



Community Art Ownership: Do Local Heritage Museums Enhance Civic and Economic Implications?

Citation

Tyack, Karlmico. 2018. Community Art Ownership: Do Local Heritage Museums Enhance Civic and Economic Implications?. Master's thesis, Harvard Extension School.

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Community Art Ownership: Do Local Heritage Museums Enhance Civic and Economic
Implications?

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A Thesis in the Field of International Relations
for the Degree of Master of Liberal Arts in Extension Studies

Harvard University

November 2018

Abstract

Inspired by the art repatriation disputes that account for countless political rows between nations, this study asks: Are there civic and economic implications when a community owns their own heritage art objects? While many studies advocating for repatriation focus on the symbolism behind the art object's "journey home," there is a deficit in studies that elucidate quantifiable implications that emerge when a community owns their own heritage art objects. Museums display art objects; therefore, presence of a local heritage art museum is used as the establishmentarian expression of a given community's ownership of their cultural art objects. Two approaches were used, one quantitative and one qualitative.

First, using a data set of 324 randomly selected American towns in New England and New Jersey, a regression analysis was performed to find a correlation between the establishment of a local heritage art museum (X) and civic participation as well as economic participation, their proxy measures being voter turnout (Y) and presence of small businesses (Y) respectively. The presence of a museum strengthened the correlation between common sense independent variables and voter turnout (from 42.8% to 54.9%), with a strong statistical significance (99.9% probability that the results did not come about by chance). The presence of museums had no such effect on the presence of small businesses.

Then, a process-tracing comparison of two towns (Dover and Bedford, Massachusetts) further corroborates that museums positively impact voter turnout. These

results may also support studies cited in the literature review positing that the importance of a museum's social impact is tantamount to its economic impact and should be considered by curators, funding bodies, and the community at large. However, it is likely that other qualitative differences between the cases are more consequential than the establishment of museums.

Dedication

I dedicate this thesis to my family, team Tyack: Top accolades to Ian, to the extended in England, Andrew, Anna, Karen, James, Billy, Hugh (it's nice to have a family again). To my constant support, Kently Page.

To all the teams, professional and otherwise, that I had the inimitable honor to be a part of during this journey. My work wife, Lauryn, my role model, Creed, and the lady who reminded me to win, Mari Cook. You are the highest ranking generals in my army.

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Chapter I.

Introduction

Art repatriation disputes account for several unabated political rows between nations. In another stratum, small-town museums are often in an immutable trial to prove their practicality within the communities to which they belong. Though mostly unrelated, these two issues become conceptually associated with each other through the significance of art objects themselves.

Whether through former colonial regimes or wartime occupations, controlling states often procure indigenous art objects from their occupied territories. To whom and where these art objects belong in our growingly integrated global society is an ongoing debate in international relations. Art repatriation proponents in academia widely focus their advocacy on the symbolic importance of the return of displaced heritage art as an effective act of restitution, healing, and self-determination (Aman & Parker, 1991; Braithwaite, 1975; Davids, 2006; Guha-Thakurta 2007; Jansen, 1998; Jones, 2013; Maaba, 2008). However, there are few studies that explore the practical, non-symbolic implications of a community simply owning their own heritage art objects.

Inspired by the art repatriation debate, this study explores whether or not communities that own their heritage art objects are quantifiably different from communities that do not by asking: Does a community's ownership of their cultural property have positive economic and civic implications?

It is through museums that heritage art objects are displayed. Therefore, in this study, the establishment of a local heritage museum is used as the institutionalized expression of a given community's ownership of their cultural property. In the United

States, Europe and Australia, several models have been introduced that explore the social impact of local museums on communities. By and large, the general consensus among the studies concludes that museums do indeed have a positive social impact on their communities (Holden, 2004; Kelly, 2006; Stone, 2001; Cameron, 2003; Cameron, 2006; Matarosso, 1997; Parker, S., Waterston, K., Michaluk, G., & Rickard, L., 2002; Sheppard, 2000).

This study is also partly inspired, on a conceptual level, by Mary Poovey's 2015 essay "For What it's Worth." In it she writes, "I think we now need to move beyond theories of representation to considerations of social processes including the role that particular institutions play in linking individuals to larger social and political formations" (Poovey, p. 429). After all, political scientist G. Ellis Burcaw (1983) concludes that repatriation should not occur for sentimental or romantic reasons.

Despite being inspired by an international relations issue, this study takes place exclusively in the United States. The focus on supporting the implications of art ownership from a quantitative stance is an unexplored perspective. As such, a pilot study with replicable methods is necessary.

Towns in the states of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and New Jersey are the subjects. New England and New Jersey were chosen because the Northeast comprises the oldest established towns that are of the currently dominant English-speaking American culture, and so have a longer history and more reason to establish a heritage museum.

To measure economic and civic implications, proxy measures are used. Economic concentration is used as a proxy measure for locally owned small businesses, and voter

turnout as a proxy measure for civic engagement. Naturally, there are limits to this design, which are discussed in Chapter V.

The specific aims of the experiment were as follows:

- An execution of a linear regression to reveal whether or not the presence of a local museum (an independent variable) has a positive correlative influence on voter turnout and the number of small businesses per person (dependent variables).
- Qualitative process-tracing explorations. (Later in this paper, the Literature Review and Methodology sections posit that local heritage museums help fortify a community's common culture, and therefore strengthen collective identity). The process tracing investigates the impact of fortified common culture and strong collective identity within two most-similar cases; Dover, Massachusetts is a town with a traditional local heritage museum and Bedford, Massachusetts is a town without one. Causal mechanisms were sought through histories, local newspaper articles and interviews.

As mentioned, art repatriation proponents in academia widely focus their advocacy on the symbolic importance of the return of indigenous art; it is viewed as, “the journey home” (Glass, 2004). Unsurprisingly, art historians recognize heritage art objects as being innately cultural and significant to the respective indigenous group's identity (Cole, 1995; Nason, 1997; Simpson, 1997; Warren, 1999; Woodcock, 1980). In one example, Aaron Glass's cross-examination of rhetoric concludes that, “tangible objects... retain a power to encapsulate meaning and value... ‘objectify’ such transient notions as identity, ethnicity, and history” (Glass, 2004, p. 116).

In multiple social scientific experiments on civic engagement, confidence in a collective identity that has historical legitimacy and cultural consolidation are correlated with high civic engagement (Erikson, 1968; Flanagan, Jonsson, Botcheva, Csapo, Bowes, Macek, 1997; Verba, Schlozman, Brady 1995; Youniss, McLellan, & Yates 1997). Oberschall even posits that the rise of a collective identity can mitigate hitherto apoliticism (Oberschall, 1996, p. 100). In a study of pooled surveys from 1972 to 1994 incorporating aggregate contextual data, Brehm and Rahn (2000) conclude that institutions such as church organizations or voluntary associations facilitate social capital, the interpersonal trust and loyalty to and within the community, because membership in such associations serve as constant reminders of the community's commonalities. From an economic perspective, many social scientific studies support a positive relationship between social capital and a less concentrated economy; often, small and local businesses have greater prevalence in communities with high social capital (Blanchard et al, 2012; Halbesleben & Tolbert, 2014; Lobao & Hooks, 2015).

As such, the hypothesis going into this experiment was that museums do indeed have a positive correlative influence on voter turnout as well as the number of small businesses per person; the comparative process tracing of Dover, Massachusetts and Bedford, Massachusetts will further corroborate this, and verify the sequence and causal mechanisms.

Chapter II.

Definition of Terms

Heritage Art Objects, Cultural Property: These terms, used interchangeably in this research, is defined using the formal classifications in the *Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict*:

The term ‘cultural property’ shall cover, irrespective of origin or ownership:

- (a) movable or immovable property of great importance to the cultural heritage of every people, such as monuments of architecture, art or history, whether religious or secular; archaeological sites; groups of buildings which, as a whole, are of historical or artistic interest; works of art; manuscripts, books and other objects of artistic, historical or archaeological interest; as well as scientific collections and important collections of books or archives or of reproductions of the property defined above;
- (b) buildings whose main and effective purpose is to preserve or exhibit the movable cultural property defined in sub-paragraph (a) such as museums, large libraries and depositories of archives, and refuges intended to shelter, in the event of armed conflict, the movable cultural property defined in sub-paragraph (a);
- (c) centers containing a large amount of cultural property as defined in sub-paragraphs (a) and (b), to be known as ‘centers containing monuments’.

Again, the concept of art ownership will be operationalized by the presence of a local heritage museum, class (b) and (c) in the conventional definition.

Economic Concentration: Defined by Blanchard et al (2012) as, “a social context in which a small number of corporate establishments or industries dominate a local economy.” In this paper, economic concentration is a proxy measure for rate of locally owned businesses. As stated in the conclusions of their study, “[a] primary link between economic concentration and community-wide civic participation are the notions of efficacy and trust” (Blanchard et al, p. 2245).

I hypothesize that a town owning their own cultural property implies less economic concentration and more locally owned, small businesses. Economic concentration will be measured by dividing the number of independent businesses by the town’s population, a similar measure that Blanchard et al uses. In this study, small business is defined as independent and as having less than 100 employees; 100 or more employees is the exact threshold that Blanchard et al use to define “non-locally oriented retailers.” Chains and franchises, despite the size, are also omitted for the purposes of this research.

Civic Engagement: Civic engagement, generally defined, means “[actions that] make a difference in the civic life of... communities and developing the combination of knowledge, skills, values and motivation to make that difference... promoting the quality of life in a community, through both political and non-political processes” (Ehrlich, 2000, p. vi). A civically engaged individual “is willing to see the moral and civic dimensions of issues, to make and justify informed moral and civic judgments, and to take action” (Ehrlick, p. xxvi).

Voter turnout from the 2016 presidential election is used as a proxy measure for civic engagement, the percentage of people who actually voted out of the number of registered voters.

Chapter III.

Literature Review: Inspiration and Background

As mentioned in the introduction, the inspiration and background of the concepts in this study come from the many art repatriation disagreements in international relations, as well as social science studies on social capital, civic engagement and economic concentration.

The methods of the research are further inspired by work in the field of museum studies that measures the impact of museums on their local communities – now acknowledged by funding bodies and stakeholders as necessary “in order to attract further funding and ongoing support” (Kelly, 2006).

Inspiration: A Summary of the Topic of Art Repatriation in International Relations

“Art repatriation” is the commonly used term to describe the return of art objects to their state of origin after having been obtained and kept by another state. In the world’s current post-colonial era, formerly occupied and colonized nations and their former controlling nations face multiple facets to maintaining necessary diplomatic relations in a fast integrating global community and economy (Krugman & Venables, 1995). As mentioned, one of these facets is to whom and where do art objects belong if the object in question originated in a former colony or occupied territory but is still in the possession of the former controlling state or even elsewhere (Marshall, 2011). Among countless other accounts, Egypt’s constant attempts at repatriating Nefertiti’s Bust from the Germany and Greece’s now infamous diplomatic row with Britain regarding the Elgin

Marbles are just a two examples that attest to the global demand that art repatriation be answered to (Golonu, 2013).

Based on his rhetorical cross-examinations, Glass (2004) asserts that the gesture of returning the property and that property's excursion back to the country of origin is a metaphor for the indigenous group's agency. In an art history-based qualitative research study, Marshall (2011) posits that indigenous people of former colonies generally view the repatriation voyage of their art as symbolic of restitution. Additionally, in a qualitative study on South African art repatriation, Maaba (2008) found that indigenous people generally view the voyage as a process of healing, multiple South African interviewees claiming that the thought of the repatriation process mitigated negative feeling toward former outside controlling states. In another study, Glass (2004) compares restitution of Jewish artworks taken by the Nazis during World War II to the advocacy of native people in former occupied territories for their own art repatriation. Glass concludes that the gesture and process of repatriation also represents community healing and self-determination of the indigenous people.

By far, the art history community places a premium on the variety of symbolic implications behind the journey of the art and the gesture of returning the art. And by far, this notion is based on mostly qualitative and rhetorical studies or literature reviews.

Background: A Summary of Relevant Findings on Economic Concentration and Civic Engagement

The basis of this research is a connection between the prior mentioned notion that art objects are linked to collective identity with another notion, this time in political

science, that fortified identity implies higher social capital (Erikson 1968; Flanagan et al, 1997; Verba et al 1995; Youniss et al 1997; Zald 1996).

