. For example, The Dayton campus of Central State University was believed to have been largely excluded. This type of exclusion was seen as a missed opportunity because it hindered the opportunity to tap into the capacity of faculty members in this historical black college, to recruit their students for Dayton CREATE and get them engaged in the projects. Increasing the diversity and quality of participation thus led to an outcome perceived as a missed opportunity.

Some participants believed this situation undermined the ability of predominantly African-American institutions to engage their students and reduced the ability of African-American participants to engage and mobilize with fellow members of their neighborhoods.

An African-American female participant illustrated this perception:

Racism and perception of it is a problem. You know those meetings and forums held downtown or over there, in the suburb. Even when we got Updayton to bring the diversity forum across the bridge, to the RTA Cultural center, we didn't get enough black turnouts. And we got less white people show up...So yeah, it's a problem.

This perception of lack of inclusion was strengthened by the notion that although the

Dayton region is divided along race and economic status, Florida's 4T model speaks of tolerance

but failed to directly address issues of privilege and status as they played out in this racially

divided community.

Another Caucasian female participant described it this way:

> A lot of things in Dayton so far have either been black or white, for example, and to use other demographics, old or young, and things like that. We're not a very diverse city, and, so, in my group none of us know. How do I respectfully pull information from this other person that I value but I don't know how to let them know that I value them? And that's an entire learning curve that needs to happen.

Participants in the SOCHE-led project disclosed that Caucasian-white people were not

always comfortable talking about race and racism. One Caucasian female participant described

this conundrum it as follows:

> It's the chicken and the egg problem because until you learn about the problem, you don't know that it's a problem. But you can't learn about the problem until somebody's willing to talk to you about it, but you know, true some people felt shut out of the conversation, and, you know, until, in those conversation situations, until somebody would say to me, "You're completely neglecting a population of people," or "You're completely neglecting an experience," I wouldn't even know that, because I'm just sharing my experience. So it's really a problem both ways.

A Caucasian male described it another way:

> It's not a lack of caring for other, and this doesn't make it okay, but I think a lot of these people, it's not a lack of caring or it's not a specific intolerance, it's a lack of knowing, and it's because they don't come from the African-American experience.

College Education Versus Community Wisdom

Dayton CREATE failed to include individuals who were not highly educated.

Participants perceived that people without a college education were marginalized or excluded

from the call to make Dayton region better. The term "young creatives" became associated with

educational attainment and resulted in another missed opportunity for people who were willing

and able to contribute, had relevant experience, and community wisdom.

An African-American male participant illustrates this:

Yes, the Florida initiative was specifically about attracting the creative class and it was specifically about attracting people with a certain degree of education. Since that's what the economic theory proved. It says, "Your city will be better if you can have more college graduates.'" That's what Dayton adopted. So, yes, the Florida initiative excluded many and didn't necessarily care so much about people who had only graduated from high school.

Poverty Versus Prosperity

Poverty presented Dayton CREATE with another obstacle. Data from interviews showed

that some Dayton residents were marginalized not only because they did not have a college

education but also because they lacked the capacity to participate due to difficult family

situations. Involvement in Dayton CREATE and its projects such as the forums and meetings

with the Greater Downtown Dayton Partnerships required a commitment of time which low

income people did not have.

A Caucasian Male participant illustrated this point like this:

Some people who live on the Westside attended the forum at the RTA center because it was closer to their neighborhood but could not get bus money to attend any of our other forums which held downtown. I think we missed a critical perspective and demographic in our conversation on the topic of prosperity.

Engaging Technology but Not Engineers @Wright Patterson Air Force Base

Florida asserted that technology was a vital requirement for innovation leading to

prosperous communities. The Dayton CREATE project failed to fully engage with the

technology rich workforce from the region, especially from Dayton's Wright Patterson Air force

base (WPAFB), which is the largest Air Force research and development facility in the nation.

There is a strong connection among technology, leadership, and institutionalized education in the

Dayton area, yet the technology workforce at WPAFB does not seem to be plugged into the urban core.

For example, although the location decision of General Electric in Dayton was largely linked to the existence of WPAFB and the University of Dayton (the largest private institution with resource dollars), there was a perception that the workforce associated with these three institutions did not have close relationships with one other. The WPAFB workforce was believed to be out of touch with downtown Dayton, even though it's only a 10-minute drive.

A Caucasian female participant described it this way:

A lot of these technology companies that feed off the base, they think they have to be right outside the fence, and that's a challenge for us.

Another Caucasian male participant illustrated this further:

They won't do that 10-minute drive. I know Springfield Street which connects downtown to the base is not a very comfortable drive, and that feeds into the perception that Dayton's a dump, that downtown is unsafe, that's a problem, we deal with, so many perceptions that make our job, our collective job, much harder.

The WPAFB disconnect was seen as another missed opportunity for Dayton. Participants contended that it is not just how the people already connected to the place feel but also what people who pass through tell other people about the place they have been to and how they describe the place. Since thousands of military personnel from across the nation and the world serve a tour of duty at WPAFB every year, this institution is not just an asset in terms of innovative technology and job opportunities for talent in the region, it is also an asset that could be critical for changing the perception of the downtown if appropriately connected. This would translate into economic benefits for the Dayton region.

> That people are talking about like, how many of us have actually been to Austin to know that it really is that cool of a place to be and that its, you know, the kind of place that all of our young people should be moving to, or, but, I think the tone of how people talk about Dayton has changed a little bit.

Lesson—Change—Transformation—Success

Interview and observation data revealed that Dayton CREATE economic development work in the Dayton region positively impacted the personal and professional development of participants, in addition to giving a much-needed boost to the regions' economy. Although this study did not set out to be an appraisal of SOCHE, interviewees revealed that the catalysts believed the effort engaged young people to participate in the retention of college graduates and development of the urban fabric as well as provided new insight into the Dayton region's economic situation and opportunities.

