WHAT ART FOR WHOSE CITY?: A STAKEHOLDER ANALYSIS OF SOCIAL POLICY MAKING FOR PUBLIC ART ADMINISTRATION IN HEFEI CITY, CHINA

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Abstract:

Tailoring public art policies to suit the requirements of urbanization has become increasingly challenging in China as the country celebrates the rapid expansion of cities. This research interrogates how social players work in an interlocked way in public art project further to redefine the public art administration. From the perspective of stakeholder analysis, it evaluates the public policy making efforts of social players to map the path to realize their interests and expectations in the changing social life against the context of urbanization. A stakeholder-based public policy process is therefore presented, emphasizing the nourishment of power by education and value creation so as to redistribute decision-making power in co-building interactions, in which the quality of stakeholder involvement is improved by stakeholder development. Moreover, the study instigates more solid qualitative research on this specific engagement with empirical evidences collected from survey in Hefei city, China.

Keywords:

Public art, social policy making, stakeholder analysis, urban planning, Hefei

JEL Classification: O18, R11, Z18

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Citation:

Introduction

Since the late 1970s China has seen the rapid urbanization, which has allowed public art to become the exemplar of creative drivers of urban regeneration, image building and the enhancement of real estate for purpose of either commemoration or ornamentation. The development of public art in China has also been deeply embedded in the global upsurge of public art from the 1980s onwards. Whilst public art established itself globally as the *new genre art*, which is not merely created for but fundamentally shaped by the public, it has served to become the subject of social policy aspirations (Lacy 1995). The issues arising within public art administration were moved from the periphery of public service delivery to a central place, conditioning the proper use of public funds and improvement in the quality of life in one society (Norman and Norman 2000). Nonetheless, rare works have so far published with focus on policy making issues for public art administration. In particular, how project management, cost effectiveness, and maintenance of public art pieces, as well as public accessibility and accountability of public art project can be evaluated in policy making has received less attention from policy analysts than it should.

In this study, we borrow analytical tools of stakeholder theory from the arena of corporate management and apply it into investigation of public art administration in Hefei city, the capital city of Anhui province of China. In so doing, we forge a framework of social policy making by connecting three previously unrelated streams, namely stakeholder analysis, public art administration in urbanisation, and policy making studies. Such a framework is indeed rooted in the understanding of the cultural diversity of social players in public art project including governmental bodies, art professionals, and property owners, among others, for the aim of this study is to tackle the problem of tailoring public art policies to suit the requirements of urbanization in China as the country celebrates the rapid expansion of cities.

From the 1980s onwards the concept of 'stakeholder' as well as the stakeholder theory largely emerged in debates over the Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR), i.e. to attached emphasis to corporation governance beyond the financial measures (e.g. in terms of contributions to public life and society including local communities). Originally detailed by Freeman (1984) in the book *Strategic Management: A Stakeholder Approach*, stakeholder theory covers morals and values in managing an organization by addressing the 'Principle of Who or What Really Counts' (Freeman, 1984). By this principle, Freeman insists that managers of a firm bear a fiduciary relationship to its stakeholders, namely those who have a stake in or claim on the firm (Gibson, 2012). As a theoretical analysis framework, stakeholder theory sheds new lights on evaluating social policy making for public art administration, but only in theory. As in the case of China, there is less attention being paid to the public policy specialised for public art administration against the certain social settings where interaction with stakeholders is ongoing. Notwithstanding important recent contributions primarily focusing on first-tier (T-1) cites, namely Beijing, Shanghai, and Guangzhou (The Sister City Program of the City of New York 2005; Sun 2011), there are few empirical studies of the role of the public as stakeholders in public art administration in second- and third-tier (T-2 and T-

3) cities including Hefei, where major picture of the country's urbanisation are being sketched.

The goal or this research is to address this under-researched yet important issue, specifically, how social policy making efforts of the public can be properly weighted within the network of public art administration in tailoring public art policies to suit the requirements of urbanization in China. In this study, social players of wider range are envisaged as stakeholders working around public art project in an interlocked way. Empirical data was collected from a survey in Hefei city in 2013, in which the perceptions of public art in the city were identified from the perspectives of not only its producers and planners, but more importantly, its stakeholders. *Stakeholder Analysis* as analytical tool is employed against a historical context in further interpreting the data therein generated, so as to contend that the perceptions are situated within spatial, aesthetic, social and symbolic proximity to both the public artworks and their sites. The discussion of potential public art policy-making patterns is furthermore embedded within the evolving models of modern China's policy-making efforts for public administration, illustrating the intertwining relationships between the key players seen as stakeholders in this case. This study concludes with the policy implications including the nourishment of power by education and value creation so as to redistribute decision-making power in co-building interactions, in which the quality of stakeholder involvement is improved by stakeholder development.

Background Information

Given the fact that the newly development of Hefei city is relatively less visible to international audience compared to T-1 cities, a brief history of Hefei with focus on its urbanisation as related to the growth of public art is provided so as to make sense of the case choice of this study. Apart from this, a research methodology section is also included as background information, with purpose of clarifying the issues around design of the survey and complementation of study which we deem as critical as the theoretic discussion based on empirical evidences.