Verba et al. (1995) and Flanagan et al. (1997) find that confidence in a collective identity that has historical legitimacy is also correlated with high civic engagement. Relatedly, in a qualitative study of interviews, Coles and Brenner (1965) find that many citizens associate the act of voting with the history of their community, one black interviewee claiming, “when I go near a voting registrar... I feel like I’m dueling with the whole history of my race and the white race. It gets you just like that, in your bones... You’re doing something for the books; for history, too” (p. 910).

There are also many studies in the social sciences that support a positive relationship between social capital and a less concentrated economy, small and local businesses being more prevalent in high social capital communities (Blanchard et al., 2012; Halbesleben & Tolbert, 2014; Lobao & Hooks, 2015). In a 2012 study that displays a correlation between small business concentration and good health, a relevant conclusion states, “small-business owners produce important noneconomic rewards for communities, such as enhanced stocks of social capital and collective efficacy” (Blanchard et al., 2012). In this study, data was drawn from the 2002 County Business Patterns and the 2002 Nonemployer Statistics; entrepreneurial culture was operationalized as the number of small businesses per 100,000 people and small businesses as those business establishments with zero to four employees.

The social sciences literature review supports the conclusion that fortified collective identity bolsters social capital in a community. The prior art history literature review supports the conclusion that a community’s heritage art objects serve as reminders

and representations of that community's collective identity and common cultural ancestors. The research in this paper builds upon these two concepts, hypothesizing that a community owning their heritage art objects will imply a higher rate of civic engagement and economic participation

Studies on the Effect of Local Museums

It is now widely accepted that the economic value of the arts and culture sector is only one part of its net worth to the community (Holden, 2004) and that capturing a more holistic understanding of how arts and culture contribute to communities must include identifying their local social impact (Kelly, 2008). Again, the general consensus among studies concludes that museums do indeed have a positive social impact on their communities (Holden, 2004; Kelly, 2006; Stone, 2001; Cameron, 2003; Cameron, 2006; Matarosso, 1997; Parker, S., Waterston, K., Michaluk, G., & Rickard, L., 2002; Sheppard, 2000).

One specific example is Lynda Kelly's 2006 case studies exploring the effect of small museums on their local communities in Australia. The studies maintain, "Broader outcomes were also identified, such as developing an appreciation of place and culture, community pride, museums preserving heritage, and opportunities for learning across all age levels." (Kelly, 2006, p 4). In this same study, a quantitative survey was also randomly administered to 294 local residents sampled across the three communities tested. Those surveyed strongly agree that local museums (1) develop pride in local traditions and customs, (2) help people feel a sense of belonging and involvement and (3) develop community and social networks.

It is difficult to prove an actual causal relationship between museums and the social impact they engender exists (Stone, 2001), and it is unlikely that museums alone would be the sole cause of high voter turnout and a high concentration of small businesses. Instead of looking for evidence that these dependent variables are directly caused by the presence of a heritage museum, this study seeks to clarify whether or not they contribute to the impact positively. Such an experiment is far more achievable (Stone, 2001; Kelly, 2006).

While the aforementioned literature review exhibits the social impact of small museums in their communities, this study will earnestly focus on heritage museums specific to the town that museum is located in. Plymouth, Massachusetts, for example, has a specific historical narrative unique to that town that has shaped the town's culture and legacy. Their Pilgrim Hall Museum, which houses Pilgrim cultural property, is Plymouth-specific. It should be noted that this study does not include Plymouth due to that the importance of Plymouth resonates with the entire country - tourism and the general level of outside interest in the town would be too significant of a confounding variable. However, the towns chosen for the experimental group will have a similar relationship with their local heritage museums that Plymouth does with the Pilgrim Hall Museum.

The studies mentioned in this section exhibit the positive social impact of museums on communities. This further inspires my hypothesis that local heritage museums have positive implications on their town's voter turnout and small business concentration. Most of these papers, especially Kelly's, look to use the information generated from their studies in a meaningful way for governments and funding agencies.

Kelly highlights the social benefits of museums in areas such as mental health and social wellbeing, demonstrating that museums are an integral part of social capital.

Chapter IV.

Hypothesis and Topic Relevance

The following two conclusions are worth reiterating: fortified identity bolsters social capital in a given community; a community's heritage art objects represent collective identity (Cole, 1995; Nason, 1997; Simpson, 1997; Warren, 1999; Woodcock, 1980). Therefore, if a community owns their art objects, it must have positive implications on that community's rate of voter participation and on the rate of independent, small businesses in the community.

Hypotheses:

- The presence of a heritage museum will have a positive correlative impact on voter turnout, as well as the rate of small businesses.
- The initial hypothesis is due to the following sequence: Art objects, displayed in local heritage museums, are a constant reminder of and represent a common cultural identity. This fortified common culture (through local heritage museums) results in a stronger collective identity.

Though the stripped down concepts measured by proxy and the lack of international generalizability do limit the study in the art repatriation realm, the methods are straightforwardly replicable and the measures sufficiently legitimate. The results from this study have the potential to be a valid data point for a larger study related to the art repatriation conversation, as well as a pilot study in the field of museum studies due to that museum establishment is the proxy measure used for art ownership.

Given the simplicity of the chosen measures, there was enough data in each town's records for a linear regression with statistically significant results. There were also many forms of archival documents and histories available for the process-tracing portion due to the importance of the northeast in America's founding. Again, even starting to fill the aforementioned gap in the art repatriation conversation, the lack of practical, non-symbolic implications of art ownership, will add an important and consequential new dimension. So even if preliminary, the results and methods of this study are a potential resource in the art repatriation world, as well as in local museum studies.

After all, opponents of art repatriation almost exclusively rely on the practical negative implications they have posited would come out of art repatriation; when the Convention on Stolen or Illegally Exported Cultural Objects was signed by 22 nations in 1995, an *Art Newspaper* article cited at the 1997 *Spoils of War* symposium stated, "UNIDROIT would inhibit the ability of U.S. museums to acquire and/or exhibit... and would paralyze the public market for anything which could fall within the law's overly broad definition of cultural property" (Simpson, p. 15).

Chapter V.

Methodology, Approach and Limits

The quantitative portion was executed first. This sequence was decided upon in order to better choose the case study subjects for the qualitative portion and to better color the direction of the case study methodology.

For the quantitative portion, 324 towns in the states of Connecticut, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Vermont, New Hampshire, Maine, and New Jersey were randomly chosen. This was done by extracting a comprehensive list of towns from each state's Department of State website. Each town was assigned an individual, unique number, and then a random number generator was used to compile the dataset.

As mentioned in the literature review, towns with a tourist culture based on history, such as Plymouth, Massachusetts were circumvented. Towns that are too significantly influenced by a nearby city were also avoided as best as possible; Greenwich, Connecticut, for example, is likely to cater cultural institutions to nearby New York City where much of the town's population commutes to work and from where many residents relocate to Greenwich from. Such towns were avoided to prevent confounders which may have implications on the qualities measured.

Because older towns have more reason to establish a heritage museum, the data set includes only towns founded or settled between 1620, when the Pilgrims landed in Plymouth, to 1776, when America declared its independence. Any town originating prior or subsequent to that window is not included in the dataset. Consequently, towns in Massachusetts and Connecticut make up a sizeable fraction of the dataset.

In considering civic engagement, voter turnout from the most recent presidential election is measured. This information was pulled from each state's secretary of state website. The quotient of people who voted divided by the number of registered voters for each town is used as the voter turnout variable.

In order to measure prominence of independent businesses in each town, the small business directory on us-business.info was used. One by one, each town was searched in the directory, and each search produced a list of businesses. The number of small businesses was then divided by the town's total population. This quotient is used as the independent business variable for each town.

Other variables that were collected per town include: age of town, population, women to men ratio, median age, median income, and state that the town is in. These qualities were chosen as common sense variables that, when combined, likely have implications on the dependent variables being measured. The information for these variables was collected from city-data.com.

The dataset was analyzed using a linear regression to find whether or not the establishment of a museum has a positive correlative impact on the dependent variables. Again, instead of looking for evidence that the dependent variables are directly caused by the presence of a heritage museum, this paper seeks to clarify whether or not they contribute to the impact positively. The design of the statistical analysis reflects this.

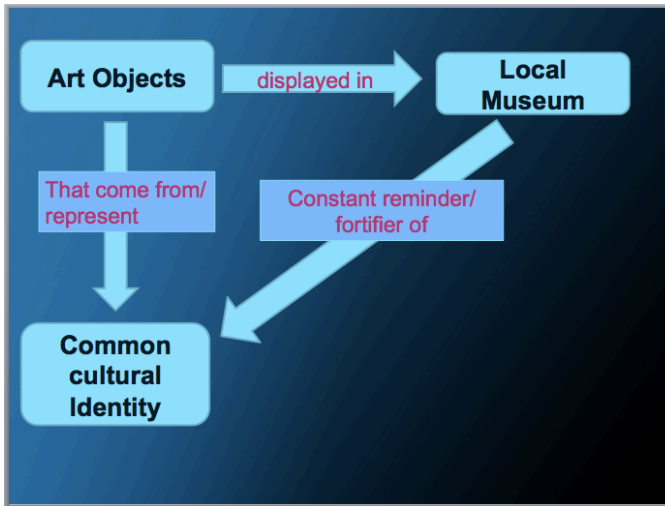
The second part is an ideational theory-testing process-tracing comparison of two most-similar cases: Dover, Massachusetts and Bedford, Massachusetts. These two case study subjects were chosen methodically. The dataset of 324 towns takes the form of a spreadsheet. The concatenation formula was executed on each data point's variables. This

formula amalgamates all of the variables into one new singular string variable per town. This variable was then utilized to reorder the data so that the most similar towns were closest to each other on the spreadsheet. Through this, Dover and Bedford emerged as highly similar cases, differing mainly in that Dover has a museum and Bedford does not.

Histories, newspaper articles and interviews with each town's historical society were then collected. A series of questions were methodically explored regarding qualities of the town historically; this investigation happened through local histories procured from each town's local library. Next, a series of questions were explored regarding the qualities of the town in the present-day; this was done using local newspapers, census data, and interviews with the historical societies. A typology table was then created to explicate any qualitative differences between Dover and Bedford. Finally, the differences were analyzed and discussed.

Such questions were asked: What are the dominant economic industries in each town? What happened in the museum town that inspired the building of a heritage museum that didn't happen in the non-museum town? How often do locals visit the museum how does the museum participate with the community? How can that affect people's attitudes? What are the dominant economic and political issues in each town? What are local activities that each town offers its citizens, and how well attended are they? The concept relationships in Figure 1 below are congenial of the conclusion in the prior literature review:

Figure 1. Art, Cultural Identity, and Implications.



Flowchart representing hypothesized relationships in the prior Literature Review

Research Limitations

The first set of limitations concern the proxy measures. Civic engagement comprehensively defined is more than just voting. Ideally, civic engagement is measured using an index that combines voting with other acts of civic participation, such as letters written to Congress and level of local political awareness. Still, voting is a valid proxy

measure as it is certainly an important component of civic engagement and one that is parsimonious and solidly quantifiable.

The concentration of small businesses does not necessarily indicate a population of locals participating in their local economy. It certainly does not indicate that the participation is due to their investment and pride in their community (though there is likely overlap). For example, not all small businesses in a given town are necessarily run by keen locals; there may be a small business in Westport, Connecticut owned by an individual living a few towns over who, through research, simply ordained Westport a better market for his product. However, small business count is indeed a valid proxy measure of business “localness” and a valid counterfactual to big corporations that contribute to concentrated economies. Again, the measure of small businesses is a similar strategy used by Blanchard et al. in their 2012 study that found a correlation between the prevalence of small businesses and social capital. Moreover, while every town in the data set was located in US Business Directory, it is likely that not every small business in the towns included themselves in the directory.

The other variables (year established, population, male to female ratio, median income, median age) were populated using the latest information from city-data.com. Here, the latest comprehensive update was taken from the official 2010 US census. However, some towns have information subsequently updated taken from more recent local census information. The fact that some towns are more updated than others does certainly affect the validity of the results. Moreover, this list of variables is not a comprehensive one. Unquestionably, many other variables implicate the dependent variables being measured.