Participants in Dayton CREATE perceived that their involvement led to career-related benefits and experiences, including positions on the boards of major non-profits and municipal committees. Some participants said it allowed them to become connected with others which led to the creation of larger social and career networks. This enlargement and strengthening of career and social networks was also linked to a sense of community. This sense of belonging to a community and the relationships formed within the community became a driving force for young people's continued participation in community-economic development work. The following is how a Caucasian male participant described it:

> One of the outcomes is the number of connections that were created between the volunteers and other people in the city. I'm talking about people who never would have necessarily met. and all the other volunteers who have gotten involved over the years, because of the work that they're doing or how they've been asked to serve on other committees or other boards, or be a part of different initiatives, going on, in the region, and how they've become engaged in other ways, they're not necessarily doing the initiative they started out on, but they're become just as active in the community.

> An African-American female participant described it this way:

> I think, one of the best things to come out of it is just the networks that you build of people that care about the community and knowing all the different, knowing all these different people and, you know, connecting them, then, on Facebook even after the process is over and knowing people that I can contact to ask about different areas.

A Caucasian male participant had this to say:

For me, personally, it was a sort of window into a different world, I made good friends, I met a lot of nice people, a lot of amazing people, actually we have a lot of talent, filmmaking talent in Dayton, there's a young lady, younger than me, who actually makes Hollywood films, and she was living in Dayton. She helped a lot because, whenever I need help, like when drafting the film tax incentive legislation, I call her or email her right away, 'cause she knows, she has connections, she can evaluate the legislation. She gave me a very powerful resource for my own professional use…amazing connections.

One other Caucasian male participant stated this:

It took 32 people who didn't know each other, to start this, or most the folks you didn't know, and it connected those networks, folks that were highly involved, doing stuff, and those networks are better connected. So, even if none of the projects did a damn thing, you at least started to connect those networks, which is a huge thing.

New Crop of Leaders

Interview data showed that members of the Dayton region believed that the Dayton CREATE effort spawned a new crop of leaders who were interested in being engaged and who wanted to play active leadership roles in making the region a more attractive place.

Below is how a Caucasian female participant described it:

I think, in Dayton, for decades we've had this leadership vacuum where we expected our big industrial bosses that always ran things to keep running the community, and that's not there anymore, and we had this lack of leadership, but now I think there is, this effort, I think is helping to spawn new leadership in terms of the quality of place issues., I think it's helped make a sense that, 'Hey I can get involved in making the community better and more attractive for people.

One Caucasian male participant described it this way:

Because we exist, the Ohio film office contacts us when there's a job in Ohio. Because we exist, we worked with our partners in Cincinnati and Cleveland to actively petition to raise the Ohio Motion Picture Tax Credit, which makes the State as a whole more attractive to outside productions, which means, if not Dayton specifically, yet, Cincinnati will get some of that action. And when Cincinnati gets the action, that's close enough to home and that's within the Region, that our people work on it.

Another female Caucasian gave an example:

I got a phone call the other day from a guy from Australia who's shooting a film in Hamilton, and he said, "I need a personal assistant. Can you get me someone?" I was able to give a guy a job, who otherwise didn't have a jo., Things like that are really, really small, and they're behind the scenes and nobody knows it's happening, but if enough of it starts happening, then we start building that momentum.

The establishment of a one-stop center for acquiring film permits rather than the previous practice of going to three different departments was credited to a new collaboration between Film Dayton partnerships with the City of Dayton. The partnership between one Dayton CREATE group and Think T.V. expanded to include NEON Cinema and Wright State University, which started offering a film boot camp in the Dayton region. There is also the new internship experience happening with Film Dayton and Wright State University.

Following is how a Caucasian female participant describes it:

Something that nobody knows about is what we're doing to try and attract film productions to come to town. And we're building up a location database to let a person know everything that's available in Dayton where they can come and shoot. We're also building up a database of potential production offices. People who make movies need to come into town for three, four months at a time, and they need a home base, which they're not going to rent for more than four months but they need a place to be. The Downtown Dayton Partnership has been great providing us both pictures of locations as well as potential offices for space like that.

Another piece of evidence is the change arising from the emergence of *Dayton Most Metro* and *African Metro News*, two online magazines founded by Dayton CREATE participants, in response to needs expressed at the Updayton initial summit by participants seeking central hubs for sharing information about events in the region and information that college students and immigrants respectively may find useful.

Striving for a More Inclusive Place

Participants interviewed talked about lessons they have learned from their involvement in Dayton CREATE. First they acknowledged that racial and ethnic diversity enriched both

personal relationships and community well-being. Participants in the SOCHE-led effort are finding new ways to seek the involvement of all citizens, affording them full access to resources and promoting equal treatment.

A Caucasian female participant illustrated it like this:

Film Dayton is looking at opportunities to reach out into the schools, that are, that represent our community. I mean we've done things at Kettering-Fairmont and we've done things at the University of Dayton, but now we're saying, can we do something at, with the connection of one of our board members who is African American. He teaches out at a tech school in West Dayton and he's their video and media supervisor. We're trying to figure out if there's a way we can plug into that school.

Empowerment

Although previous comments from some participant, especially African-Americans and young people, suggest mixed feeling about the empowering nature of the process of Dayton CREATE, a Caucasian female participant provided a different viewpoint:

It's empowering people, and what I would often wonder is, you know, we have these communities out there, these neighborhoods that are struggling, and you have, say, like an empty lot, in the middle of a block, and how many folks are looking at that empty block or worn down house, and saying, "Somebody should do that," or "I wish they would do that," or whatever, and they're all thinking the same thing, and it's, if we had someone to come in and just get 'em started, with a little bit of organization, a little bit of motivation, get 'em started, they would run with it. They would do something with it. So, I think that, to me, is the biggest lesson I've taken out of the processes, that, you can empower people to do stuff, and that, just a little bit of inertia to get 'em goin' and they'll run with it.

Linking Themes and Research Findings: A Summary

I. Talent—Universities—Create Competitive: captured under this theme are the participants' words and other information in the data, which supports the notion that to spur growth and prosperity, mid-size cities and urban regions should focus on investing in a higher education curriculum that can create a concentration of innovative talent. To be competitive in a tough global marketplace and recapture the lead in science and

technology, regions have to work with colleges and universities on ways to attract and retain talent. Also captured are participants' words and information in the data, which highlight the challenges of this economic model for the Dayton region.