Overview of urbanisation and public art in Hefei

Boasting its grand history dating back to the later Eastern Han Dynasty (25AD – 220AD), Hefei provides the living fossil of evolution public art deeply rooted within its recent economic and social development. Lagging behind the T-1 cities, it has nonetheless managed to provide ready spaces for public art since it was given top priority in regional economic development in early 1990s and selected as the only experimental site for scientific and technological innovation designated by centre government of China in 2004 by the Chinese national government (Zhu, Hong, and Wang 2009), which made Hefei one of the fastest growing economic bases in China (National Hefei Economic and Technological Development Area 2012). It is against the historical context, that the city serves ideally as case to study public art and related policy issues can be justified in both quantitative and qualitative aspects.

   On the one hand, the city experienced different layers of urbanisation, particularly before and after 2010, and this included facilitating the adequate provision for the development of public art. Specifically, the speed and size of urban population explosion, as illustrated by both Figures 1 and 2, guarantee the major source of potential stakeholders for public art projects. By the Urbanisation Rate (UR) higher than national level over three decades, the boom in urban population of Hefei dates from 1999. It is from the urban residents with total number of 1.369 million in 1999 which increased to 5.16 million in 2013, that the public art in Hefei gains its status of publicity.
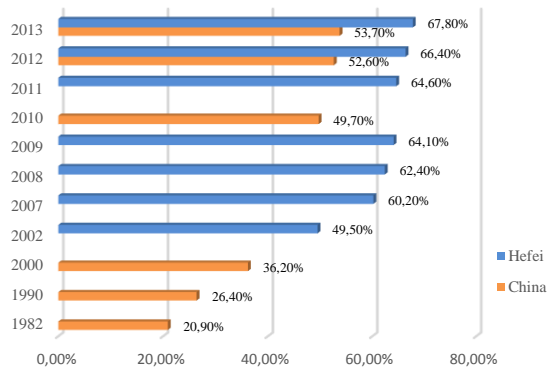

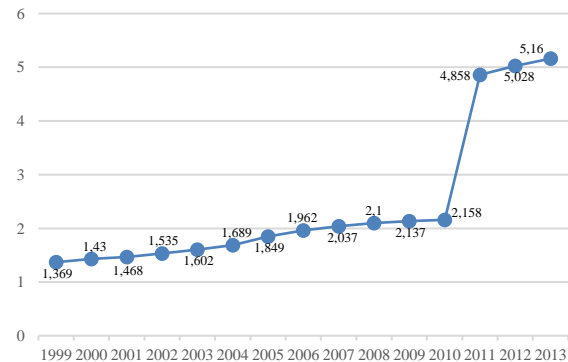**Figure 1 Urbanisation Rate of Hefei in the National Trend**

Figure 2 Urban Population of Hefei, 1999-2013 (in million inhabitants)

Source: National Bureau of Statistics of China; Hefei Bureau of Statistics, various years

   The intensified social mobility triggered by the urban expansion, on the other hand, brings forth the variety in the makeup of potential stakeholders. In 2011, the strategy of building Hefei as 'Great Lake City' leads to both Chaohu city and Lujiang county in Chaohu Lake area to be included in Hefei, making its jurisdiction cover 4 urban districts, 4 counties, 1 county-level city and 3 development zones (Hefei Municipal Government 2013). This merging action brings to public art in Hefei not just the sharp rise in residents number, namely from 2.158 million in 2010 to 4.858 million in 2011, but also the varied demands and participants. The fact that migrant workers and returnees increased significantly in number to 2.309 million in 2011 (Hefei Municipal Bureau of Statistics 2011) has led to the increase in demand for the renewal and construction of residential and commercial areas where public art pieces are widely installed. More importantly, the absorption of Chaohu lake areas further stimulates cultural construction, and the Chaohu Lake culture has since been promoted as a foundation upon which Hefei's local culture was built (Anhui Provincial Government 2012). Public art projects providing wide cultural access to the public thus were given more roles to play in urbanisation of Hefei, which means that it has elevated to an important aspect of the public policy.

Methods

Focussing on cooperation governance embedded within the network of connected public affairs, Bryson (2004) provides a comprehensive set of techniques to be adopted in stakeholder identification and analysis. He claims that the political acceptability of public issues can be framed in help of *Stakeholder Analysis*. We agree with him on appreciation of *Stakeholder Analysis* for public affair administration, whilst holding that

in practice more attention must be paid to the shift in conceptions, in Freeman and Reed's (1983) words 'world view', from 'shareholder' or 'stockholder' to 'stakeholder'.

Taking this departure from Bryson's technical stance, we put emphasis on identifying and interpreting the potential stakeholders to a less tangible yet more propounding depth. The survey was designed following three categories, namely the public's attitudes toward public artworks, awareness of the role of public art, and willingness to participate in public art projects. It consists of two parts: questionnaires and investigation on cites for quantitative data collection, and focus group for exchanging and circulating ideas. We organised undergraduates in senior grade at Department of Art and Design in total number of 161, carrying out one-day investigation to all 4 urban districts and 3 development zones in Hefei in April 2013. All together 636 public art pieces were categorised, while 1,000 questionnaires were spread collecting answers from 915 local residents. Shortly after the investigation, the participant students were divided into 44 focus groups. As part of efforts to initiate stakeholder development, semi-structured discussions were held after each of 5 meetings whereby participants delivered presentations of their findings in May and June 2013.