In the sense of time, the scope of the research is limited. In order to control for anomalous years, the study would ideally be longitudinal, and the average number of that measure would populate each variable over a course of time. However, due to the large number of data points, the study is perfectly legitimate within its limited scope.

And finally, despite art repatriation being a significant inspiration for this study, there is no guarantee that the results would indeed carry on in other communities within and outside of the United States.

Chapter VI.

Results: Linear Regression

Again, it is unlikely that museums alone would be the sole cause of high voter-turnout and a higher concentration of small businesses. Instead of simply entering the Museum variable as the independent variable and the Voter Turnout and Small Business variables as the dependent variables into the linear regression, a comparative methodology was implemented: a comparison of a control model excluding the Museum variable with a test model including the Museum variable.

Table 1 below. Set A.1 Control Model, testing Voter Turnout, excluding Museum variable

- Independent Variables: Year Established, Population, Median Age, Male-to-female Ratio, Median Household Income, State
- Dependent Variable: Voter Turnout

Table 2 below. Set A.2 Test Model, testing Voter Turnout, including the Museum variable

- Independent Variables: **Museum Establishment** + Year Established, Population, Median Age, Male-to-female Ratio, Median Household Income, State
- Dependent Variable: Voter Turnout

The two models are then compared using the R , R squared, and *statistical significance* output of each.

Table 1, Set A.1 reflects the output results from a linear regression using Voter Turnout as the dependent variable. The independent variables are the other common sense characteristics that implicate the correlation to Voter Turnout.

Under *Model Summary*, the *R value* is .428, which indicates a 42.8% degree of correlation. Meanwhile, the *R squared value* is .183, which indicates that 18.3% of the total variation of voter turnout can be explained by the independent variables.

Again, this output serves as the control model. Now let's compare values of *R*, *R squared*, and *statistical significance* of the control model, Table 1, Set A.1, with the test model, the results of which are in Table 2, Set. A.2. The test model now includes the Museum variable.

Now under *Model Summary* in Table 2, Set A.2, the *R value* is .549, a 54.2% degree of correlation. Adding the Museum variable results in a 12.1% jump compared to Table 1, Set A.1, which excluded the Museum variable. The *R squared value* also goes up .119 points.

Moreover, under the *ANOVA* table under Table 2, Set A.2, the *Sig* column is .000, which indicates the results are statistically significant. Specifically, there is a less than .0001% probability that these results happened by chance.

Finally, under the *Coefficients* table, the Museum variable, labeled *MuseumD*, is statistically significant in the .002 alpha. Specifically, there is a .2% probability that the added effects of the Museum variable happened by chance.

Based on these results, museum establishment is indeed positively correlated with voter turnout.

Table 1. Set A.1, Control Model.

Model Summary

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.428 ^a	.183	.165	8.11045846

a. Predictors: (Constant), biz/pop, population, median household income, percent male, StateD, median age, AgeOFTown

ANOVA^a

Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	4645.944	7	663.706	10.090	.000 ^b
	Residual	20720.554	315	65.780		
	Total	25366.498	322			

a. Dependent Variable: vote percent
b. Predictors: (Constant), biz/pop, population, median household income, percent male, StateD, median age, AgeOFTown

Correlation to Voter Turnout, not considering Museum, Table generated using

SPSS.

Table 2. Set A.2, Test Model.

Model Summary

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.549 ^a	.302	.284	7.51168063

a. Predictors: (Constant), MuseumD, percent male, median household income, population, biz/pop, AgeOFTown, median age, Historical society

ANOVA^a

Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	7648.939	8	956.117	16.945	.000 ^b
	Residual	17717.559	314	56.425		
	Total	25366.498	322			

a. Dependent Variable: vote percent
b. Predictors: (Constant), MuseumD, percent male, median household income, population, biz/pop, AgeOFTown, median age, Historical society

		Coefficients ^a				
Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	46.289	8.857		5.226	.000
	median age	.208	.082	.137	2.535	.012
	AgeOfTown	.008	.009	.049	.943	.346
	population	-8.552E-5	.000	-.170	-3.118	.002
	percent male	.165	.135	.062	1.226	.221
	median household income	4.117E-5	.000	.137	2.799	.005
	Historical society	.888	1.008	.098	.880	.379
	biz/pop	2.565	5.701	.022	.450	.653
	MuseumD	6.862	2.211	.346	3.103	.002

a. Dependent Variable: vote percent

Correlation to Voter Turnout, considering Museum. Table generated using SPSS.

The same method is used to test the correlative influence museums have on economic concentration.

Table 3 below. Set B.1 Control Model, testing Small Business Per Person, excluding Museum variable

- Independent Variables: Year Established, Population, Median Age, Male-to-female Ratio, Median Household Income, State
- Dependent Variable: Small Businesses Per Person

Table 4 below. Set B.2 Test Model, testing Small Business Per Person, including Museum Variable

- Independent Variables: **Museum Establishment** + Year Established, Population, Median Age, Male-to-female ratio, Median Household Income, State
- Dependent Variable: Small Businesses Per Person

Looking at the tables below, there is not much difference between the control model and the test model, from a 36.5% level of correlation without the Museum variable to 37% with it. Moreover, the Museum variable, labeled *MuseumD* is significant only at .305, meaning there is a relatively high probability, 30.5%, that the results happened by chance. As such, the presence of a heritage museum does not implicate economic concentration within this model, though inconclusively.

Table 3. Set B.1, Control Model.

Model Summary				
Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.365 ^a	.133	.114	.072945077

a. Predictors: (Constant), vote percent, AgeOfTown, percent male, median household income, median age, population, StateD

ANOVA ^a						
Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	.257	7	.037	6.901	.000 ^b
	Residual	1.676	315	.005		
	Total	1.933	322			

a. Dependent Variable: biz/pop
 b. Predictors: (Constant), vote percent, AgeOfTown, percent male, median household income, median age, population, StateD

Correlation to Small Biz, not considering Museum, Table generated using SPSS.

Table 4. Set B.2, Test Model.

Model Summary				
Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.370 ^a	.137	.112	.073010027

a. Predictors: (Constant), Historical society, percent male, median household income, population, StateD, median age, AgeOfTown, vote percent, MuseumD

ANOVA ^a						
Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	.265	9	.029	5.518	.000 ^b
	Residual	1.668	313	.005		
	Total	1.933	322			

a. Dependent Variable: biz/pop
 b. Predictors: (Constant), Historical society, percent male, median household income, population, StateD, median age, AgeOfTown, vote percent, MuseumD

Coefficients^a

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	.252	.093		2.698	.007
	median age	1.766E-5	.001	.001	.022	.983
	AgeOfTown	.000	.000	.134	2.183	.030
	population	-3.113E-7	.000	-.071	-1.150	.251
	percent male	-.007	.001	-.279	-5.147	.000
	median household income	-8.912E-8	.000	-.034	-.608	.544
	StateD	.008	.002	.214	3.535	.000
	MuseumD	.023	.022	.130	1.028	.305
	vote percent	.001	.001	.082	1.263	.208
	Historical society	-.006	.010	-.074	-.595	.552

a. Dependent Variable: biz/pop

Correlation to Small Biz, Considering Museum. Table generated using SPSS

Chapter VII.

Comparing Dover and Bedford

This chapter is a qualitative comparison of two most similar data points, reused as case studies: Dover, Massachusetts and Bedford, Massachusetts. The towns were also chosen due to that they both have higher than average voter turnout within their museum category. Because small businesses ended up being unimplicated by the museum variable, they were not taken into consideration for this qualitative portion.

Table 5. Bedford and Dover.

Town	year settled	Pop	% male	median age	median household income	Museum	%Voted
Bedford	1640	13320	49.9	45.1	137753	No	72
Dover	1635	6279	51.9	40.5	173748	Yes	81.2

Basic information on Bedford and Dover. Taken from city-data.com.

A set of sequential questions was explored for each town (see appendix), resulting in the narratives below. First Dover is explored, then Bedford. Finally, the differences between the two case studies are explicated, as these differences are all potential confounding variables that have contributed to their vast dissimilarity in voter turnout.

Dover, Massachusetts

Originally part of the town of Dedham, the first settler in the region that would become Dover was Henry Wilson of Kent, England in 1640. *A History of Dover* narrates these origins proudly, while *The Proceedings of the One Hundred and Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the Incorporation of the Town of Dover* refers to Dedham as “the mother

town.” (Dover Historical Society, p. 13). In the interest of being freed from the minister tax in Dedham and being allowed to worship in more accessible, neighboring towns, Dover resolutely attempted independent incorporation multiple times to no avail; incorporation was finally granted in 1784. Dover’s local government format, both historically and in the present-day, is a New England style board of selectman and town meeting. (Smith, 1897).

From its time as a precinct in Dedham, there was never one uniquely dominant industry in Dover. This was echoed during the town’s 125th anniversary of incorporation: “Dover has never been a manufacturing town. It is, in many respects, now, hardly agricultural. Its future is residential, that is to say, a place where one goes to live... only two persons in Dover earned their living outside the town, and yet there has hardly ever been a mechanical industry” (Smith, p. 21). As much of New England, the residents of early Dover mostly farmed, then at one point built ships and vended timber, and in 1837 a nail factory was built. “Parliament,” it is written in *A History of Dover*, “passed laws aiding the establishment of such enterprises” (Smith, p. 282).

Dover’s first permanent place of worship was established in 1740. Preachers were rode in from Harvard College, including Joseph Cotton and Same Locke, before Benjamin Caryl became Dover’s first minister and served the town for 49 years. Caryl’s descendants occupied his house, now a historical site belonging to the town, until 1897. (Smith, 1897).

Doctor Ralph Sanger, the town’s second minister, is as important a figure to Dover’s civil history as to its ecclesiastical history. In addition to establishing a private school for boys, he kept a circulating a library at his house and served as its librarian. In

suggesting a town library, Sanger stated, “Such a library would be the property of the town, and would be open to every family in the town. Its privileges would be shared alike by all, whether rich or poor. Like the sun and air, it would shed its enlightening and healthful influence upon all” (Smith, p. 244). Moreover, Doctor Sanger’s popularity may have been a testament to tolerant attitudes toward diversity, as he was a staunch Federalist during a time of anti-Federalist sentiments in Dover; otherwise, his popularity may have allowed him to get away with unpopular opinions. (Smith, 1897).

Regarding its military history, Dover was involved in many watershed moments leading up to and during historical conflicts. Dover resident Timothy Guy took part in the Boston Tea Party. In the American Revolution, a Dover resident, Thomas Larrabee (who also witnessed John André’s hanging), crossed the Delaware with Washington in the battle against the Hessian forces, and seventeen residents took part in the Battle of Bunker Hill. Dover soldiers also served in large numbers during the Civil War in the artillery, cavalry, battery, and infantry (Smith, 1854).

Dover’s histories narrate many instances demonstrating pride, community organization, and consideration for local history. Below are a few data points:

- In 1975, the Caryl House was repaired and refurbished in preparation for the Nation’s Bicentennial.
- “Dedham was perhaps the first colonial town to establish a free school supported by general taxation. In 1644 the town set up a free school, built a schoolhouse, and supported the school by a general tax. Other schools had been established in Mass, but none were wholly supported by taxation” (Smith, 203).

- Though there had not been a military organization in Dover for many years when the American Revolution broke out, a company known as the *Home Guards* was organized. Some fifty people were enrolled and drill meetings were held Saturday afternoons on the village green.
- Historically, town meetings were “largely attended” (Smith, p. 208).
- Because the tavern became a center for meetings, gossip, and general community, the tavern-keeper was, “a personage of vast importance and often the most important man in town” (Smith, p. 241).
- “The library was maintained for many years with great pride, and Dover was often congratulated on the possession of so fine a library”. (Smith, p. 244).

The following is a comprehensive list of societies and organizations mentioned in the histories, mostly formed in the 1800s: Ladies Benevolent Society, Haven Society of Christian Endeavor, Debating society, Farmers and Mechanics Association, Dover Grange, Patrons of Husbandry, Dover Temperance Union, Band of Hope, Dover Historical Society. (Smith, 1897).