II.   Partnerships—Community Planning—Created Synergy: Summarized here are the participants' words in the data, which support the notion that community economic development work requires a different kind of partnership. This is a partnership where shared goals give birth to unintended collaborations and a synergy and momentum that makes community planning inevitable. Also captured are participants' words and information in the data, which highlight the challenges of this strategy for the Dayton region.

III.   Deliberative Decision-Making—Creative Expression and Momentum: Captured here is information that supports the notion that community economic development work thrives when planning and decision making are done within the framework of dialogue and deliberation. This section captures the participants' perception that a planning and decision-making process that intentionally seeks inclusion and encourages individual and shared responsibilities is more likely to succeed in generating momentum for economic prosperity. Also captured are deficiencies of this claim for the Dayton region.

IV.   Soche's Work: Connecting Citizens—City Campus—Creating Momenum: Summarized here is information that supports the notion that higher education and higher education consortia have to move beyond the traditional concept of community service learning and rethink how they engage both the student and larger communities to leverage their critical role in community economic development work. Also captured here is information in the data that highlights the innovation in SOCHE's work, as well as the difficulties and

limitations for higher education-community work in the Dayton region based on Florida's 4T model.

V.   Unadressed Racism and Perceived Disconnects Result in Missed Opportunities: Summarized under this theme are the participants' words and other information in the data which supports the notion that lack of parity and unaddressed racial tension, couched under the umbrella of diversity, creates a sense of disconnect for African Americans, Latinos, and some immigrants who could be key players in sustainable community economic development work.

I.   Lessons, Change, Innovation, and Transformation: Summarized under this theme are the participants' words and other information that supports the notions of new insights, lessons, AND personal and professional transformations as a result of the SOCHE led community-economic development work in the Dayton region.

Chapter V: Discussion of Findings

Dayton CREATE was rooted in the following;

(a) Creation of a shared purpose.

(b) Development of a strong change leadership for the different initiatives.

(c) Building and delivering an effective plan to engage non-traditional stakeholders in the process.

This chapter is organized around the primary questions of this research study. The research questions are again posed and followed by a discussion of how evidence from the study provided possible answers to each individual question. This is followed by the introduction of a scholarly proposal—"the 4D-cycle of engagement," which is an adaptation of an appreciative inquiry model that I believe is relevant to the Dayton effort as well as other change efforts. Finally, the chapter concludes with some recommendations and a scholarly discussion of the recommendations that connects them to the multidisciplinary literature.

Answering the Research Questions

1. What is the significance of SOCHE's work in the 2008 community-economic development effort known as Dayton CREATE?

As a consortium of higher education institution SOCHE used its affiliation with universities, foundations, and institutions in the region to address the economic needs of the Dayton area by establishing partnerships and recruiting organizations and members of the community to build engagement and responsiveness. The research findings suggest that SOCHE was able to empower 32 community catalysts to facilitate community planning processes and encourage citizens to be part of framing issues related to developing a more prosperous economic future for the Dayton area.

SOCHE's effort revealed the importance of grassroots learning. Higher education institutions not only exist to create and enhance talent but should also be actively building human capacity to improve the quality of life for all citizens. SOCHE's success with the Dayton effort can be attributed to its ability to leverage the relationships and network of influence to provide community resources to Dayton CREATE. This type of influence leveraging (Burns, 1978) seemed more useful than perhaps the formal authority structures of a single higher education institution. SOCHE's leadership role with other organization in the region was more reciprocal and relational (Wagner, 2008).

For SOCHE, the Dayton CREATE project provided an opportunity to collaborate outside of higher education. Analysis of the literature on community/campus partnerships shows that the elements of effective partnership are often emphasized within community building and higher education literature, but rarely are the voices and perspectives of the community given prominence (Cruz & Giles, 2000). Although the SOCHE effort in Dayton attempted to bridge this gap via a largely grassroots approach, data from the study showed that this work and the collaborations it involved were seen in different lights by members of the community.

SOCHE's process of working with non-traditional stakeholders in the Dayton region generated a momentum that multiplied through social and organizational networks and connections in the Dayton region. SOCHE provided a platform that connected groups and assisted the Dayton community to redefine their relationships to each other. This redefinition of relationships allowed groups working on similar issues, but unaffiliated to reshape those relationships and combine capacities to act on shared goals for the Dayton community.

In conclusion, SOCHE played a critical leadership role in encouraging the participation of non-traditional stakeholders in the planning processes which resulted in community

development innovations and tangible outcomes. SOCHE's success with Dayton CREATE

exemplifies capacity to serve the Dayton region in a non-traditional way. By its actions, SOCHE

helped the region develop a civic infrastructure that was not restricted to a singular objective or

group but was directed towards the benefit of all.

2. What are the benefits, disadvantages and trade-off of the use of Richard Florida's 4T
   model as an engagement strategy?

Richard Florida's 4T model in the Dayton effort had benefits, disadvantages, trade-offs,

and lessons for the Dayton region. For some institutions and public office holders, the 4T model

was a tool focused on seeking and attracting certain groups of people to addressing the region's

economic issues.

For others, especially participants, the 4T model created an opportunity to be included.

Ironically, even if not so intended, the engagement process and focus on "talent" created a

"disconnect" for many African-American and immigrants who perceived the process as

"excluding" them because they lacked education or perceived capacities as well as ignoring

issues of racism and classism. The question is whether the 4T model intentionally excluded them

or whether they would have been excluded anyway? Data from the study suggest that the lack of

discussion and exploration of Dayton's history of race and perception of racial inequality as part

of the 4T model was a major contributor to this alleged exclusion. The participating institutions

sought diversity but failed to be inclusive.