Public Art Administration as Policy Research Agenda

The global upsurge of public art in the 1980s, however, did not provoke Chinese academics to examine the political implications and the scholarly value of public art as subject of policy research. It is since 1990s that the notion of 'public art' has gained its popularity in among firstly artists in China only to the extent of a new label for the art works outside (Sun 2011). In the midst of discussions on the public art pieces, the aesthetic standards and technical skills delivered, we adopt the stance of 'publicity' to refresh our understanding of the notion of 'public art', situating stakeholder analysis in the transitional modes of policy making for public administration in China.

Rethinking 'public art'

Public art had long relationship with political affairs before it eventually entered the public policy research arena. Back to the late nineteenth-century France, mural painting demonstrated not only the technical skills of the producers, but more importantly the political ideals of the audience by reflecting a reassuring image of the public. Beyond circulating common aesthetic standards within the artists themselves, public art project also provided vocabulary of form to the lay people, associating all aspects of commercial and social production with the fine arts in the public mind (Aquilino 1993). When it comes to the tide of democratisation, particularly in the USA in 1960s and 1970s, public art was in tight conjunction with politics. Over the course of time, the established aim of giving meaning to the living environment of the ordinary citizens was raised by public art, as the democratised art, to be the representation of state ideology (Beunders 2007).

The localised notion of 'public art', nonetheless, embodies perfectly both characteristics as related to politics in gaining the status of 'publicity', namely propaganda by shareholders and co-building interaction among stakeholders. For the

purpose of propaganda, art professionals, funding providers, and political powers (the last two are often synonymous) work as shareholders of public art projects. One can see from the public art project of Metro Billboards in the UK in 1988, that the project was closely intertwined with political powers in searching for its patronage (Baggaley 1990). In such a circumstance, messages to be delivered by public art pieces so as to harvest the expected credits overweigh the needs of their audience, and the status of 'publicity' is bestowed upon public art by the established powers in form of shareholders. As identified in our case study of public art in Hefei, the public art pieces in form of sculpture installed before 1990 fall into this category, all erected and maintained by governmental bodies. Policies and regulations for public art administration, by and large, were made in a top-down fashion from the municipal government to its branches at local levels. The fact that social policy making efforts with various social players engaged in are rare is also because of the underdevelopment of stakeholders, as evidenced by local residents' low awareness of public art in Hefei that 365 out of 915 (39.9%) admitting that they either 'having no idea about 'Public Art'' or 'having heard of it but no idea'.

The accelerated urbanisation embedded our understanding of 'public art' within the changing social life of cultural migration and economic restructuring, where the family of conditions including the origin, history, location, and social purpose that public artworks refer to have changed (Hein 1996). Co-building interaction among stakeholders for the status of 'publicity' largely relies on both 'people' and 'place'. As in the case of Hefei, 'publicity' of 'public art', on the one hand, requires the cultural participation of the public rather than providing merely public access. Accordingly, 483 out of 915 (52.8%) local residents who returned questionnaires expressed their willingness to be actively implicated in the constitution of the work of art. On the other hand, the number of parks serving primarily as public space where public art pieces are normally installed increased from 3 in 1990 to 48 in 2012. While the total size of public space increased from 436 to 2,276 hectares, the average size decreased from 145.3 to 47.4 hectares (Hefei Municipal Bureau of Statistics 1991, 2013). More scattered public space enhanced public access with more cultural varieties to the artworks; in return, the realisation of public artworks depends on the audience's bestowal of meaning upon it. It is under this circumstance, that we argue a shift from shareholder to stakeholder is to be better fitted with the transitional policy making as emerged lately in China, under which the prospective social policy making for public art administration in Hefei is based.

Transitional policy making in China public administration

To formulate policy on an *ad hoc* basis of public art administration, joint efforts must be made by authorities, communities, both public and private sponsors, and commissioning agencies (Diamond 1999; II 2004). As in China's case, such a policy making scheme with varied social players beyond the acting artists and governmental bodies enrolled in as stakeholders is dominated by the transitional paradigms of policy making modes, which have so far emerged in public affairs administration. It is noteworthy that a critical role is played by initiators, connecting other non-governmental players and governmental policy makers. Specifically, initiators decide where and how

a policy-making should be called for. Nonetheless, they do not work in isolation from the social environment they are working for, and public engagement must be taken into account as an increasingly important factor affecting public policy process. As listed in Table 1, six policy making modes co-exist in contemporary China, illustrating the intertwining relationships initiator and level of public engagement.