Present-day Dover enjoys prosperity on many fronts. Home ownership is at 90.5% with less than 1% of the population living below the poverty line – far less than the national average of 14.7%. The town is predominantly white collar, with healthcare being the most commonly employed industry at 23%, followed by professional, scientific, and tech at 19.5%. The most common bachelor degree obtained within the population is business at 32.9%, general nursing at 12.3%, then economics at 5.2%. Asian Americans make up the largest minority population, as well as the highest median

income among all ethnicities. (*Dover, Massachusetts*. Retrieved from: <http://www.city-data.com/city/Dover-Massachusetts.html>).

In addition to conducting an interview with the president of the Dover Historical Society, this study searched local newspaper archives using the keywords below.

Table 6. Keywords from Dover-Sherborn Press, Dover Hometown Weekly

KEYWORDS	Number of articles used
pride, proud	12
heritage	11
museum	10
culture, art, exhibition	29
event, festival	12
community	7
history, historical	29

Keywords were searched on each newspaper’s website. The results were then recorded.

Dover’s Historical Society was organized in 1895 and incorporated in 1900 to “collect, preserve, and exhibit artifacts, and exhibit such artifacts, information, and documents as will throw light on our local history.” The Society runs the Sawin Museum and holds a large annual exhibit. Meanwhile, the historical Caryl House offers educational programs to elementary school students. There are also various programs in development by the Society. According to the Historical Society website, society members recently published a history of the Dover Union Iron Mill and a Historical

Insight series using materials in the Caryl House. (Dover Historical Society, Retrieved from: <http://www.doverhistoricalsociety.org/sawin.html>).

The Sawin Museum is open and free to the public during the spring and fall seasons, on Saturdays from 1pm to 4pm, as well as by appointment. Mr. Elisha Lee, the current president of the Historical Society guesses that around 100 people attend the museum during the season, to which he says is “not enough, although our WWI exhibit has increased attendance over the past year.” The Society also hosts an annual meeting at the library. Mr. Lee discloses that the Historical Society sets up four lectures throughout the year, which are usually held at the library. Additionally, the Society throws a holiday party and a spring garden party at the Caryl House. Attendance at the events has been around 40 to 70 people, with a large number of regular attendees. The holiday party is the most popular event. Additionally, the Society hosts trips to other venues and museums. (Elisha Lee, personal communication, March 29, 2018)

“There are still a few families in town whose Dover ancestry goes back that far (and some living elsewhere with an interest in their Dover roots),” says Mr. Lee. When asked if he believes the citizens of Dover are proud and aware of their roots, Mr. Lee replied, “I think it’s our job to make people aware and that requires constant effort...for example, the Caryl House is owned by the Town, thus the Selectmen need to be reminded of its significance to the Town. (Elisha Lee, personal communication, March 29, 2018).

The Sawin Museum is mentioned numerous times in the local newspapers, often for its programming. It is even referred to as “Dover’s Jewel” and as having “an impressive collection” by the *Dover Hometown Weekly* (Press, 2016).

A likely indicator of collective pride in Dover is that the citizens throw many events and programs that bring the community together; some of these events include a sustainable food gathering, a horticulture garden party, galas and fundraisers, music and film festivals, local sports events, a locally-focused photography contest, and even an annual rabies clinic (Dover-Sherborne, 2018, 2017, 2016). Commonly mentioned in the local newspaper articles are events thrown by the education community. The Dover-Sherborn Education Fund bequeathed a grant to support a mock Ellis Island Day, in which elementary school students were given tags with immigrant names and countries of origin, were then “processed” before going through the “Great Hall” for health and mental exams, a test for citizenship, and games from the early 20th century (Dover-Sherborne, 2016). Another education-oriented Dover event is *Challenge Success*, the goal of which is to promote a broader definition of success, and also, according to Kristina Grace, the Dover Sherborn Education Fund president, “is a fun opportunity to catch up with friends and neighbors; and to eat, drink and raise your paddle to support our wonderful schools” (Dover-Sherborne, 2018). For the teenagers, Dover’s *Seminar Day* is an opportunity for high school students to experience a variety of offerings. “When do you get to salsa dance, or when do you get to hear a plastic surgeon talk?” organizer Rebecca Vizulis pointed to the out-of-classroom experience and variety. She added, “It’s great.” (Bosma, 2017). Even senior citizens have a program called *Life-Learning*, through which they can take classes and go to lectures regarding everything from local history to nutrition seminars (Dover-Sherborne, 2018, 2017, 2016).

Dover held its first *Old Home Day*, a town reunion event, on August 19, 1903, and then held its second *Old Home Day* on July 7, 1909 as a celebration of the 125th

anniversary of Dover's incorporation. In *The Proceedings of the One Hundred and Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the Incorporation of the Town of Dover*, much of the narrative in *A History of Dover* is proudly invoked. According to the Historical Society, the community displayed notable enthusiasm for Old Home Day; it is now an annual event held in October. (Elisha Lee, personal communication, March 29, 2018).

Bedford, Massachusetts

The land within the boundaries of present-day Bedford was first settled in 1640. Five years prior, Reverend Peter Buckley and the merchant Major Simon Willard were granted the town of Concord, formerly called Musketaquid. In 1729, parts of Concord, parts of neighboring Billerica, and the whole of a 1637 grant to Governor Winthrop and deputy, Mr. Dudley were incorporated into the single town of Bedford. The first house occupied by English settlers within the limits of Bedford is alluded to in a 1642 report, confirming that Bedford was settled in within twenty-two years of the Pilgrims' landing in America. Early Bedford is similar to early Dover in that it was once part of another town, and also in its local government format, the New England style board of selectman and town meeting. (Brown, 1891)

Unlike Dover, manufacturing is important to the economic history of Bedford. In Brown's *History of the Town of Bedford*, the manufacturing of straw goods are referred to as a "staple industry" (Brown, p. 81) at one point, and becomes either equal to or replaced by a large agricultural implement factory, the Howard Company, in the late 1800s. Other industries mentioned in the history include the manufacturing of bricks for local use after a stratum of clay was found near the town's southern border, the

manufacturing of charcoal, and tanning and currying in the latter part of the eighteenth century and the opening years of the nineteenth.

Bedford's house of worship was already under way before the town's incorporation. Nicholas Bowes became Bedford's first minister in 1730, but resigned in 1755 due to a disagreement between him and the congregation. Similarly, Bedford's second and third ministers, Reverend Nathaniel Sherman and Joseph Penniman "ran afoul of the congregation" (Brown, p. 81). The church's fourth minister, Reverend Samuel Stearns, was beloved by many, but also eventually left, taking a good many of the congregation with him. According to Brown's history, many churches in New England divided along theological grounds and Bedford was no different.

Regarding its military history, Bedford's involvement in monumental conflicts, and the town's pride with their involvement, seems quantifiably tantamount to Dover's. However, there is a more palpable pride in the town's involvement in the American Revolution, likely because the oldest flag in America has roots in, and is currently owned by, Bedford.

Bedford resident Thompson Maxwell represented the town during the Boston Tea Party. Their Revolutionary Minutemen are described as, "fair specimen" whose authority "came through the suffrage of their associates" (Brown, p. 23). A local, Samuel Tidd, is written to have been at the battles of Lexington and Bunker Hill. According to the sworn statements of the commanding officers of the Bedford companies, there were seventy-seven men in the battle of Concord. While there are no personal accounts or anecdotes from the Civil War in the *History of the town of Bedford*, page 31 presents a list Civil War veterans.

Bedford's histories narrate a few instances demonstrating pride, community organization, and consideration for local history. While there are not as many data points as Dover, they hold much qualitative weight and are concentrated during the time of the American Revolution:

- To aid Washington's army in 1776 during a time of financial troubles, Bedford, "furnished six cords of wood and two tons of English hay daily for the army at Cambridge. With each load of hay or wood went packages from the loyal homes to the absent members in camp and the sufferers in the hospitals" and, "offered a liberal bounty for volunteers... the town cherish with pride the tradition that their grandsires were led by General Washington to Boston" (Brown, p. 25).
- "Minutemen of Bedford were a fair specimen of those forces, so hastily prepared for war, of whom Ijord Percy said: "We never saw anything equal to the intrepidity of the New England minute-men" (Brown, p. 23).
- The Bedford Flag is the oldest complete flag existing in the United States. Nathaniel Page, Bedford Minuteman, carried this flag to the Concord Bridge in 1775 as the American Revolution commenced.
- Instances of embracing diversity early on in history. For example, "The Moravians who settled here in 1745, have maintained their organization with characteristic zeal" (Brown, p. 80). This quality is palpable in the present-day newspaper analysis as well.

The following is a comprehensive list of societies and organizations mentioned in the histories: Village Improvement Society, Bedford Home Missionary Society, Bedford

Bible Society, Religious Tract Society, a ladies' clothing society, a horticultural society, various literary, musical and athletic clubs, a Law and Order League, Trinitarian Congregational Society, Ladies Soldier's Aid Society, The Bedford Historic Society

Present-day Bedford exhibits different statistics than Dover. Home ownership is at 71.4% with 10% of the population living below the poverty line; 10% is greater than Dover's number, but still far lower than the national average of 14.7%. While Bedford's official town website does not display specific percentages regarding common industries in town, a map of industry clusters is posted, which displays a clear dominance of information technology. 97.8% of the population includes high school graduates and 67.7% have obtained a bachelors degree or higher –both lesser rates than in Dover, but far above the state average. Similar to Dover, Asian Americans make up the largest minority population. Dover is generally more ethnically diverse than Dover (*Bedford, Massachusetts*. Retrieved from: <http://www.city-data.com/city/Bedford-Massachusetts.html>).

As with Dover, an interview with the Historical Society President was conducted, and keywords were searched in the archives of local Bedford newspapers:

Table 7. Keywords from Bedford Minuteman, Bedford Patch

KEYWORDS	Number of articles used
pride, proud	12
heritage	6
museum	9

culture, art, exhibition	22
event, festival	6
community	36
history, historical	21

Keywords were searched on each newspaper’s website. The results were then recorded.

Like Dover, the citizens of Bedford also host a variety of events and programs. Commonly reported in Bedford’s local newspapers, especially when compared to Dover, are events and programs that are entrepreneurial in nature and ones that are focused on diversity. Events focused on diversity include Chinese story time at the Bedford Public Library, local interns designing social justice programs in Bedford, and an interfaith concert (Minuteman, 2016, 2017, 2018). The *Bedford Minuteman* reports on an annual Latino and African American Tenacity Challenge, in which students participate in an all-day scholarship event (Bucci, 2018). Meanwhile, Superintendent Jon Sills set up the Bedford Embraces Diversity committee after a series of anti-Semitic events were observed within Bedford Public Schools. This committee throws an annual multicultural festival that all are encouraged to participate in. “This isn’t just for the typical Bedford residents, but for everyone that defines the culture of Bedford. With Hanscom and the VA hospital the military plays a big role in our culture; the military has been here since colonial times,” Mike Rosenberg, Town Selectman and Board member of Bedford Embraces Diversity, told *Bedford Minuteman*. “People feel connected to Bedford in different ways, and we want that to be reflected in the festival” (Minuteman, 2018).

Bedford's newspapers publish palpably more articles on the business community than do Dover's. Jesse Collings reported in 2017 that Bedford's Planning Board earnestly responded to the changes of how business is conducted in the present-day through a series of zoning proposals that would change laws regarding business development. Moreover, Bedford hosts an event called *Mass Innovation Nights*, where entrepreneurs can network, as well as present their products and services.

Don Corey, president of Bedford's Historical Society mentions that the Historical Society has six meetings each year; the meetings usually involve a discussion about business, followed by a speaker, and they average about 50 to 70 attendees. The Society cohosts meetings with other groups. "In 2017, [the Historical Society] worked with the Friends of the Job Lane House on one weekend Open House and with the Town Patriotic Celebrations Committee on a Veterans Day meeting," said Don Corey. (Don Corey, personal communication, March 29, 2018).