Based on the findings of this study, I believe that "tolerance" as one of the key parts of

the 4T model, especially in a region with a long history of racial divide, was an inadequate

construct for creating sustainable economic growth and social justice. This is because the

construct contributed to a sense of exclusion or "we are not seen as being good enough." The

lack of a significant discussion of "race and poverty issues" created an increased sense of marginalization and exclusion, especially for African Americans and immigrants.

Racial residential segregation has continued to exist in Dayton and in the region, as in all of America. Dayton in particular has had a long history of poverty and segregation in neighborhoods (Massey & Eggers, 1990). Poor minority neighborhoods in West and East Dayton have suffered as a result of the departure of local businesses, financial institutions, and large employers from the areas. Findings from this study suggest that the 4T model led to disinvestment and strengthened the perception of exclusion for many in these poor minority neighborhoods.

This finding of real and perceived sense of marginalization is supported by evidence in the inclusion literature, which contended that, "the more people fail to raise and openly discuss issues of power, racism, classism, oppression, and privilege, the more they must make assumptions, often incorrect, based on incomplete information about why their partners make various strategic decisions" (Leiderman et al., 2002).

In conclusion, the use of Richard Florida's 4T ideas as part of SOCHE processes in Dayton CREATE effectively introduced a disciplined, albeit narrowly focused, model for participants to follow. It was effective to the extent that it raised the consciousness of the Dayton region in its quest for a bright future. Yet the findings of this study indicated that "tolerance" fell short of creating a supportive environment for those in poverty, who represent a majority of Dayton's population. The interaction of participants and their exchange of ideas nevertheless generated a momentum across cultural, professional, and personal boundaries that allowed people in the region to begin to look at issues and their own values in a fresh manner.

3. How did dialogue and deliberation, as a decision-making framework, impact the desired outcome of Dayton CREATE?

Elements of the engagement processes used by groups in the Dayton CREATE effort align with the literature on deliberative dialogue. The planning processes and the efforts of Updayton to target diverse groups via events like Pints & Perspectives, mini-town halls, and its annual creative summit initiative were all designed to create a time and place for deliberation to take place. Behind the deliberation lay the assurance that actions would be taken.

The two more successful groups, Updayton and Film Dayton, were open to learning and discovering through interaction, dialogue, and even heated argument and debate. This organic process worked because the citizens-participants were not particularly pushing or advocating one solution or design. Rather, they were guided by the desire to create a vision and to nurture that shared vision or dream of a better future of their region.

Based on conversations at the grassroots level, people actually wanted a constructive discussion about the future of their community. Participants wanted to be part of a process that invited dialogue about various problems, trade-offs, and options for increasing the region's economic competitiveness. Deliberative dialogue and decision effectively facilitated a rough sort of deliberative democracy which Carson and Hartz-Karp (2005) called "representativeness," which contends that there needs to be an opportunity for ordinary citizens, representatives of the population, to come together to deliberate on issues important to their well-being and that of their community.

Groups like Updayton and Film Dayton used deliberative practices to capture the complexity of issues and the untapped ideas of participants. For example, the decision to host conversations about nightlife in the Oregon district and conversations about the value of

diversity in Dayton were decided by catalysts and participants in the Updayton group. Similar

rigor went into the discussion and decision making by members of Film Dayton. They debated

how best to develop the region's capacity for film production and engage state and local public

office holders in a decision of a Film Tax incentive to develop the industry.

The groups that had more discussions and considered alternative propositions were able

to rally more participants, who were willing to pitch in, because they felt a sense there was room

for their perspectives in the framing of what to do. This process not only led to a willingness to

discuss ideas and accept trade-offs, but it also engendered the acceptance of responsibility for

decisions made. This process aligns with Rosenberg's (2007) depiction of deliberative

democracy as occurring when the following conditions are met:

- Suspension of action to create the political space for deliberation to take place. There must be assurance the decisions will not be taken and practical action will not be initiated until after deliberation has completed.
- Space for deliberation must be inclusive. This requirement is variously elaborated as the inclusion of all those parties potentially affected or all the relevant points of view.
- The deliberation must be public so that all those affected but not directly involved can be apprised of and can potentially respond to the substance of the deliberations.
- Results of deliberation must be binding on those involved, and participants must not be able to circumvent deliberation outcomes by recourse to alternative means of affecting policy.
- The deliberation must have some bearing on the formulation of public policy. This may involve playing an advisory role to elected officials or public administrators, or the deliberation body may be more directly involved in the formulation of law or policy. (p. 9)

Interview data showed that the use of deliberative process by both Updayton and Film

Dayton gave their decision making process a kind of moral force, which allowed participants to

become more trusting of one another and assisted in the successful launch of their projects.

A Caucasian female participant commented thus:

We ask members of our group the question: What do you want to talk about? Then we draw up the agenda or plan, we say, because Film Dayton has three diverse missions under our very big umbrella. Everything we do is about film, with the end result of the,

with economic development, but our, kind of, mission is art, education, and economic development. So we've got three very specific areas that we are always working on, all in regards to film. So that's what our meeting looks like, We talk about what's happening in our art, what's happening in education what's happening with economic development, then we discuss what else do we need to talk about.

The deliberative process which worked for Dayton CREATE was a process where participants identified and focused on a specific, tangible problem that resonated with all participants, not only the people affected by problems but also the officials close to the problem who had knowledge about the resources the groups could utilize.

A Caucasian male participant illustrated this point by saying:

I think we started the mini-town halls and summit was a way for us to get smarter. You know, have that quantitative information about what people are saying, but when you started to hear the conversations, you really start to understand some of the issues that yeah,...entertainment, nightlife isn't good enough, in Dayton. So, you know, one, it was a way for us to understand more, to better characterize what issues were effecting Downtown. Also two, you know, we brought in community stakeholders, three or four for each Updayton mini-town hall forum, it was an opportunity to get them involved in the organization, and probably give them the opportunity to hear the concerns of young people, more than they ever have before. And then, also, it was getting people involved in the group and I think people really enjoyed the idea of being able to come in and just talk, kind of get stuff off their chest for an hour or hour and a half with people there who could actually do something about it.