Table 1 Policy Making Modes in China's Public Administration

Policy Making Mode	Initiator	Level of Public Engagement
Closed-door	decision maker	low
Mobilization	decision maker	high
Inside Access	advisors	low
Reach-out	advisors	high
Outside Access	citizens	low
Popular Pressure	citizens	high

Source: Adopted from Wang (2008)

Judging by how policy-making is initiated and to what extent the different players are getting involved, policy making efforts following these modes situated the spectrum with shareholder and stakeholder at two opposite ends. Seen separately, none of these modes can secure both the acceptance and accountability of a public policy. Our focus, however, is the transitions from one mode to another. For example, when the mode of *Close-door* switches to that of *Mobilization* or *Inside Access* mode, more social players get involved either as advisors playing initiating role or merely through public engagement at higher level. If these modes are analysed in a dynamic perspective, an outstanding growth in the number of initiators can be identified as from the minimum decision makers firstly into advisors around the core of power, and finally into the citizens of maximum number. In the meantime, a strong tendency of increasingly higher level public engagement emerges. According to Wang (2008), higher level public engagement can be stimulated by the rise of *popular pressure* via stakeholder consciousness.

As such, as the existing public policy making modes are seen in transitions, essences of public policy process in China present themselves in changes of social life. The policy-making for public art administration in Hefei is set against the social setting of interaction-network by stakeholders. In constructing interaction-network, public art projects enter the social life of those from wider arrange of cultural preferences and political interests, ranging from art professionals to local residents. The shift from shareholder to stakeholder not only happens in initiating policy making, but more importantly, when stakeholders become growing power via public engagement (Johnson-Craner and Berman 2005). It is in light of this understanding of public policy making modes, that stakeholder analysis for public art administration can be effectively contextualised in the social, cultural, and political settings of Hefei.

Stakeholder Analysis for Public Art Administration in Hefei

In scrutinising the relationship between public art and the 'place' where artworks are installed, Jewesbury (2001) asserts that to interpret 'public art' as replicating the interactions that 'private' art makes is inadequate and inappropriate. It is particularly true in the case study of Hefei, where public art is penetrating the changing social lives of the publics. This is especially the case since 2000 when the urbanisation in Hefei sped up. The fundamental purpose of public art has become increasingly shaped by its publics, which comprise of a multifaceted audience as potential stakeholders, in addition to its producers and planners.

Literature explaining, extolling, defending or criticizing *Stakeholder Analysis* has mushroomed in the past decades since a stakeholder approach was formulated in corporate governance in the early 1980s. Notwithstanding a diversity of topics covered by publications of this sort, the original works by Freeman and his following analysts focus on two issues, namely what stakeholder is, and how stakeholders interact in redistributing benefits and decision making power (Stieb 2009). In applying *Stakeholder Analysis* to this case study of social policy making for public art administration in Hefei, we also include forging a proposal of stakeholder development as an indispensable supplement to identifying stakeholders and examining the Stake-power Grid of stakeholders in this case, which address the two issues respectively.

Identifying stakeholders

In a broad sense, stakeholders are the groups who *have a stake*[1] in the actions of one organization. While the word *stakeholder* was coined at Stanford Research Institute (SRI) in 1963 to refer to the groups without whose support the organization would cease to exist, players with direct relevance to an corporation including shareowners, employees, customers, suppliers and lenders were included in the list[2]. In tinkering stakeholder theory, however, Freeman and Reed (1983) extend the scope of stakeholder to also cover the less directly related groups who can affect or be affected by the achievement of an organisation's objectives. It is by this contribution, that 'public interests groups' as growing power secure an equivalent place as the established powers such as governmental bodies and shareowners do. This enlargement, however, has more pervasive implications beyond its original scope of corporation governance and the strategic management of organization.

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[1]   To 'have a stake' can be qualified by 'owning a significant percentage of a company's share' or 'being affected by or having an interest in' the operations of the organisation (Stakeholder. n.d.).

[2]   For the extended explanation of tracking efforts to clarify the origin of the word 'stakeholder', one can see the lengthy statement listed as reference 7 in Freeman and Reed (1983).

Figure 3 Stakeholders of Public Art Project in Hefei
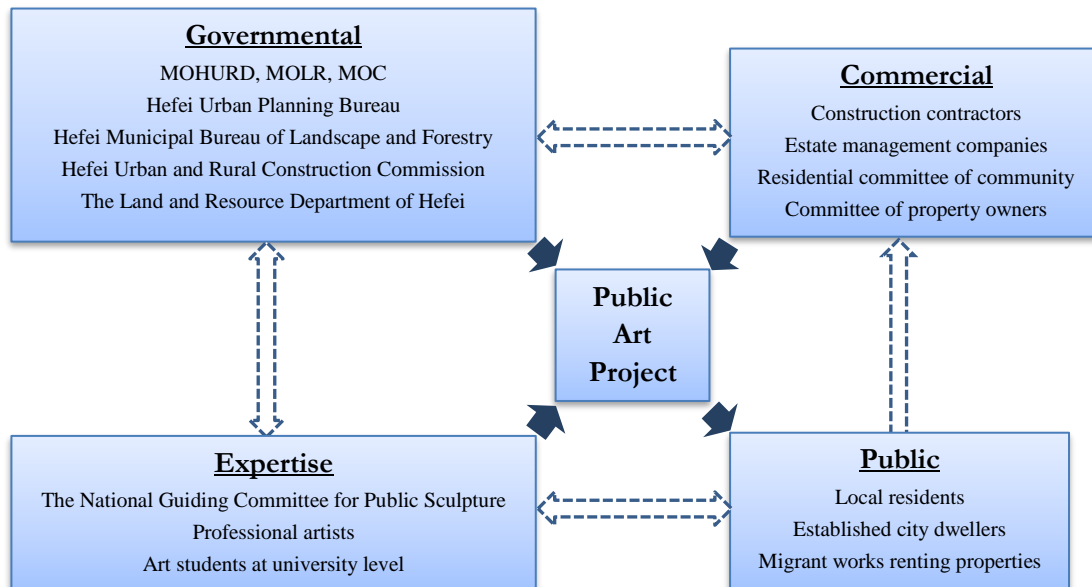
Adopting this enlarged notion of stakeholders, we also include the central tenets of understanding the status of 'publicity' of public art. Specifically, in identifying stakeholders that are actively implicated in realization of public art in Hefei, groups affecting or being affected by public art (either directly or indirectly) and those deciding the complementation of public art projects are put in the same list, but into different categories of 'Place' and 'People'. In line with this, Figure 3 is created based on the survey, to illustrate graphically the stakeholders of four groups[3] implicated in public art projects in Hefei as well as their relations with each other in two layers.