"I believe that the people who are involved with and participate in town activities are well aware of Bedford's history and proud of it," Don Corey continued. "Efforts to preserve the town's character and its historic properties, and add them to the National Register, are consistently supported at Town Meetings." He also mentions that Bedford has a few Hartwell and Fitch families in town that are descendants of founding families. "There were many more families up through about World War II, but the whole nation became a lot more mobile since the 1950s. There are a number of out-of-town descendants that have donated family heirlooms to the Society, contacted the Historical Society for genealogical information, etcetera, and stay in touch." (Don Corey, personal communication, March 29, 2018).

Corey mentioned that the Historical Society is currently working with the Selectmen and Town Manager to establish a town historical museum. Between his interview and the newspaper analysis, there is a general consensus that Bedford lacks a Historical Museum. However, the Job Lane House, a historic house built around 1713 by Job Lane who was one of Bedford's earliest settlers, operates as an 18th-century historic house museum. While this is different than traditional object-oriented museums, such as Dover's Sawin Museum, historic museums do house antiques that can be considered heritage objects. Regardless, Bedford clearly does not see the Job Lane House as a sufficient heritage museum despite what seems like a general deference for it. Collings reported, "[a] discussion that spanned almost 90 minutes during the Board of Selectmen's meeting... proved two things: That the town is serious about establishing the museum, and that a lot of obstacles still stand in the way" (2018).

Comparison: Dover and Bedford

See Table 8 below, which is based on the process-traced narratives above:

Table 8. Typology Table Comparing Bedford and Dover.

	DOVER	BEDFORD
Settlement		
Same?		✓
	Broke off from Dedham	Broke off from other towns
Government		
Same?		✓
	Board selectman, town meeting	Board selectman, town meeting
Education in the colonial era		
	Public School during the colonial era?	
Same?		✓
	Yes	Yes
Anything of note?		
Same?		✗
	First fully funded public school	
Historical		
Initial Industry		
Same?		✓
	Agriculture	Agriculture
Subsequent economies, leading into the 1800s		
Same?		✗
	Various	Various, much manufacturing
Colonial contests, historical wars		
Involved in Boston Tea Party?		
Same?		✓
	Yes	Yes
American Revolution, general		
Same?		✓
	Yes	Yes
American Revolution, special		
Same?		✓
	Dover resident crossed Delaware w/Washington	Bedford has first flag, flown during march to Concord
American Revolution, involved in Bunker Hill?		
Same?		✓
	Yes	Yes
American Revolution, involved in Lexington?		
Same?		✓
	Yes	Yes
Civil War		
Same?		✓
	Yes	Yes
Active social societies?		
Same?		✓
	Yes	Yes

	DOVER	BEDFORD
	General	
	Bachelors degree attainment?	
Same?		✘
	83.00%	67.70%
	Diversity levels?	
Same?		✘
	93% white, 4.5% Asian, less than 1% all else	83% white, 9.4% Asian, 2.8% Hispanic, 2.1% black, 1.6% mixed, less than 1% all else
	Home ownership	
Same?		✘
	90.50%	71.40%
	Economy	
	Dominant professional class	
Same?		✔
	white collar	white collar
	Industry?	
Same?		✘
	Health	Information Technology Software
	Society, involvement	
	Generally involved? Proof of pride?	
Same?		✔
	Yes	Yes
	Dominant society events, programs	
Same?		✘
	Education	Diversity, business
	Active historical society	
Same?		✔
	Yes, throws events, owns cultural art, has museum	Yes. Throws events, owns cultural art

Through categories, this table compares and contrasts the narrative history and characteristics of Dover and Bedford. The information is taken from the prior process tracing exercises for each town.

Dover and Bedford are foundationally similar: historic New England towns with English Puritan roots that have participated in formative American events. Moreover, there is enough proof to claim both towns are proud of their history and are community-oriented. When it comes to establishmentarian measures of each town’s attitude towards their history and culture, that Dover has a museum and Bedford does not is indeed the only difference. As such, the relationship between museum establishment and civic engagement is corroborated through this part of exercise.

However, there is a high likelihood that other general differences between the towns implicate voter turnout. Historically, the differences between Dover and Bedford begin when the towns move from agriculture and into other economies. Bedford's economy moves into markedly more manufacturing, which may be related to, or at least be the start of a journey into a few differences in characteristics between Dover and Bedford: Bedford is more highly populated and more diverse; Dover is more residential with a much higher rate of home ownership, both have great median incomes but Dover's is greater, and Bedford seems to focus more on the business community than Dover does.

Again, these differences are important to note due to the high theoretical probability that they are consequential to the dependent variables. For example, that Dover has higher home ownership than Bedford could be the most important variable contributing to their vast difference in voter turnout; perhaps people who are permanently rooted have more incentive to vote than those whose lives are susceptible to mutability. Perhaps population size is the most consequential variable because smaller towns may have less operational challenges to civic life, making voting easier.

However, between the quantitative results and the qualitative results, this paper concludes that these differences do not serve as full and sweeping theoretical disputes against the hypothesis. Despite how much more important the prior mentioned variables might be to civic life, the isolated museum variable still positively impacts voter turnout, even if the impact is lessened by other variables.

Chapter VIII.

Discussion

Regarding the operationalization of art ownership, Bedford presents a dimension not fully considered: a town that does indeed own its heritage art, has not established a museum, has acknowledged its need for one, and displays its objects through other venues. For the sake of parsimony in this research, museum establishment became the proxy measure to represent art ownership. However, Bedford proudly displays the first Revolutionary flag in its public library; Bedford categorically owns its heritage art. Within the realm of research, moving away from proxy measures would potentially be a lifetime endeavor (the researcher would have to do case study level work per data point, then create an index to measure art ownership more accurately). The nuanced Bedford case study has revealed that art ownership may be measured in a less binary way. After all, Bedford has a higher voter turnout than other non-museum towns.

Regarding museums, two discoveries in this study need further discussion. First, Bedford's Lane House is a historic house museum but not acknowledged by its town as a legitimate historical museum. This begs the question: What type of museum best communicates art ownership? Because a historic house museum displays furnishings in a way that reflects their original placement, it is likely that this context does not successfully graduate the items from utilitarian objects to heritage art objects. While this study does not substantiate that theory, bringing museum style into account may be consequential to the results of this research. Secondly, what this study is most practically relevant to, of the three disciplines explored in the literature review, is the domestic

museum studies realm. The social implications of museums are important to consider when it comes to museum funding, exhibit choices and museum-community relations.

Finally, regarding art repatriation, the study is an imperfect expression of the issues that inspired it. While there is most certainly no guarantee that the results would indeed carry on in communities in other countries, the study as it has been presented as well as its methodology are legitimate on the preliminary level for the variables and concepts involved. When expanded and sharpened, the results could serve as a data point for a much larger study. Even for all its limits, this study opens the door for the necessary action that art repatriation be answered to in a more practical, less symbolic way than it has been.

Appendix 1.

Dataset

town	state	Settle	Pop	Year	%male	Year	age	Year
Wethersfield	CT	1634	26668	2010	46.6	2010	45.4	2010
Fairfield	CT	1639	59404	2010	47.5	2010	40	2010
Milford	CT	1639	51857	2014	48.8	2014	44.1	2014
Stratford	CT	1639	51384	2010	46.7	2010	44.5	2010
Stamford	CT	1641	129105	2016	50.4	2016	37.9	2010
Guilford	CT	1643	22375	2010	48.1	2010	46.6	2010
Farmington	CT	1645	25304	2010	47.6	2010	44.2	2010
Middletown	CT	1651	47043	2014	48.2	2010	37.1	2010
Norwalk	CT	1651	88440	2016	46.4	2010	37.7	2010
Norwich	CT	1662	40175	2014	48.7	2010	37.2	2010
Killingworth	CT	1667	6525	2010	49.3	2010	46.5	2010
Haddam	CT	1668	8364	2010	50.6	2010	44.4	2010
Simsbury	CT	1670	23511	2010	48.8	2010	43.5	2010
Woodbury	CT	1673	9975	2010	48.5	2010	46.9	2010
Suffield	CT	1674	15735	2010	55.6	2010	41.8	2010
Derby	CT	1675	12768	2014	50.6	2014	39.1	2014
Enfield	CT	1683	44635	2010	52.3	2010	40.4	2010
Branford	CT	1685	28026	2010	47	2010	47	2010
Danbury	CT	1687	85008	2016	51.6	2010	39.7	2010
Glastonbury	CT	1690	34427	2010	47.6	2010	43.1	2010
Woodstock	CT	1690	7964	2010	49.5	2010	44.1	2010
Windham	CT	1692	25268	2010	48.7	2010	30.3	2010
Lebanon	CT	1700	7308	2010	50.6	2010	42.7	2010
Mansfield	CT	1702	26543	2010	51.6	2010	21.5	2010
Durham	CT	1708	7406	2010	48.2	2010	47.2	2010
Ridgefield	CT	1709	24652	2010	48.5	2010	45.6	2010
New Milford	CT	1712	28145	2010	47.9	2010	40.8	2010
Coventry	CT	1712	12453	2010	50.6	2010	41.5	2010
Pomfret	CT	1713	4247	2010	49.4	2010	41.7	2010
Tolland	CT	1715	15052	2010	49.6	2010	41.6	2010
Stafford	CT	1719	12087	2010	49.3	2010	41.8	2010
Litchfield	CT	1719	1225	2014	40.8	2014	55.9	2014

Somers	CT	1734	11444	2010	60	2010	42.5	2010
East Haddam	CT	1734	9126	2010	49.9	2010	44.2	2010
Harwinton	CT	1737	5642	2010	50.5	2010	45.7	2010
New Hartford	CT	1738	6970	2010	49.8	2010	44.1	2010
Goshen	CT	1739	2967	2010	49.4	2010	48.3	2010
Kent	CT	1739	2979	2010	49.3	2010	48.9	2010
Sharon	CT	1739	2782	2010	49	2010	51.4	2010
New Fairfield	CT	1740	13881	2010	49.6	2010	42.4	2010
Torrington	CT	1740	36438	2010	50.6	2010	44.9	2010
Cornwall	CT	1740	1419	2010	49.6	2010	50.1	2010
Norfolk	CT	1758	1711	2010	49	2010	47.7	2010
East Hampton	CT	1767	2691	2010	52.5	2010	42.2	2010
Redding	CT	1767	9158	2010	48.1	2010	46.4	2010
Winchester	CT	1771	11242	2010	49.2	2010	44	2010
Colebrook	CT	1779	1486	2010	50.6	2010	46.2	2010
Washington	CT	1779	3578	2010	49.6	2010	49.7	2010
North Haven	CT	1786	24093	2010	46.9	2010	45.4	2010
Columbia	CT	1804	5495	2010	48.6	2010	45.6	2010
North Branford	CT	1831	14407	2010	48.7	2010	44.6	2010
West Hartford	CT	1854	63268	2010	47.2	2010	41.8	2010
Old Saybrook	CT	1854	10242	2010	47.4	2010	50.1	2010
Morris	CT	1859	2388	2010	49.8	2010	45.9	2010
Thomaston	CT	1875	7887	2010	48.4	2010	42.5	2010
Swampscott	MA	1629	13787	2010	46.3	2010	45.1	2010
Manchester-by-the- Sea	MA	1629	5136	2010	46.8	2010	47.6	2010
Marblehead	MA	1629	19808	2010	46.5	2010	48.7	2010
Arlington	MA	1630	42844	2010	46.8	2010	41.6	2010
Canton	MA	1630	21561	2010	47.3	2010	42.3	2010
Marshfield	MA	1632	25132	2010	46	2010	41.9	2010
Chelmsford	MA	1633	33802	2010	48.4	2010	43.2	2010
Essex	MA	1634	3504	2010	46.7	2010	38.2	2010
Braintree	MA	1634	35744	2010	47.1	2007	40	2007
Dover	MA	1635	6279	2010	51.9	2010	40.5	2010
West Newbury	MA	1635	4235	2010	49.7	2010	44.9	2010
Topsfield	MA	1635	6085	2010	46.7	2010	45.3	2010
Newbury	MA	1635	6666	2010	48.8	2010	46.4	2010
Newburyport	MA	1635	17926	2014	45.7	2014	49.6	2014
Milton	MA	1636	27003	2010	46.7	2010	38.8	2010
Belmont	MA	1636	24729	2010	46.8	2010	41.3	2010
Billerica	MA	1637	40243	2010	50.4	2010	40.1	2010
Barnstable	MA	1637	45193	2010	47.8	2007	42.3	2007
Merrimac	MA	1638	6338	2010	48.2	2010	43.7	2010