Interview and observation data revealed that when issues are collectively named, the processes of exploring options for dealing with them quickly emerge. Also, when the tensions among members were identified and confronted, a framework for a more widely accepted decision-making process emerged for implementation. Groups that lacked such a process and were not as open and inclusive in the naming and framing of the problems and possible solutions were not as successful as others. Interviewees repeatedly said having inclusive naming and framing of issues increased the probability that decisions made reflected their collective vision and spurred collective action.

Stohl and Walker (2002) see the results of collaboration in dialogue as multi-fold, involving individual and organizational goals. Individual goals may include contributing to a project one believes in, the desire to see a successful end state, and having one's expectations and motivation for participating met. The organizational goal is the achievement of a solution to the initial problem or the development of a new idea. The inability of innovation collaborative to create an environment, where members' individual goals could creatively emerge and fuse with those of others, resulted in group goals that were unrealizable.

An African-American male participant commented on this:

It was exciting at first to see that engineers and artists had these different ideas and innovations but for some reason, we were not able to coordinate the ideas and agree on how to work together. We were not able to form a quorum for meetings sometimes because people did not show up for the meetings .I t was a frustrating experience for some of us.

One Caucasian male participant captured it this way:

These were all volunteer-led initiatives that the ones who show up at any given time, are the ones who have feedback into the initiative and then they're able to shape it. Now, the problem with that is in Innovation Collaborative, some people decided they know better than everyone else, and they could run the gamut of just trying to focus their energy in what they wanted to accomplish instead of thinking about what's best for the group, so other pulled back and the group lost momentum.

The comment below is from another Caucasian female participant:

Some highly vocal members of our group created an atmosphere where other would say, "Okay, we'll kind of go along, but it's not what we really want," and then when that person was finally out of the loop, the group would try to re-focus but by then, we already lost the wind needed to sail.

As evident from this study, sustainable economic change can be achieved by fundamentally changing the working relationships in the community through purposeful citizens' engagement. As citizens interact, they learn and change how they deal with one another. This continuous interaction is not just to have a "feel good" relationship. Instead, it often involves

debates and disagreements before leading to a better decision about what can be done and how it should be done.

This was however not often easy, especially in a situation where a large member of the population that needed to be engaged were struggling with poverty. This backdrop strengthened the perception of exclusion. To be sure, some Dayton residents may have indeed been excluded either because they were raising children, managing families as single parents, or possibly working multiple jobs. The Census Bureau (2010) estimates that 15.7% of people in Montgomery County between 2006 -2010 were living below poverty level. A chunk of this population may have been invariably excluded from being part of the discussion or decision making about the very issue of poverty, which affects them directly. This type of situation only strengthens the notion that economic and cultural differences among community members results in power imbalances that can create serious challenges for community economic development work.

A Caucasian male participant illustrated this point like this:

> Some people who live on the Westside attended the forum at the RTA center because it was closer to their neighborhood but could not get bus money to attend any of our other forums which held downtown. I think we missed a critical perspective and demographic in our conversation on the topic of prosperity.

Use of deliberative practices by some groups in the SOCHE effort helped to foster innovation, the diversity of ideas, and an awareness of others. The inability of Dayton CREATE groups to fully engage participation on the broader issue of race and poverty may have limited the transformational potential of this process. While dialogue and deliberative practices may have empowered some, it did not so empower those who felt excluded.

Scholarly Proposal: 4 D-Cycles of Engagement

In view of the findings from this study, I propose an adaptation of the 4D-cycle, an appreciate inquiry model, to illustrate how the Dayton CREATE project developed. This cycle consists of the following: discovery, dream, design, and destiny (Cooperrider & Whitney, 2001). The 4D cycle is a fluid community planning process that can be implemented as both a formal or as an informal process. This model is useful in situations, like in the Dayton region, where multiple stakeholders were talking and working together toward shared economic goals. Driven by the act of asking positive questions, the principle of appreciative inquiry was useful in building and sustaining momentum and change.
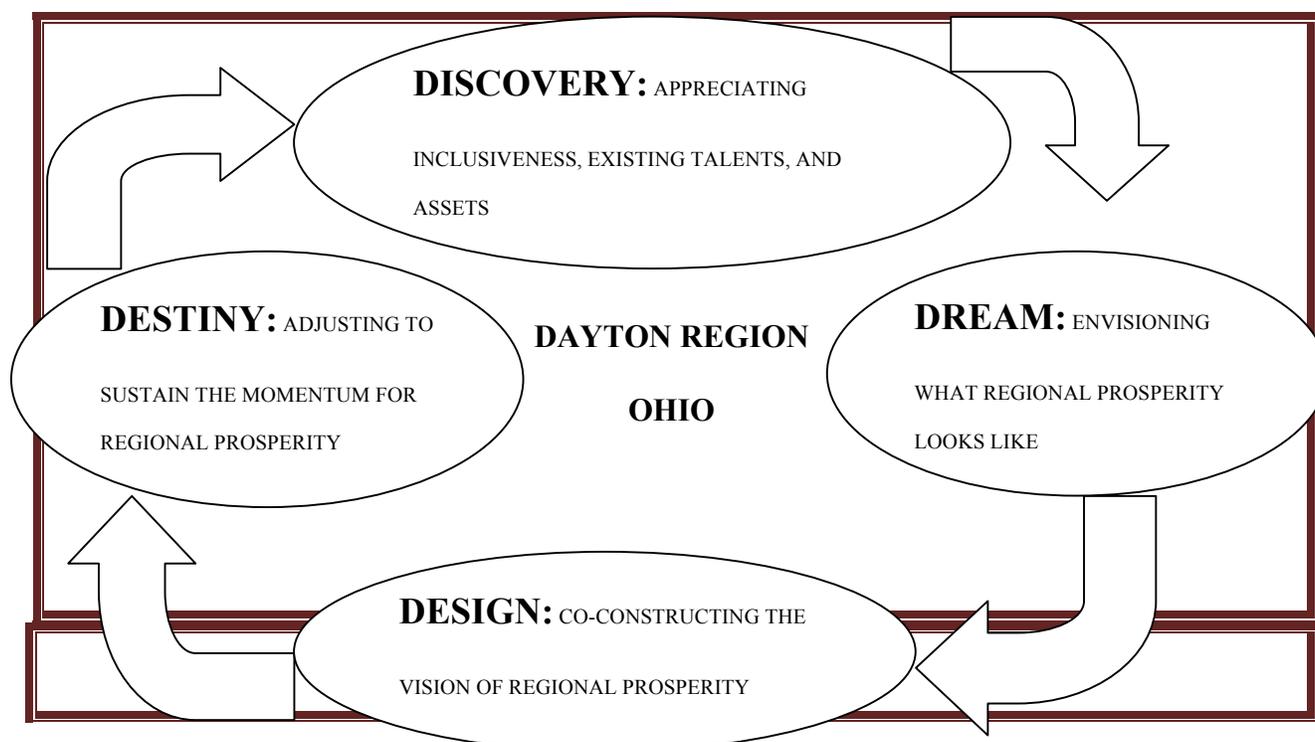