Seen in the inner layer as stakeholders connected to public art project by solid arrows in the figure, governmental bodies, commercial powers, expertise, and the public are all enrolled in public art project, but in different ways. To propose a public art project, its planners and producers first of all need to gain permission from Hefei Urban Planning Bureau working in association with Hefei Municipal Bureau of Landscape and Forestry, Hefei Urban and Rural Construction Commission, and The Land and Resource Department of Hefei, whose decisions are subject to the laws and regulations issued by Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development (MOHURD) and Ministry of Land and Resources (MOLR) in conjunction with Ministry of Culture (MOC). With permission, investment or endorsement from the commercial players including construction contractors, estate management companies, residential committee of community, and committee of property owners are called for. Only on this basis of governmental permission and commercial endorsement, can the expertise deliver cultural, political, or aesthetical messages by creating public art works for the public who also join in shaping the art pieces. Governmental and commercial powers as well as expertise are more directly involved than the public is, whilst interactions exist only to a limited extent.

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3   This typological approach is open to criticism, in the light of the fact that there are stakeholders who have multiple roles, and a professional artist as categorised as expertise can be definitely possible a resident in Hefei who is the member of the public. We interpret this figure only to the very core feature of each group, namely its unique nature differentiating it from another.

In the outer layer as connected by the dash arrows, however, the stakeholders comprised of aforementioned four groups can be further divided into two families, with the Governmental and Commercial as place-based players whilst the Expertise and Public can be regarded as people-based players. Given that the land is state-owned, governmental bodies at different levels secure the leading role in the co-building interactions with the other three. To play this role, however, the governmental stakeholders need to derive strength from both commercial players and the expertise which provide driving forces for urbanization to accelerate economic growth of Hefei, before reaching the public. The less intensified interactions are between the public and the expertise as well as the commercial respectively. The public, especially the local residents and the established city dwellers who are also estate or property owners, speak to the governmental by buying power to the commercial and public hearings to the expertise. As for the interacting relationship between the expertise and the commercial, it is rare and weak. The realization of public art by them alone is almost impossible, for the very basic elements in our understanding of 'public art' are 'place' which is state-owned in this case and 'public' as participants. In identifying the people-based stakeholders, we also find the potential of intensifying interaction between the expertise and the public, and we will revisit this point in the later section of stakeholder development.

Stake-Power Grid of stakeholders

The four groups of stakeholders, persons and institutions, are interconnected within the realization of public art in Hefei at different levels of interaction, having different motives, expectations and interests. In light of the understanding of what the stakeholders are in this case, to investigate a social policy making scheme for public art administration also requires examining how these stakeholders work with each other. Analytical works for this purpose should not only take into account of the needs of the governmental and commercial powers, but also look further to the way in which impacts are casted on the expertise and the public in changing social life. At this point, stakeholder analysis is adopted to look at 'a public policy questions in stakeholder terms and to understand how the relationships would change given the implementation of certain policies' (Freeman and Reed 1983, 93). In practicing *Stakeholder Analysis*, a two-dimension (stake or interest, and power) map was first introduced to depict stakeholders, and later it was further developed to also evaluate the stakeholders' interests of better outcomes and power to influence in form of a power versus interest grid (Freeman and Reed 1983l; Eden and Ackermann 1998; Bryson, Cunningham, and Lokkesmoe 2002).