Wayland	MA	1638	12994	2010	48.3	2010	45.4	2010
Groveland	MA	1639	6459	2010	48.4	2010	43.5	2010
Bourne	MA	1640	19754	2010	41.8	2010	58	2010
Burlington	MA	1641	24498	2010	49.8	2010	42.5	2010
Andover	MA	1642	33201	2010	44.6	2010	39.6	2010
Weston	MA	1642	11261	2010	47.7	2010	45.1	2010
Eastham	MA	1644	4956	2010	46.5	2010	56.6	2010
Boxford	MA	1645	7965	2010	51.4	2010	44.9	2010
Bridgewater	MA	1650	26563	2010	49	2010	22.3	2010
Carlisle	MA	1650	4852	2010	49.8	2010	46.9	2010
West Bridgewater	MA	1651	6916	2010	49.2	2010	43.9	2010
Amesbury	MA	1654	16283	2010	48.1	2010	43.8	2010
Brewster	MA	1656	9820	2010	46.1	2010	61.3	2010
Marlborough	MA	1657	38499	2010	48.6	2010	39.6	2010
South Hadley	MA	1659	17514	2010	41	2010	40.6	2010
Middleton	MA	1659	8987	2010	56	2010	41.5	2010
Hadley	MA	1659	5250	2010	47.8	2010	45.7	2010
Westfield	MA	1660	41608	2014	49.3	2014	38.3	2014
Southborough	MA	1660	9767	2010	49.5	2010	41.7	2010
Mendon	MA	1660	5839	2010	50.1	2010	42.1	2010
Mashpee	MA	1660	14006	2010	46.5	2010	47.5	2010
Falmouth	MA	1660	31531	2010	44	2010	62.5	2010
Hatfield	MA	1661	3279	2010	47.3	2010	51.8	2010
Milford	MA	1662	25055	2010	48.9	2010	38.6	2010
Easthampton	MA	1664	16053	2010	48.1	2010	38.6	2010
West Brookfield	MA	1664	3701	2010	47.2	2010	56	2010
Berlin	MA	1665	2866	2010	49.5	2010	46.1	2010
Chatham	MA	1665	6125	2010	49.9	2010	59.7	2010
Aquinnah	MA	1669	311	2010	49.2	2010	45.5	2010
Halifax	MA	1670	7518	2010	48.7	2010	42.8	2010
Fairhaven	MA	1670	15873	2010	48.1	2010	45.3	2010
Harwich	MA	1670	12243	2010	46.5	2010	52.6	2010
Whately	MA	1672	1496	2010	50.1	2010	48.3	2010
Westborough	MA	1675	18272	2010	48.1	2010	43.8	2010
Townsend	MA	1676	8926	2010	39.5	2010	39.1	2010
Ashby	MA	1676	3074	2010	50.3	2010	42.6	2010
Marion	MA	1679	4907	2010	47.1	2010	46.8	2010
Boxborough	MA	1680	4996	2010	51	2010	43.3	2010
Stow	MA	1681	6590	2010	49.2	2010	43.5	2010
Bolton	MA	1682	4897	2010	49.5	2010	42.8	2010
Orleans	MA	1693	5890	2010	45.7	2010	61.9	2010
Avon	MA	1700	4356	2010	48.1	2010	44	2010
Truro	MA	1700	2003	2010	49.4	2010	53.7	2010

Sutton	MA	1704	8963	2010	49.3	2010	42.5	2010
Boylston	MA	1705	4355	2010	48	2010	44.5	2010
New Braintree	MA	1709	999	2010	50.2	2010	43.3	2010
Auburn	MA	1714	16188	2010	48.2	2010	43.7	2010
Monson	MA	1715	8560	2010	48.9	2010	43.4	2010
Millbury	MA	1716	13261	2010	48.1	2010	42	2010
Sterling	MA	1720	7808	2010	49.2	2010	44	2010
Shirley	MA	1720	7211	2010	44.5	2010	51.7	2010
Barre	MA	1720	5398	2010	60.8	2010	55.6	2010
Shrewsbury	MA	1722	35608	2010	48.8	2010	40.2	2010
Great Barrington	MA	1726	7104	2010	48.6	2010	47.4	2010
Sheffield	MA	1726	3257	2010	49.7	2010	47.8	2010
Belchertown	MA	1731	14649	2010	51.3	2010	40.6	2010
Southampton	MA	1732	5792	2010	48.5	2010	44.7	2010
Charlton	MA	1735	12981	2010	49.1	2010	41.2	2010
Blandford	MA	1735	1233	2010	51.9	2010	46.1	2010
Otis	MA	1735	1612	2010	50.9	2010	48.3	2010
Ashburnham	MA	1736	6081	2010	50.8	2010	40.8	2010
Granville	MA	1736	1566	2010	50.8	2010	45.4	2010
New Salem	MA	1737	990	2010	50.4	2010	46.9	2010
Monterey	MA	1739	961	2010	47.7	2010	51.1	2010
East Longmeadow	MA	1740	15720	2010	47.1	2010	45	2010
Charlemont	MA	1742	1266	2010	49.4	2010	46.5	2010
Ashfield	MA	1743	1737	2010	49.1	2010	48.9	2010
Ashland	MA	1750	16593	2010	48.6	2010	40.1	2010
Mattapoisett	MA	1750	6045	2010	48.7	2010	47.7	2010
Chesterfield	MA	1760	1222	2010	51	2010	46.1	2010
Heath	MA	1765	706	2010	51.4	2010	49.8	2010
Cheshire	MA	1766	3235	2010	50.6	2010	45.9	2010
Montgomery	MA	1767	838	2010	50.4	2010	46.7	2010
Gill	MA	1776	1500	2010	49.7	2010	46.8	2010
Scarborough	ME	1635	4,403	2010	44.6	2010	41.9	2010
Wells	ME	1643	9589	2010	48.3	2010	48.5	2010
Kittery	ME	1647	4562	2010	49.8	2010	38.7	2010
York	ME	1652	12529	2010	47.9	2010	49.3	2010
Georgetown	ME	1716	1042	2010	50.1	2010	49.6	2010
Boothbay Harbor	ME	1730	1086	2010	41.6	2010	56.8	2010
Gorham	ME	1736	14141	2010	45.9	2010	40.2	2010
Sanford	ME	1739	20906	2014	46.8	2014	41.3	2014
Buxton	ME	1750	8034	2010	50.4	2010	41.5	2010
Woolwich	ME	1759	3072	2010	49.4	2010	44.6	2010
Stockton Spring	ME	1759	1591	2010	47.5	2010	49.9	2010
Saco	ME	1762	19,014	2014	49.3	2014	43.1	2014

Bowdoinham	ME	1762	2889	2010	50.1	2010	43.7	2010
Tremont	ME	1762	1563	2010	47.9	2010	48.5	2010
Blue Hill	ME	1762	2686	2010	46.9	2010	49.5	2010
Bar Harbor	ME	1763	2552	2010	46.7	2010	39.8	2010
Topsham	ME	1764	5931	2010	43.9	2010	44.4	2010
Alfred	ME	1764	3019	2010	51.7	2010	45.7	2010
Boothbay	ME	1764	3120	2010	49.3	2010	51.7	2010
Bristol	ME	1765	2755	2010	49.4	2010	54.1	2010
Vinalhaven	ME	1766	1165	2010	51.2	2010	45.1	2010
Raymond	ME	1767	4436	2010	48.9	2010	44.6	2010
Turner	ME	1772	5734	2010	49.9	2010	49.9	2010
Camden	ME	1772	3570	2010	40.7	2010	54.4	2010
Madison	ME	1773	2630	2010	47.6	2010	55.1	2010
Pembroke	ME	1774	840	2010	48.7	2010	48.5	2010
Lubec	ME	1775	1,359	2010	48.4	2010	54	2010
Litchfield	ME	1776	3624	2010	49.2	2010	43	2010
Dover	NH	1623	30665	2014	48.7	2014	36.2	2014
Hampton Falls	NH	1638	2236	2010	50.2	2010	45.2	2010
Hampton	NH	1638	9656	2010	46.5	2010	47.3	2010
Kingston	NH	1694	6025	2010	49.2	2010	43.7	2010
Auburn	NH	1720	4953	2010	50.6	2010	43.5	2010
Londonderry	NH	1722	11037	2010	48.6	2010	43.8	2010
Alstead	NH	1735	1937	2010	49.5	2010	44.5	2010
Salisbury	NH	1736	1382	2010	50.1	2010	41.1	2010
Hampstead	NH	1739	8523	2010	49.5	2010	45.7	2010
Candia	NH	1743	3909	2010	50.3	2010	44.5	2010
Plaistow	NH	1749	7609	2010	49.3	2010	41.6	2010
Amherst	NH	1760	11201	2010	49.2	2010	44.4	2010
Bath	NH	1761	1077	2010	52.5	2010	46.5	2010
Dorchester	NH	1761	355	2010	52.7	2010	49	2010
Haverhill	NH	1763	4697	2010	49.5	2010	45	2010
Holderness	NH	1763	2108	2010	50.5	2010	46.9	2010
Sandwich	NH	1763	1329	2010	49.1	2010	53.2	2010
Hancock	NH	1764	1654	2010	47.4	2010	50.8	2010
Jefferson	NH	1765	1107	2010	50	2010	48.9	2010
Hebron	NH	1765	602	2010	51.3	2010	55.1	2010
Wentworth	NH	1766	911	2010	50.4	2010	47.3	2010
Pittsfield	NH	1768	1576	2010	42.4	2010	39.4	2010
Temple	NH	1768	1366	2010	49.9	2010	45.1	2010
Alexandria	NH	1769	1613	2010	51	2010	44.6	2010
Alton	NH	1770	5250	2010	50.2	2010	46.2	2010
Jackson	NH	1778	816	2010	51.5	2010	54.3	2010
Edison	NJ	1666	99,967	2010	47.9	2010	36	2010

Union Township	NJ	1667	56,642	2010	47.3	2010	39.6	2010
Perth Amboy	NJ	1683	50,814	2010	49.3	2010	32.4	2010
Plainfield	NJ	1684	49,808	2010	50.3	2010	33.3	2010
Nutley	NJ	1693	28,370	2010	47.2	2007	39.3	2007
Shrewsbury Township	NJ	1693	1,141	2010	38.1	2010	41.9	2010
Lower Alloways Creek Township	NJ	1701	1,770	2010	47.4	2010	40	2010
Little Egg Harbor Township	NJ	1740	20,065	2010	46.1	2010	45.4	2010
Pequannock Township	NJ	1740	15,540	2010	46	2010	46.2	2010
Franklin Township	NJ	1745	62,300	2010	46	2010	38.3	2010
Maurice River Township	NJ	1748	7,976	2010	77.4	2010	38.1	2010
Bridgewater Township	NJ	1749	44,464	2010	45.9	2010	38	2010
Bedminster	NJ	1749	8,165	2010	39.7	2010	43.4	2010
Mendham Township	NJ	1749	5,869	2010	49.4	2010	44.6	2010
Stafford Township	NJ	1750	26,535	2010	48.3	2010	43.9	2,010
Oxford Township	NJ	1754	2,514	2010	50.7	2010	49.9	0
Alexandria Township	NJ	1765	4,938	2010	49.8	2010	45.5	2010
Woolwich Township	NJ	1767	10,200	2010	49.8	2010	35.7	2010
Toms River	NJ	1768	91,239	2010	47.8	2010	43	2010
Galloway Township	NJ	1774	37,349	2010	45.1	2010	38.6	2010
Jamestown	RI	1678	5405	2010	49.7	2010	50.7	2010
Bristol	RI	1681	22954	2010	48.2	2010	38.2	2,010
Cranston	RI	1754	81025	2016	49.9	2016	41.9	6
Hartland	VT	1761	3393	2010	50.7	2010	45.5	2010
West Windsor	VT	1761	1099	2010	48.1	2010	49.8	2010
Monkton	VT	1762	1980	2010	49.3	2010	41.3	2010
Marlboro	VT	1763	1078	2010	48.3	2010	41.6	2010
Worcester	VT	1763	998	2010	50.2	2010	43.2	2010
Shelburne	VT	1763	7144	2010	47.1	2010	46.6	2010
Newfane	VT	1766	1726	2010	40.9	2010	53.5	2010
Richmond	VT	1775	4081	2010	49.2	2010	41.7	2010
Grafton	VT	1776	679	2010	51.5	2010	51.4	2010
Preston	CT	1687	4725	2010	49.8	2010	45.9	2010
Plainfield	CT	1699	15405	2010	49	2010	38.5	2010
Ashford	CT	1714	4319	2010	49.3	2010	42.1	2010
Oxford	CT	1738	12683	2010	49.7	2010	43.4	2010