Figure 5.1. Adaptation of appreciative inquiry 4D-Cycle to explain dayton CREATE community- economic development work.

This 4D-cycle as depicted above can be described as a community planning process model at work in SOCHE's Dayton CREATE project for the discovery of what was going on within the region and for envisioning of dreams and ideas—from diverse perspectives— about what it would take to realize the shared goal. The re-design of the ailing region's economy was envisioned and analyzed based on the vocalized discoveries at the planning meetings, summits, committee meetings, and mini-town hall events.

Adaptation of 4D as Strategic Design for Economic Development Work

The 4D approach could be adopted as a strategic design for leading organizations able to work with and appreciate both traditional and non-traditional partners by deliberating to define goals, identifying resources, and executing economic development components of their plan by following collectively established criteria for prioritizing projects and selecting implementing partners. This design would include developing monitoring and evaluating mechanisms that can document impacts.

- Discovery-: In this phase, a group or organization starts by appreciating and seeking inclusiveness, existing talents, resources and assets in addition to finding ways to bring these different shades to their discussions and planning. The group or organization will seek out both traditional and non-traditional alliances that can lead to innovation and new discoveries.

- Dream-: In this phase these multiple stakeholders discuss and envision what regional prosperity might look like.

- Design-: In this phase, these multiple stakeholders discuss and articulate a design capable of drawing upon the existing assets to realize envisioned goals

- **Destiny-:** In this phase, multiple stakeholders discuss and design ways to strengthen the affirmative capability of the whole system so that it can sustain the momentum generated.

I will illustrate how my proposal of the adaptation of the 4D model can be useful as a scholarly-oriented model for community-economic development work by demonstrating the relationship between the 4D model and the Dayton CREATE projects. To do this, I will discuss each step in the 4D cycle and refer to some examples from the successful Dayton CREATE projects to illustrate how these projects followed the cycle. I will similarly show how the unsuccessful projects did not follow the cycle. In the discussion below the first three groups successfully used the 4D model and the last two were unsuccessful in their attempts to follow it.

4D Model Relationship with Dayton CREATE Projects

      Projects that were successful.

Updayton. This group's goal was to spur economic growth within the Dayton region by attracting and retaining young talent. In line with the 4D model, Updayton displayed an appreciation for diversity and inclusiveness, at least relative to the others groups, by reaching out to existing talents, resources and assets across racial, gender, generational and sexual orientation.

- Discovery*:* Updayton sought out whites, blacks, immigrants and LGBT people of different age groups in its quest for a making a more holistic discovery of how to make colleges in the Dayton region more attractive to new students while also learning how the region can retain college graduates and young talents—described as the next generation of the creative class—the engineers, writers, lawyers, computer programmers, scientists, artists and architects, and anyone who is between the ages of 18-40 who creates for a living.

- Dream*:* Updayton had consultation and planning meetings; conducted a survey; and organized focus group meetings and public forums to ensure a broader discussion and envisioning of what regional prosperity might look like if the region was able to attract new students and retain young talent. Updayton sought out and connected with existing talents, resources, and assets from traditional stakeholders like area colleges and universities like Wright State University, University of Dayton, and Sinclair Community College. They connected with city, county, and state agencies and with students associations, fraternities, and sororities on campuses. The group also connected with non-traditional alliances like the area chamber of commerce; owners of night clubs, restaurants in the Oregon District as well as the leadership of Victoria Theatre and the Shuster Center for Arts. The group similarly connected with associations like the Dayton Dance group, Dayton Urban League, Latino Connection, the Association of Young Professionals, as well as groups like the Parents, Families, & Friends of Lesbians and Gays (PFLAG).

- Design*.* These multiple stakeholders in traditional and non-traditional alliances were thus able discuss and articulate an annual Creative Summit design that drew upon their existing assets as a whole.

- Destiny. The group incorporated and became a 501(c)3 organization that continues to discuss ways to strengthen the affirmative capability of the whole system to create sustainable economic destiny for the Dayton region.

Film Dayton. Film Dayton's goal was to build an infrastructure to encourage new film making in the Dayton area in its quest to foster the growth of the "creative class" and strengthen the local economy.

- Discovery. Film Dayton to some extent also sought inclusiveness of existing talents, resources, and assets across racial, gender, generational, and sexual orientation in its quest for a making a more holistic discovery of how film production companies looking to shoot in Dayton may benefit from working with actors, area colleges, private-sector organizations, and professional networks in the Dayton region.

- Dream. Film Dayton had consultation and planning meetings and organized focus group meetings and public forums to ensure a broader discussion and envisioning of what regional prosperity might look like if the region was able to make the Dayton region an attractive site for film producing companies thereby providing employment for local talent and publicity for the region. Film Dayton sought out and connected with existing talents, resources and assets from traditional stakeholders like area colleges and universities like they connected with city, county, and state agencies. The group also connected with non-traditional alliances like the area chamber of commerce and owners of historic buildings as well as the leadership of Victoria Theatre and the Shuster Center for Arts. The group similarly connected with association like the Dayton Dance group, Dayton Urban League, Dayton Young Professionals, and the network of local actors and local film makers.