Figure 4 Stake-Power Grid of Public Art Administration in Hefei
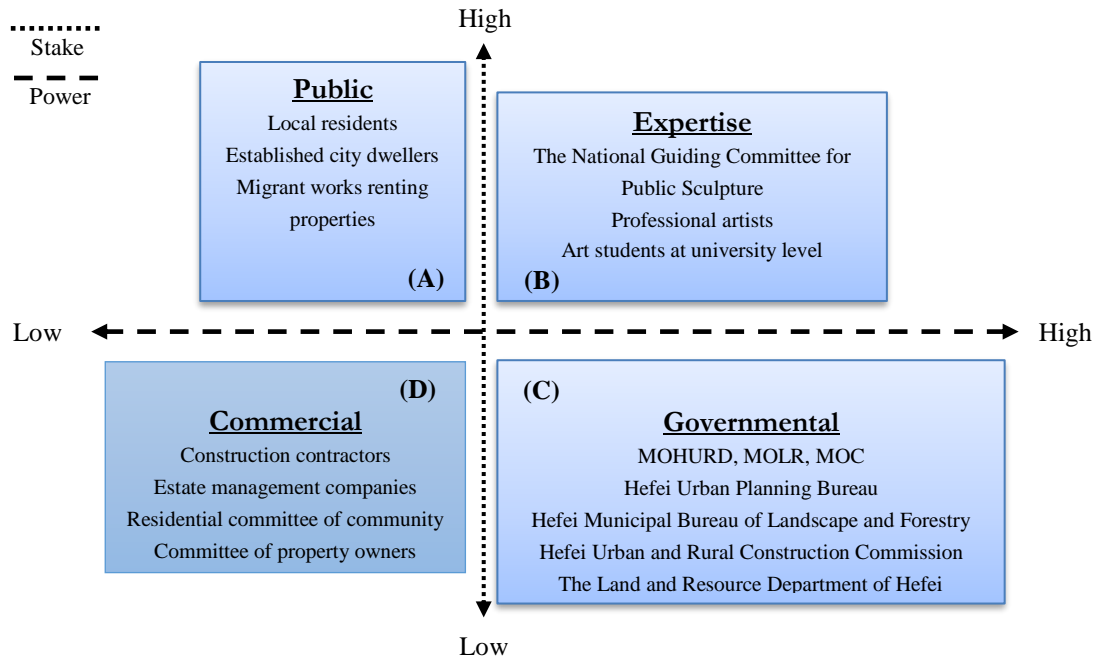
As an analytical approach to strategic management, stakeholder analysis examines the firm within a myriad of relationships. For the purpose of asserting stakeholders' involvement in public art project as well as to what extent they exert influence on policy making for public art administration in Hefei, we adopt the analytical device of two-dimensional power versus interest grid, but distinguishing 'stake' from 'interest' in line with our understanding of the concept of 'stakeholder' which has connotation of having stake more than interest. In so doing, we conceive the dimensions of stakeholder analysis in terms of 'stake' as 'interests, expectations, and benefits the groups of stakeholders possess' and 'influencing power of stakeholders in public art realization as well as administration'. A specialized stakeholder analysis diagram in form of Stake-Power grid therefore can be sketched by fixing two dimensions respectively as the horizontal and vertical axes with strength and weakness in the extremes which never meet each other. Four groups of stakeholders as identified in public art projects in Hefei are thus categorized as in quadrant A, B, C, and D, as can be seen in figure 4. The quadrants become varied due to their different scores in strength and weakness of the two dimensions.

Precisely, stake and power audit employed in this study is to set the dimensions in examining how stakeholders from different groups get involved in public art projects and interact with each other in practicing power to influence public art administration. Thus, the central thrust of the argument becomes tenable to focus on the relationships between realization of stake and power acquirement, based on which members of different stakeholder groups endogenize and contextualize their rational choice of policy alternatives for public art administration in Hefei. Both the governmental and the commercial, as place-based stakeholders, have stake in public art projects but at low levels, compared to people-based stakeholders consists of the expertise and the public. With political and aesthetical authorities, the governmental and the expertise enjoy privileged position in the hierarchy of power in organization and administration of public

art. Two implications can be derived from this uneven distribution of stake and power. First, both the expertise and the public have motives of higher level driven by their expectation to deliver aesthetical message and to improve the quality of life. With lower stake but higher power, the expertise are more likely to initiate the social policy making, whilst the public engagement is favorable and reachable. Second, sharing the position with low power, the public and the commercial must strengthen themselves by functioning in urbanization primarily in the economic manner. With higher stake in realization of public art, the public tend to urge the commercial to act more actively in social policy making for the better outcome of public art administration.

Situated within different quadrants, nonetheless, the stakeholders from different groups are not isolated from each other. Instead, they can be all implicated in co-building interaction for social policy making. As leading policy maker, the governmental stakeholders possess the highest power in policy making. However, governmental players have only the lowest interests in public art, and so far there is no single law or regulation for public art administration issued or enforced by the governmental bodies in Hefei. To also secure the dominating role in social policy making in which stakeholders from another groups are all engaged, the governmental must to take steps to manage interests and expectations of others so as to ensure the efficiency and effectiveness of policy for public art administration in Hefei. It is equally important for the governmental to redistribute the decision-making power to another stakeholders by giving each stakeholder an important say and efficacy in making important decisions, as to interact with the commercial and the expertise for economic growth and unban designing respectively.

While the interaction organized by the governmental is significantly instrumental, those by the expertise and the public is less. In particular, by its economic relation with the commercial, the public can intensify interactions between the expertise and the commercial stakeholders which were otherwise rare and limited.