Barkhamsted	CT	1779	3807	2010	50.9	2010	44.8	2010
Montville	CT	1786	19571	2010	53.6	2010	40.7	2010
Bozrah	CT	1786	2631	2010	50.5	2010	43.9	2010
North Canaan	CT	1858	3315	2010	48.2	2010	43.5	2010
Chelsea	MA	1624	38861	2014	51.2	2016	33.1	2016
Hull	MA	1624	10293	2010	48.8	2010	52.3	2010
Everett	MA	1630	44231	2014	48.5	2010	34.9	2010
Seekonk	MA	1636	13722	2010	43.8	2010	43.8	2010
Berkley	MA	1638	6411	2010	49.3	2010	40.1	2010
Lynnfield	MA	1638	11596	2010	49.5	2010	46.7	2010
Bedford	MA	1640	13320	2010	49.9	2010	45.1	2010
Dartmouth	MA	1650	34032	2010	50.3	2010	39.6	2010
Raynham	MA	1652	13383	2010	48.7	2010	41.2	2010
Carver	MA	1660	11509	2010	48.7	2010	42.3	2010
Uxbridge	MA	1662	13457	2010	49.8	2010	41.3	2010
Dracut	MA	1664	29457	2010	49	2010	39.9	2010
Warren	MA	1664	5135	2010	48.3	2010	42.4	2010
Swansea	MA	1667	15865	2010	49	2010	44.3	2010
Ayer	MA	1668	7427	2010	52.2	2010	45%	2010
Abington	MA	1668	15985	2010	43.8	2010	41.1	2010
Sunderland	MA	1673	3684	2010	49.2	2010	31.1	2010
Norwood	MA	1678	28602	2010	48.2	2010	39.5	2010
Oxford	MA	1687	13709	2010	49.2	2010	39.6	2010
Northbridge	MA	1704	15707	2010	48.2	2010	39.5	2010
Randolph	MA	1710	32112	2010	56.6	2010	42.7	2010
Leicester	MA	1713	10970	2010	40.6	2010	40.4	2010
Hopkinton	MA	1715	14925	2010	46.6	2010	42.1	2010
Spencer	MA	1721	11688	2010	52.9	2010	39.6	2010
Holland	MA	1725	1464	2010	51.8	2010	44	2010
Palmer	MA	1727	12140	2010	48.1	2007	39.4	2010
Southbridge	MA	1730	16719	2010	48.2	2007	34.7	2007
New Marlborough	MA	1738	1509	2010	50.7	2010	48.9	2010
Becket	MA	1740	1779	2010	50.4	2010	48.2	200
Alford	MA	1740	494	2010	46.2	2010	55.4	2010
Tolland	MA	1750	485	2010	48.7	2010	47.7	2010
Lanesborough	MA	1753	3091	2010	49.2	2010	46.2	2010
Dalton	MA	1755	6756	2010	48	2010	44.7	2010
Lee	MA	1760	5943	2010	46.4	2010	39.4	2010
Chester	MA	1760	1337	2010	51.3	2010	45	2010
Hawley	MA	1760	337	2010	50.4	2010	48.7	2010
Winthrop	ME	1756	2650	2010	44.7	2010	44.4	2010
Alna	ME	1760	709	2010	48.7	2010	45.7	2010
Monroe	ME	1760	890	2010	49.9	2010	47.5	2010

Winslow	ME	1771	7794	2010	49.2	2010	41.7	2010
Vassalborough	ME	1771	4340	2010	49.6	2010	44	2010
Baldwin	ME	1774	1525	2010	49	2010	42.4	2010
Buckfield	ME	1776	2009	2010	51	2010	41.2	2010
Allenstown	NH	1721	4322	2010	48.8	2010	41	2010
Kensington	NH	1737	2124	2010	50	2010	44.6	2010
Marlborough	NH	1752	1094	2010	47.8	2010	44.7	2010
Hill	NH	1753	1089	2010	43.6	2010	43.6	2010
Jaffrey	NH	1758	2757	2010	49.2	2010	46.4	2010
Hackensack	NJ	1665	43,010	2014	49.7	2014	38.8	2014
East Orange	NJ	1666	64,270	2010	40.6	2010	33	2010
City of Orange	NJ	1666	30,134	2010	44.5	2010	34.4	2010
Bordentown	NJ	1682	3,900	2014	51.3	2014	38.9	2014
Ridgefield Park	NJ	1685	12,729	2010	46	2010	41.5	2010
Marlboro Township	NJ	1685	40,191	2010	47.9	2,010	0	41.7 2010
South Orange Village	NJ	1686	16,198	2010	46.8	2010	37.2	2010
Maple Shade Township	NJ	1688	19,131	2010	48.9	2010	37.2	2010
Mannington Township	NJ	1701	1,806	2010	70.9	2010	43	2010
Teaneck	NJ	1704	39,274	2007	47.4	2007	38.4	2007
Saddle Brook	NJ	1716	13,659	2010	47.2	2007	40.3	2007
Millville	NJ	1720	28497	2014	48.8	2014	38.6	2014
Bethlehem Township	NJ	1730	3,979	2010	50.8	2010	44.2	2010
Morris Township	NJ	1740	19,085	2014	51.3	2014	36.4	2014
Hillsborough Township	NJ	1746	38,303	2010	47.5	2010	36	2010
Kingwood Township	NJ	1746	3,845	2010	51.5	2010	45.1	2010
Deerfield Township	NJ	1748	3,119	2010	47.6	2010	39.9	2010
Downe Township	NJ	1748	1,585	2010	48.95	2010	47.6	2010
Hardwick Township	NJ	1750	1,696	2010	47.9	2010	43.8	2010
Knowlton Township	NJ	1763	3,055	2010	50.85	2010	44.8	2010
Pittsgrove Township	NJ	1769	9,393	2010	49.5	2010	41.6	2010
West Greenwich	RI	1669	6135	2010	49.8	2010	41.3	2010
Central Falls	RI	1730	19328	2014	51.3	2014	28.8	2014
Charlestown	RI	1738	7827	2010	50	2010	47	2010
Vernon	VT	1672	2206	2010	49.6	2010	45.3	2010
West Fairlee	VT	1761	652	2010	50.2	2010	41.8	2010
West Rutland	VT	1761	2024	2010	50.6	2010	44	2010
Salisbury	VT	1761	1136	2010	51.1	2010	45.1	2010
Sheldon	VT	1763	2190	2010	51.1	2010	38.3	2010

Williston	VT	1763	8698	2010	47.9	2010	44.1	2010
Lunenburg	VT	1763	1302	2010	50.6	2010	46	2010
Swanton	VT	1763	2374	2010	42.8	2010	46.4	2010
Pownal	VT	1766	3527	2010	43.3	2010	43.4	2010

Part 2

town	state	museum	vote percent	biz/pop
Wethersfield	CT	Y	79.3	0.058572071
Fairfield	CT	Y	77	0.081661168
Milford	CT	Y	77	0.087548451
Stratford	CT	Y	70.9	0.063307644
Stamford	CT	Y	77.3	0.102002246
Guilford	CT	Y	86	0.082636872
Farmington	CT	Y	76	0.108559911
Middletown	CT	Y	80	0.066407329
Norwalk	CT	Y	77	0.0904455
Norwich	CT	Y	72	0.062177971
Killingworth	CT	Y	85	0.03954023
Haddam	CT	Y	81.3	0.019010043
Simsbury	CT	Y	79	0.036068223
Woodbury	CT	Y	79.1	0.083709273
Suffield	CT	Y	83	0.031839847
Derby	CT	Y	80	0.058818922
Enfield	CT	Y	80	0.052380419
Branford	CT	Y	77	0.096303433
Danbury	CT	Y	73	0.089015152
Glastonbury	CT	Y	84	0.079879165
Woodstock	CT	Y	82	0.0283777
Windham	CT	Y	77	0.003997151
Lebanon	CT	Y	85	0.03407225
Mansfield	CT	Y	73	0.000188374
Durham	CT	Y	80.3	0.04941939
Ridgefield	CT	Y	78.5	0.095083563
New Milford	CT	Y	78	0.074613608
Coventry	CT	Y	79	0.030675339
Pomfret	CT	Y	81	0.006357429
Tolland	CT	Y	84	0.039596067
Stafford	CT	Y	75	0.0635

Litchfield	CT	Y	84	0.465306122
Somers	CT	Y	92.4	0.039059769
East Haddam	CT	Y	77.5	0.021805829
Harwinton	CT	Y	81	0.04448777
New Hartford	CT	Y	85.3	0.048780488
Goshen	CT	Y	81	0.054937647
Kent	CT	Y	83.4	0.106747231
Sharon	CT	Y	82.1	0.11286844
New Fairfield	CT	Y	73.4	0.035948419
Torrington	CT	Y	73.2	0.075745101
Cornwall	CT	Y	86.5	0.014799154
Norfolk	CT	Y	83	0.071887785
East Hampton	CT	Y	82	0.177257525
Redding	CT	Y	75	0.057872898
Winchester	CT	Y	81	0.0635
Colebrook	CT	Y	85	0.034993271
Washington	CT	Y	79.4	0.031022918
North Haven	CT	Y	81	0.075125555
Columbia	CT	Y	83.3	0.041492266
North Branford	CT	Y	79	0.031234816
West Hartford	CT	Y	77	0.067822596
Old Saybrook	CT	Y	77.2	0.141476274
Morris	CT	Y	78	0.056532663
Thomaston	CT	Y	82	0.033092431
Swampscott	MA	Y	78.5	0.050699935
Manchester-by-the-Sea	MA	Y	81.3	0.0635
Marblehead	MA	Y	80.1	0.061136914
Arlington	MA	Y	80	0.046634301
Canton	MA	Y	76	0.081675247
Marshfield	MA	Y	78.2	0.04830495
Chelmsford	MA	Y	77.4	0.065794923
Essex	MA	Y	81	0.0793379
Braintree	MA	Y	72	0.083902193
Dover	MA	Y	81.2	0.031533684
West Newbury	MA	Y	82	0.038961039
Topsfield	MA	Y	78	0.090221857
Newbury	MA	Y	83.1	0.03660366
Newburyport	MA	Y	76.2	0.122113132
Milton	MA	Y	74	0.037032922
Belmont	MA	Y	79.3	0.060778843
Billerica	MA	Y	76.1	0.035409885
Barnstable	MA	Y	74.4	0.00519992
Merrimac	MA	Y	76	0.04149574

Wayland	MA	Y	80	0.050792674
Groveland	MA	Y	79.1	0.03917015
Bourne	MA	Y	75	0.001316189
Burlington	MA	Y	76	0.106171932
Andover	MA	Y	77	0.070509924
Weston	MA	Y	75	0.022200515
Eastham	MA	Y	84	0.057506053
Boxford	MA	Y	80	0.029127433
Bridgewater	MA	Y	76.5	0.036404021
Carlisle	MA	Y	84	0.038746908
West Bridgewater	MA	Y	76.4	0.035135917
Amesbury	MA	Y	75.2	0.067493705
Brewster	MA	Y	82	0.057026477
Marlborough	MA	Y	76	0.078028001
South Hadley	MA	Y	79.5	0.039796734
Middleton	MA	Y	78	0.076666296
Hadley	MA	Y	79.3	0.132190476
Westfield	MA	Y	71.9	0.048043645
Southborough	MA	Y	79	0.067881642
Mendon	MA	Y	80	0.061825655
Mashpee	MA	Y	79	0.071183778
Falmouth	MA	Y	76	0.041831848
Hatfield	MA	Y	77	0.038731321
Milford	MA	Y	74	0.080782279
Easthampton	MA	Y	80.5	0.049772628
West Brookfield	MA	Y	77	0.053499054
Berlin	MA	Y	85.1	0.0551291
Chatham	MA	Y	80	0.053714286
Aquinnah	MA	Y	75.4	0.109324759
Halifax	MA	Y	77	0.031125299
Fairhaven	MA	Y	75	0.052605053
Harwich	MA	Y	77	0.056522094
Whately	MA	Y	84.4	0.014037433
Westborough	MA	Y	76	0.108471979
Townsend	MA	Y	77	0.043468519
Ashby	MA	Y	76	0.039362394
Marion	MA	Y	80.1	0.063786428
Boxborough	MA	Y	80	0.049839872
Stow	MA	Y	85	0.051896813
Bolton	MA	Y	83	0.050847458
Orleans	MA	Y	84	0.158743633
Avon	MA	Y	76.3	0.105831038
Truro	MA	Y	83	0.04892661