- Design. These multiple stakeholders intraditional and non-traditional alliances were thus able discuss and articulate the Ohio Motion Picture Tax Credit design, which provides a refundable tax credit that equals 25 % off in-state spending and non-resident wages and 35 % in Ohio resident wages on eligible productions.

- Destiny. Film Dayton drew upon their existing assets as a whole and also became a 501©3 organization thus allowing the group to continue to find ways to strengthen

the affirmative capability of the whole system to create a sustainable economic

destiny for the Dayton region.

Creative Incubator. This group's goal was to improve the economic prosperity of the

Dayton region by focusing on developing a marketable, art-based community.

- Discovery**.** In its quest to a create a supportive environment for diverse self-

expression and accessible mechanisms for people to turn their talent into market or

public goods, Creative Incubator also sought inclusiveness of existing talents,

resources, and assets across gender, generational, and sexual orientation.

- Dream**.** Creative Incubator had consultation and planning meetings and organized

focus group meetings with local arts institutions and partnered with building owner

Downtown Dayton Holdings, LLC, as part of its process for envisioning of what

regional prosperity might look like if it was able to make the Dayton region to create

a space for street level arts and music events. Creative Incubator sought out and

connected with existing talents, resources, and assets from stakeholders like property

owners, city and county agencies, Victoria Theatre, and the Shuster Center for Arts.

The group also had some challenging connecting with institutions like the Dayton

area chamber of commerce and with the older and more traditional leadership of the

Downtown Dayton Holdings, LLC, and Victoria Theatre. Despite this, the group

participated in most activities of Updayton and Film Dayton.

- Design**.** These multiple stakeholders were therefore able discuss and initially

articulate the C {space initiative, a space for artists do their work and show their work

and a space to provide their input into the Downtown Dayton Plan. Although the

group was not able to establish a strong work connection with the leadership of more

traditional institutions, members of the group continue to participate in the Activated

Spaces initiative that promotes the reuse of empty office spaces.

- Destin*y.* Members of the group also continue to participate in other projects that

    promote connectable spaces that make walking feel safe while at the same time

    creating a sense that the region has a street-level culture. These involvements thus

    continue to strengthen the affirmative capability of the whole system to create

    sustainable economic destiny for the Dayton region.

Projects that were "unsuccessful."

This is Dayton. This is Dayton's goal was to rebuild community pride. This group's

display of an appreciation for diversity and inclusiveness was limited to its membership and

traditional institutions.

- Discovery**.** While this group was able to share visions of what regional prosperity

    would look like if the region's territorial assets were positively projected, its

    discoveries of how to highlight Dayton region's many unique assets and diverse

    population were limited.

- Dream & Design**.** Evidence from this study show that the momentum for continued

    participation by members of the group waned as their designs were implemented in

    ways decided upon by the more traditional, institutional stakeholders.

- Destiny**.** The inability to sustain the continued participation of a large number of

    citizens and volunteers invariably diminished the sustainability of the group.

*The Innovation Collaborative Initiative***.** This group's goal was to integrate the region's

rich concentration of artists, engineers, and skilled workers into synergistic relationships to

stimulate a stronger economy through innovative collaboration.

- Discovery**.** This group had a good conceptual framework of the appreciation of diversity and inclusiveness but members were not able to organize. This inability to organize had a domino effect on the group's ability to make discoveries and share visions of what regional prosperity would look like if artists and engineers worked together.

- Dream & Design**.** The group was thus unable to connect with traditional partners like the Wright Patterson Air Force Base, universities and city and county agencies. Nor was it able to connect with local businesses, civic organizations, engineers, skilled workers, and entrepreneurs.

- Destiny**.** Evidence from this study shows that this group's inability to organize and generate participation in its first challenge, tagged "Walk on Water," led to collective loss of interest and missed opportunities.

Reflections and Recommendations

Evidence exists in literature documenting the benefits of higher education-community partnership with a citizens' participation component. Among this evidence are examples of the potential for these types of partnerships to promote economic development (Sharp & Flora, 1999). This is in addition to the ability of genuine citizen involvement to develop local representative democracy.

The findings from this study show that citizens of Dayton were able to help SOCHE identify community needs, articulate development goals to meet these needs, and contribute their knowledge and skills. These findings are supported in certain studies on the impact of citizens in large-scale community development work (Cruz & Giles, 2000).

Higher education must develop and promote inclusion and non-traditional alliances.

Higher education produces talent technology and knowledge. These are the inputs required to innovate and invent. The output of innovation and invention are goods and services in demand; and the products of these goods and services yields jobs, industries and prosperity for communities. A model of regional prosperity that focuses on attracting and keeping highly educated people may ultimately shut out less educated but differently talented members of the community. In partnering with communities for economic development work, higher education has a responsibility to be more intentional about exposing its campus population to the benefits of inclusiveness; thereby, avoiding the problem of creating development programs that attract talented people who are drawn to cities and urban centers where only the affluent or highly educated people have a sense of belonging. Florida (2005) has himself acknowledged that the growth of the creative class has contributed to the rise in economic inequality and social and political repercussions.

> Perhaps the most salient of what I consider the externalities of the creative age has to do with rising social and economic inequality. Less than a third of the workforce—the creative class—is employed in the creative sector of the economy…. Even more discouragingly, inequality is considerably worse in leading creative regions…. The creative economy is giving rise to pronounced political and social polarization. (pp. 6-8)

The success of the SOCHE-led Dayton CREATE project, especially the grassroots planning and implementation strategy used by the consortium, illustrates the important role that higher education can play as a community partner. Yet, higher education and community leaders working together on issues like brain drain cannot develop a comprehensive solution without seeking and listening to diverse community stakeholders, including artists, the LGBT community, immigrants, and African Americans. Changes that affect a diverse people cannot be

successful unless they hear, understand, and address the concerns of these silent voices in the larger community.