Stakeholder development

Looking back to the works on corporate governance, when Freeman (1984) was attempting to clarify the changing nature of stakeholder preferences, he did imply that what stakeholder analysis is applied to is an evolving course. Within it, stakeholders can directly or indirectly impact or be impacted by the performance of organization, specifically their stakes change based on the strategic issues which are merely considered relevant at a particular point in time. Any static view in practicing stakeholder analysis must be avoided. As in this case, empirical evidence shows the radical changes so far have occurred to and are happening in social life in Hefei in which the public art administration is embedded, as the urbanization unfolded at increasing speed. In 2013, the number of migrant workers moving in surpassed for the first time that of moving out, which changes the structure of urban residents dramatically (*Anhui Daily,* March 3, 2014). The new regulation on population and family planning has come into force since 22nd February 2014 in Hefei, which further weakened the limitation of family size by allowing the couple that with one from the single-child family to have two children

(Population and Family Planning Commission of Anhui Province 2014). With labour force increases on the one hand, and population density becomes higher on the other, urbanization in Hefei is more than economic growth but the advancement of society. Public art within it becomes increasingly important, as it provides the stakeholders, especially the public (as cultural participants) access in regenerating the old city areas, building the newly developed blocks, and decorating the surroundings of public traffic systems and other public space (Ma, 2014).

Stakeholder analysis urges the governmental policy maker to bring together the stakeholders of another groups in public art projects in Hefei by redistribution of value and decision-making power. This 'top-down' approach, however, is not the only choice, besides, the opportunity cost of stakeholder engagement should also be carefully assessed (Verbeke and Tung 2013). Having identified stakeholders in public art projects in Hefei and examined their interacting relationships in social policy making, we are now in the better position to claim that the essences as embodied by the *Reach-out* mode of policy making for public administration, namely the expertise as policy making initiator and with high level of public engagement, is feasible to achieve the goal of stakeholder analysis in this particular case. From a dynamic perspective, the feasibility is largely decided not by the dominant role to be played by the governmental, but rather by stakeholder development with purpose of intensifying interactions between the expertise and the public and the commercial as well.

In light of the understanding that relationships between public art project and its stakeholders cannot always be regarded as restrictive working merely for resource exchanges (Sun 2005), stakeholder analysis also applies to the dialogue between a public art project and its stakeholders. With an aim at addressing social issues or acquiring a positive perception on art works towards the status of 'publicity', dialogue of this sort leads to not only realization of stake but also to the redistribution of influencing power, which is potentially to be better complemented by the efforts improving the cultural democracy (Knight, 2008). As such, stakeholder development in this case is our attempt to nourish the growing powers by intensifying the interaction between them in having their claims heard by the established powers, so as to increase the quality of stakeholder involvement in social policy making for public art administration in Hefei.

In articulating the stakeholder-based public policy development process, Altman and Petkus (1994) introduce the social marketing approach to the joint efforts by governmental policy makers and non-governmental stakeholders, which casts new light to our understanding of the application of stakeholder analysis in non-business context. While non-governmental stakeholders are taken as 'customers' of public policy made by legislative body in American environmental policy formulation following the social marketing principles, they remain too underdeveloped to reach an established status of 'customer' in free market in the case of public art administration in Hefei. As our survey suggests the extremely low level of awareness and knowledge of public art and the relevant policy issues possessed by the public and the commercial.

Although government is a stakeholder of sorts, it is differentiated from others in stakeholder analysis of public policy development, given that fact that it is the major player in the process (Buchholz and Rosenthal 2004). Governmental players are thus