Sutton	MA	Y	78	0.048532857
Boylston	MA	Y	82	0.044546498
New Braintree	MA	Y	81.2	0.047047047
Auburn	MA	Y	76	0.085742525
Monson	MA	Y	76.1	0.040654206
Millbury	MA	Y	76	0.051956866
Sterling	MA	Y	80.2	0.051997951
Shirley	MA	Y	75	0.030647622
Barre	MA	Y	76	0.048351241
Shrewsbury	MA	Y	77.1	0.047713997
Great Barrington	MA	Y	80	0.202561937
Sheffield	MA	Y	80	0.073380411
Belchertown	MA	Y	78.1	0.037681753
Southampton	MA	Y	80	0.040745856
Charlton	MA	Y	74.5	0.043756259
Blandford	MA	Y	78.3	0.03325223
Otis	MA	Y	80	0.034739454
Ashburnham	MA	Y	75.3	0.037987173
Granville	MA	Y	80	0.039591315
New Salem	MA	Y	83	0.043434343
Monterey	MA	Y	80.4	0.04578564
East Longmeadow	MA	Y	77	0.073155216
Charlemont	MA	Y	76	0.060821485
Ashfield	MA	Y	80	0.040875072
Ashland	MA	Y	79	0.048273368
Mattapoissett	MA	Y	80	0.066004963
Chesterfield	MA	Y	80	0.028641571
Heath	MA	Y	84	0.016997167
Cheshire	MA	Y	93	0.036785162
Montgomery	MA	Y	85.2	0.025059666
Gill	MA	Y	81	0.039333333
Scarborough	ME	Y	78	0.394957983
Wells	ME	Y	78	0.084471791
Kittery	ME	Y	82.2	0.175142481
York	ME	Y	77	0.092744832
Georgetown	ME	Y	82	0.039347409
Boothbay Harbor	ME	Y	77	0.319521179
Gorham	ME	Y	74	0.048087123
Sanford	ME	Y	73%	0.04907682
Buxton	ME	Y	78.4	0.034727409
Woolwich	ME	Y	82.1	0.034505208
Stockton Spring	ME	Y	76.1	0.03079824
Saco	ME	Y	74	0.057746923

Bowdoinham	ME	Y	79	0.031844929
Tremont	ME	Y	79	0.0635
Blue Hill	ME	Y	76.1	0.091958302
Bar Harbor	ME	Y	72.4	0.240595611
Topsham	ME	Y	81	0.099983139
Alfred	ME	Y	78	0.047697913
Boothbay	ME	Y	82	0.05224359
Bristol	ME	Y	85	0.026860254
Vinalhaven	ME	Y	79.2	0.067811159
Raymond	ME	Y	71.5	0.059287647
Turner	ME	Y	78	0.043425183
Camden	ME	Y	81.4	0.17254902
Madison	ME	Y	72	0.087072243
Pembroke	ME	Y	84	0.030952381
Lubec	ME	Y	68.2	0.054451803
Litchfield	ME	Y	77	0.024282561
Dover	NH	Y	86.7	0.078656449
Hampton Falls	NH	Y	75	0.097942755
Hampton	NH	Y	78	0.1241715
Kingston	NH	Y	79.3	0.066556017
Auburn	NH	Y	80	0.050676358
Londonderry	NH	Y	76.5	0.148772311
Alstead	NH	Y	79	0.040784719
Salisbury	NH	Y	75	0.032561505
Hampstead	NH	Y	80	0.057374164
Candia	NH	Y	79.5	0.048349962
Plaistow	NH	Y	77	0.117229597
Amherst	NH	Y	77.2	0.083742523
Bath	NH	Y	79	0.031569174
Dorchester	NH	Y	80.1	0.01971831
Haverhill	NH	Y	96.3	0.005322546
Holderness	NH	Y	77	0.053605313
Sandwich	NH	Y	90	0.004514673
Hancock	NH	Y	94.4	0.056831923
Jefferson	NH	Y	79	0.058717254
Hebron	NH	Y	87.2	0.073089701
Wentworth	NH	Y	73.3	0.043907794
Pittsfield	NH	Y	68.1	0.114847716
Temple	NH	Y	82.3	0.039531479
Alexandria	NH	Y	80	0.032238066
Alton	NH	Y	77	0.041142857
Jackson	NH	Y	75.2	0.099264706
Edison	NJ	Y	64	0.070993428

Union Township	NJ	Y	70	0.069789202
Perth Amboy	NJ	Y	53	0.047860826
Plainfield	NJ	Y	65	0.037323322
Nutley	NJ	Y	69	0.057314064
Shrewsbury Township	NJ	Y	77	1.123575811
Lower Alloways Creek Township	NJ	Y	77	0.02259887
Little Egg Harbor Township	NJ	Y	71	0.032893097
Pequannock Township	NJ	Y	77	0.147104247
Franklin Township	NJ	Y	71	0.007158909
Maurice River Township	NJ	Y	67	0.001379137
Bridgewater Township	NJ	Y	74	0.05822688
Bedminster	NJ	Y	71	0.082669933
Mendham Township	NJ	Y	72	0.091156926
Stafford Township	NJ	Y	71	0.0635
Oxford Township	NJ	Y	71	0.058074781
Alexandria Township	NJ	Y	75	0.0635
Woolwich Township	NJ	Y	72	0.000490196
Toms River	NJ	Y	70	0.084349894
Galloway Township	NJ	Y	71	0.02875579
Jamestown	RI	Y	73	0.046068455
Bristol	RI	Y	66	0.046440708
Cranston	RI	Y	75	0.054711509
Hartland	VT	Y	74.27	0.026525199
West Windsor	VT	Y	84.4	0.008189263
Monkton	VT	Y	80.6	0.008585859
Marlboro	VT	Y	79.2	0.024118738
Worcester	VT	Y	80.5	0.033066132
Shelburne	VT	Y	79	0.081886898
Newfane	VT	Y	80.1	0.051564311
Richmond	VT	Y	83	0.050722862
Grafton	VT	Y	77.4	0.058910162
Preston	CT	N	71	0.033439153
Plainfield	CT	N	62.2	0.012463486
Ashford	CT	N	80.2	0.01505
Oxford	CT	N	75.7	0.04509974
Barkhamsted	CT	N	75	0.034147623
Montville	CT	N	76.6	0.001430688
Bozrah	CT	N	73.8	0.052071456
North Canaan	CT	N	66	0.0635
Chelsea	MA	N	58.00	0.036360361
Hull	MA	N	69	0.04022151
Everett	MA	N	65	0.038276322

Seekonk	MA	N	75	0.065515231
Berkley	MA	N	74	0.023241304
Lynnfield	MA	Y	77	0.055450155
Bedford	MA	N	72	0.072747748
Dartmouth	MA	N	70	0.000587682
Raynham	MA	N	67.2	0.063737578
Carver	MA	N	74	0.040316274
Uxbridge	MA	N	74	0.041093854
Dracut	MA	N	72.00	0.042434735
Warren	MA	N	72	0.00993184
Swansea	MA	N	71.8	0.042798613
Ayer	MA	N	72	0.06651407
Abington	MA	N	72	0.042664998
Sunderland	MA	N	73	0.021172638
Norwood	MA	N	73	0.08167261
Oxford	MA	N	73	0.034429937
Northbridge	MA	N	71	0.011714522
Randolph	MA	N	69.7	0.03590558
Leicester	MA	N	74	0.02342753
Hopkinton	MA	Y	76	0.044958124
Spencer	MA	N	72	0.038073238
Holland	MA	N	68.6	0.026639344
Palmer	MA	N	71	0.050658979
Southbridge	MA	N	59	0.043184401
New Marlborough	MA	N	72	0.019880716
Becket	MA	N	68.50	0.036537381
Alford	MA	N	74	0.0635
Tolland	MA	N	76.7	0.0635
Lanesborough	MA	N	73.5	0.06211582
Dalton	MA	N	72.6	0.038632327
Lee	MA	N	73	0.075887599
Chester	MA	N	74.00	0.02842184
Hawley	MA	N	71	0.008902077
Winthrop	ME	N	75	0.114339623
Alna	ME	N	77%	0.032440056
Monroe	ME	N	70.9	0.031460674
Winslow	ME	N	74.11269975	0.03323069
Vassalborough	ME	N	76	0.023502304
Baldwin	ME	N	74.4	0.0635
Buckfield	ME	N	78.08988764	0.021403683
Allenstown	NH	N	77	0.03285516
Kensington	NH	N	74	0.034369115
Marlborough	NH	N	70.8	0.112431444

Hill	NH	N	66.1	0.025711662
Jaffrey	NH	N	69	0.136380123
Hackensack	NJ	N	69	0.162729598
East Orange	NJ	N	53	0.040609927
City of Orange	NJ	N	57	0.049943585
Bordentown	NJ	N	73	0.221282051
Ridgefield Park	NJ	N	70	0.038494776
Marlboro Township	NJ	N	71	0.022169142
South Orange Village	NJ	N	64	0.070440795
Maple Shade Township	NJ	N	64	0.042705556
Mannington Township	NJ	N	70	0.0635
Teaneck	NJ	N	70.2	0.073865662
Saddle Brook	NJ	N	69.4	0.087195256
Millville	NJ	N	58	0.043548444
Bethlehem Township	NJ	N	76	0.0635
Morris Township	NJ	N	71.5	0.289913545
Hillsborough Township	NJ	N	74	0.052241339
Kingwood Township	NJ	N	76	0.0635
Deerfield Township	NJ	N	65	0.003206156
Downe Township	NJ	N	68	0.0635
Hardwick Township	NJ	N	70	0.030070755
Knowlton Township	NJ	N	63	0.0635
Pittsgrove Township	NJ	N	69	0.002235707
West Greenwich	RI	N	66	0.039282804
Central Falls	RI	N	43	0.0234375
Charlestown	RI	N	65	0.039350965
Vernon	VT	N	62.9	0.02674524
West Fairlee	VT	N	64.3	0.015337423
West Rutland	VT	N	65.3	0.046936759
Salisbury	VT	N	63.1	0.036971831
Sheldon	VT	N	54	0.016894977
Williston	VT	N	63.92	0.134053805
Lunenburg	VT	N	56	0.01843318
Swanton	VT	N	66.8	0.108677338
Pownal	VT	N	66	0.014743408

Appendix 2.

Process-tracing Questions

Historically:

- **How did the town start?**
- **What kind of government?**
- **When was the first church or meeting house built?**
- **What was the common industry of the town?**
- **Attitudes towards children?**
- **Attitudes towards women?**
- **Attitudes towards minorities**
- **Militia?**
- **Proof of pride historically?**
- **Proof of involvement, organization historically?**
- **When was the first school established?**
- **List of important people historically? What did they do?**
- **Involved in Boston Tea Party?**
- **Revolution?**
- **Civil War?**

Present-day:

- **What are the dominant economic industries in each town?**
- **What happened in the museum town that inspired the building of a heritage museum that didn't happen in the non-museum town?**
- **How often do locals visit the museum how does the museum participate with the community?**
- **How can that affect people's attitudes?**
- **What are the dominant economic and political issues in each town?**
- **What are local activities that each town offers its citizens (sports teams, festivals), and how well attended are they?**
- **Proof of collective pride?**
- **Statistics to explore:**

Education

Diversity

Poverty

Home ownership

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