Heifetz (1994) provided insight for higher education leadership as an activity rather than a position. Heifetz's definition fits more comfortably with the notion of an urban region in a state of constant flux, suggesting that leaders who can adapt—and help others adapt—to the changing world around them will be well suited to address emerging community needs (p. 45).

Leaders must find time to create time and space for crucial conversations to create change. Block (2000) discussed the power of conversations to move groups to extraordinary places. This is why dialogue and deliberative practices or civic engagement can effectively complement partnerships as a strategy for urban revitalization. Scholars have stressed that during deliberation people rely on reasons that speak to needs and everyone affected by the matter at hand (Gutmann & Thompson, 1996; Habermas, 1989).

To attract and retain young talent and build prosperity in struggling urban communities, partners and participants must talk and ask one another leadership questions like: Who is not represented? What should we do? What will you do? These types of questions require the use of a simple but sophisticated tool like dialogue and deliberation as planning and decision making mechanisms. As key partners in building and strengthening robust communities, higher education institutions must be more intentional in creating awareness for civic participation by exposing students and faculty to tools that train them in the ability to meaningfully define issues in ways that are both locally and globally relevant.

Carter et al. (2004) described the development of groups and teams and the state of actualization they can achieve when teams develop a comfort of having open and honest dialogue. Wheatley (1999) stated that "If a system is in trouble, it can be restored to health by

connecting it to more of itself" (p. 145). To be sure, social systems, like an urban community, cannot be strong without the creation of strong relationships that create opportunities for new discoveries based on a shared vision and sense of shared destiny among all involved. Since urban revitalization as a change effort is an exercise in policy making, excluding or marginalizing certain minority groups will not only be harmful to the wellbeing of these groups, many of whom have been lifelong residents of the neighborhoods that make up the area, but will also be counterproductive to the ultimate goal of a sustainable prosperity.

Evaluation of the impact of higher education-community partnership on economic issues needs further research. The lack of an evaluation parameter is a critical missing piece in the SOCHE- led community-economic development work in the Dayton region. Although some initiatives that emerged from the effort had become full-fledged non-profit organizations doing economic development work, the impact the new organizations have had was very difficult to judge. Participants point to several pockets of success, but we cannot understand the real success without clear and measurable evaluation criteria. This is not a negative reflection of the work done by SOCHE and the Dayton partners because there is ample evidence in literature confirming that measuring and evaluating community engagement work is challenging. Still, evaluation offers the opportunity to rethink, adjust, or start over with new insights. For example, in the SOCHE effort, the following questions could have helped in shaping output measures: (i) Could the number of dollars spent on the project have been used as a measuring parameter? (ii) Could the number of volunteers and involvement and activity of graduates have been used? (iii) If SOCHE could measure the number of graduates who made the decision to stay in the Dayton region since 2007, how would the consortium determine what really influenced that decision? (iv) Could the data on internships have been used as evaluation parameters? (v) Internships are a

great strategy for connecting young people to the region, and it improves the chance of their remaining there, working after graduation, could these types of measurements reveal anything about the kind of job higher education institutions and the communities are actually doing?

If we put aside outcome measures and examine output measures, vis- a- vis the projected end result of regional prosperity and better quality of life, there is still a measurement gap. For example, Updayton created two jobs but their initiative cannot really be measured in terms of economic or dollar impact. For example, since the specific objective of Updayton is retention of graduates could that have been used to measure their impact and the impact the SOCHE effort had in graduate retention in Southwest Ohio? These areas demand further academic exploration, especially for insights into the impact of higher education-community partnership on economic development work just as the need to further study of the use of collaborative problem solving processes by both Updayton and Film Dayton.

Reflections: Leading Change via Innovative Alliances

Evidence from this research indicates that unlike the other three Dayton CREATE groups that adopted methods of aggregating interests through hierarchical command and sometimes voting, Updayton and Film Dayton adopted deliberative decision mechanisms for setting group agenda and problem-solving. It was apparent that these two groups had four things in common during their planning and decision-making efforts that aligned with deliberative principles and that deliberation led to the relative success of Updayton and Film Dayton in SOCHE's work in Dayton CREATE.

These four organizational traits are:

1. Their efforts were focused on specific, tangible problems;

2. They sought diverse participation via lunch meetings, town halls, public forum and annual summits;

3. They sought solutions to these problems through dialogue and deliberation;

4. Their discussions involved both the people affected by the problems and officials with useful resources.

I submit that these organizational traits, if properly facilitated, can be effective tools for leading change in any community or organization.

Given the increasingly changing racial, ethnic, gender ,and sexual preference demographics in communities across United States, and even globally, this approach, rooted in deliberative democracy, if properly conceived, and if directly targeted and implemented, can lead to innovation and transformative changes for participants. It is a pragmatic process with a problem-solving focus. It can be very effective for helping communities move beyond politics as usual to solve problems by aggregating interests. It can be effective for helping organizations leverage diverse talent and spur innovation. It can also be useful for helping institutions working with non-traditional alliances to set and achieve set goals.

The Dayton CREATE experience points out the need for citizens and institutions to use innovative processes to confront the social and economic issues and of racial inequalities. It also points out the need for people and organizations to seek out others and develop non-traditional personal and institutional alliances. As an immigrant from Nigeria, West Africa, I believe people in communities across the country and all over the world share a common aspiration for economic prosperity and well-being and would be willing to participate, if given the opportunity.

Many are willing to participate and contribute. Many are willing to learn new skills that create new jobs that grow stronger economies and healthier communities. My sense is that these

people, whether white, black, male, female, old, young, Latino, or gay and lesbian, have a lot to learn from each other and a lot more to contribute toward specific shared goals.

So, in today's global economy where citizens in nations, regions, and local communities are struggling economically, higher education has a leadership role that is more important than ever before. Higher education institutions and indeed all leading organizations have to step up to the urgent need to seek alliances with both traditional and non-traditional stakeholders. Doing this often has the potential for new discoveries, greater learning opportunities, and the prospect of generating better, more innovative solutions for the challenges of today and the future.

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