ruled out from the stakeholder development in the social policy making for public art administration, in spite of the fact that it is identified as stakeholder in public art project. The stakeholder development, as in present study, is initiated by the expertise taking steps to improve its self-awareness of 'publicity' of public art, to educate the public of the aesthetical, political, and cultural participant assess the public art works can provide, and to confirm with the commercial that successful complementation of public art project also add value to the urban areas which they develop for profits. As return, the expertise can on the one hand expect increase in acceptance of and support to the public art works from the public and the commercial. Through intensified interactions, on the other hand, the quality of stakeholder involvement is to be improved significantly in a stakeholder-based public policy making process (as is suggested by Figure 5). Having been educated about the political issues with regarding to the typical policy development process beginning with problem definition, the public becomes more engaged in policy formulation for public art administration for the better outcomes of public art projects, given the high level of stake they have. In the meantime, the commercial are also implicated more actively in policy formulation so as to secure the share of economic growth by urbanisation with public art as its driver.
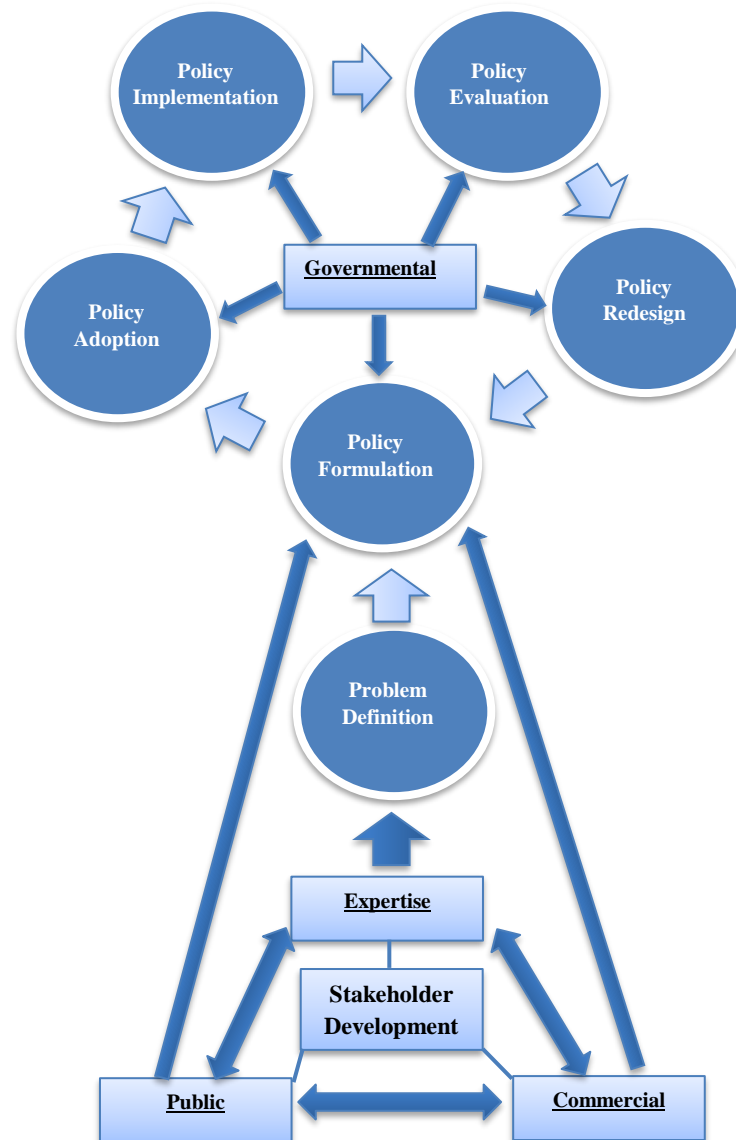
Figure 5 A stakeholder-based Public Policy Making Process for Public Art administration in Hefei

Above all, strengthened by public engagement and ties with the commercial bridged by the public, the expertise can secure a leading position in problem definition towards the stakeholder-based public policy development process. By stakeholder development, the prospective social policy making for public art administration in Hefei progresses within the more balanced power relationships between governmental and non-governmental stakeholders. Although the governmental stakeholders still play the dominating role in the steps of policy adoption, implementation, evaluation and redesign, the power of non-governmental stakeholders as a whole is growing. As one result, the expertise is able to secure the position of initiator, and the public and the commercial also have their say heard in policy formulation. Beyond improvement in acceptance of public art pieces, stakeholder development is also proposed to contribute to the accountability of public policy for public art administration aiming at the sustainability of institutions (European Union Open Method of Coordination Expert Group on Better Access and Wider Participation in Culture 2012). Embedded within the stakeholder-based social policy making process, stakeholder development can optimize interactions

between governmental policy makers and non-governmental stakeholders in public art projects in Hefei, with the expertise underpinned by the public and the commercial in speaking to the established governmental power of the needs and policy effects of the non-governmental stakeholders as growing powers.

Conclusion

We have shown in this article how stakeholder analysis can be applied to the social policy making for public art administration. To justify our choice of public art in T-2 and T-3 city in China as the objective of public policy discussion, we firstly reviewed the roles played by locality in understanding the notion of 'public art' as well as its achievement of the status of 'publicity'. In depicting how considerations on 'people' and 'place' pave the way for stakeholder analysis, we clarified the transitional paradigms in modes of policy making in contemporary, so as to contextualize such an analysis in this very different area from its original one.

In light of understanding that a shift from shareholder to stakeholder perspective has connotation of change of world view, we adopted a comprehensive set of criteria in identifying stakeholders in public art project in Hefei, taking into account of interests, profits, expectations, and land ownership, as well as aesthetical and political claims. We found that four groups of stakeholders are involved and located in different quadrants of a stake-power grid, with stake and power each possess being distributed unevenly. It is upon this basis that we also included a stakeholder development proposal within which stakeholders are further divided into two categories, namely governmental and non-governmental, in this stakeholder analysis, so as to substantiate the usefulness of stakeholder analysis for the particular purpose of social policy making for public administration in Hefei. By stakeholder development of such, value creation is realised, but more importantly, influencing power between stakeholders of two categories is redistributed towards the more balanced co-building interactions in a stakeholder-based public policy process.

The empirical details as well as the analytical work presented provide insights into improving the quality of stakeholder involvement in public art administration by understanding the policy-making pattern for public-art-led urban planning in Hefei. With contribution to academic research on public policy in the midst of public art boom in urbanisation, we argue that in practice, analytical tools and policy making recommendations derived from stakeholder analysis, in terms of stake-power grid and stakeholder development scheme, can also help solve problems in relation to project management, cost effectiveness, and public accountability.

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