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CULTURAL
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SYMPOSIUM
PROCEEDINGS

THE ASPEN INSTITUTE
ASPEN, COLORADO
SEPTEMBER 23-24, 1999

PRESENTED BY
THE WESTERN STATES ARTS FEDERATION

WESTAF

THE ASPEN INSTITUTE
ASPEN, COLORADO
SEPTEMBER 23-24, 1999

S Y M P O S I U M P R O C E E D I N G S

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WESTAF (WESTERN STATES ARTS FEDERATION)

The Western States Arts Federation (WESTAF) is a regional arts organization that serves the arts-development needs of the arts community and the general public in the 12 Western states. The 25-year-old organization is an active partnership of the state arts agencies of Alaska, Arizona, California, Colorado, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Oregon, Utah, Washington, and Wyoming. Working with these states and in cooperation with private- and public-sector funders, WESTAF's primary goals are to strengthen the arts infrastructure in the West and to expand the audience for all forms of the arts.

Throughout its history, WESTAF has adapted and transformed its programs and initiatives to reflect the current needs of the arts field and to respond to major structural changes of the field. The recent dramatic changes in arts funding in both the public and private sectors have prompted WESTAF once again to transform itself to ensure that it is properly positioned to best benefit the arts.

WESTAF remains committed to programmatic work in the areas of literature, folk arts, visual arts, and performing-arts presenting. Programs in these areas include activities such as the convening of leaders from an arts discipline; the development of model programs; and the sponsorship of long-term, region-wide programs that fill a gap in the arts infrastructure of the West. WESTAF also has launched an ambitious program in the area of technology and the arts. The presence of the Internet has provided WESTAF with a much-sought-after means of serving artists and arts organizations across the vast reaches of the West. WESTAF remains committed to the improvement of the capacity and quality of public funding of the arts by Western state arts agencies. The sustenance of this effort and the constant improvement of the manner in which it is administered are core commitments of WESTAF.

The symposium featured 10 presenters and 5 respondents. Each presenter was allowed approximately 20 minutes to deliver a prepared statement, after which the symposium facilitators directed a discussion that included all participants.

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CONFIGURING CULTURAL POLICY IN THE WEST: SUMMARY, OBSERVATIONS, AND CHALLENGES

by Daniel Buehler
with Erin Trapp and Anthony Radich

In September 1999, the Western States Arts Federation (WESTAF) convened a symposium to stimulate discussion about the nature of cultural policy in the West and to identify features of the region's policy environment

that influence and shape cultural policy in the region. The forum was not designed to reach closure on or develop a consensus about the West's cultural policy environment or the cultural policies that emerge from it. Rather, the gathering was structured to serve as a forum for discussion about the ways in which cultural policy in the West is fashioned and enacted as well as to provide an arena in which to offer challenges and present proposals for future cultural policy initiatives.

The symposium convened an array of distinguished individuals at the Aspen Institute in Aspen, Colorado. They were asked to present their thoughts, engage in discussion, and challenge overarching themes that impact the creation and execution of cultural policy in the West. WESTAF hopes that the interchange that occurred at the symposium will serve as a catalyst for future cultural policy discussions centered on the West. The 1999 symposium was the first of what is intended to become a series of lively and inclusive annual conversations about cultural policy. This summary identifies several major themes

that emerged from the participants' comments and offers observations about the symposium conversation.

Cultural Policy and the Fidelity of the Western Myth

If an operating definition of *cultural policy* in the West were to be developed, a widely accepted definition might emerge after considering the function and meaning of culture in the diverse communities of the region.

Anthropologist Clifford Geertz might offer a useful starting point. For Geertz, individuals are suspended in webs of significance, which they themselves have spun; Geertz takes culture to be those webs.¹ One cultural strand that is woven throughout the symposium's discussion on cultural policy in the West is the great Western myth.

In the West, as in other parts of the country, there exists a constantly morphing, multifold constructed reality of what it means to be a citizen of a region—in this case, a Westerner. This socially invested construction of reality shapes motivation, enshrines goals, and informs attitudes about decisions made regarding all aspects of life in the West. Because the instruments of culture are a primary means by which the myth is perpetuated and extended, rearranged, refreshed, and rebutted, a cultural policy in the West that fails to consider the Western myth and the value of its maintenance is a policy that is not engaged with a primary force of the region.

The Western myth exists because of the strong desire of humans to associate with a constructed identity that is larger than themselves and yet intimately familiar and integral

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to the world in which they live. Such regional myths are culturally significant for a number of reasons: They serve as shared reference points for mutual understanding, they act as guideposts for those seeking acculturation and assimilation, and they articulate a set of values and beliefs that inform public decisions and shape cultural policy. Although the Western myth is functionally similar to other regional myths, it nonetheless is unique by virtue of the values, ideas, and attitudes that it promulgates and the cultural policies that it affects in the West. Several elements of the Western myth permeate the symposium's discussion and contribute to the West's cultural composition.

Independence

A central feature of the Western myth is its celebration of the spirit of independence. This independence is rooted in the experiences of Easterners and immigrants to the New World who left their long-time homes to begin anew in the West. Unfettered, pioneers journeyed westward hoping to escape the arrogance of the crown, the tyranny of the church, and the debilitating laws of primogeniture. In the words of Wallace Stegner, "land available to anyone with the initiative to take it, made America, Opportunity, and Freedom synonymous terms."² The adulation of independence is embodied in Thomas Jefferson's yeoman farmer; articulated in Horace Greeley's "Go west, young man"; and personified in Owen Wister's *The Virginian*. It endures today in the form of Harley Davidson riders, long-haul truckers, and Internet entrepreneurs. Indeed, staking a claim on the World Wide Web is synonymous to a typical Western gold rush.

Independence as a result of emancipation is a dimension of the Western myth that appears in several guises in the symposium.

Decentralized Cultural Policymaking

Independence is reflected in the highly decentralized cultural policymaking in the region. Although cultural policymaking across the country is substantially decentralized, it is arguably most decentralized in the West. This is the case for a number of reasons. The challenging physical distances in the region hinder communication, making collaborative or coercive networks difficult to establish. In addition, the historic, geographic, and sociological divide between the West and the cultural policymaking community of private foundations centered in the East has left the West only moderately influenced by its initiatives. The West's historic distaste for federal interference has kept to a minimum the ability of federal cultural policymakers to influence the region. Finally, the region's inhabitants prefer being left to their own devices and thus consider a decentralized system of cultural policymaking to be more congruent with their interests.

Symposium participants acknowledge that decentralized cultural policy is formulated in the West through a series of unlinked decisions made by state and city arts agencies, nonprofit arts organizations, humanities organizations, universities, arts and humanities associations, and government agencies engaged in cultural projects as a part of their mission. Collectively, these entities shape the environment for and the direction of cultural policy in the region—but they do so largely as independent agents.

The West's independent, decentralized cultural policymaking system presents a challenge in that larger visions for cultural development are not easily realized or sustained. For instance, Christopher Zinn's call for cultural education that "can help people become both lifelong learners of culture and critical thinkers about culture" might be difficult to enact without the benefit of a nationally designed and supported cultural policy plan. In addition, a decentralized system is limited in its ability to respond to concerns about equity and to address the aspirations of the public. Thus, Arlene Goldbard's concern regarding the commercial culture industry's hegemonic influence may not be addressed effectively without a national cultural policy. Although policymakers may wish to consider the advantages of more centralized approaches to the creation and sustenance of cultural policies, such approaches are likely to be viewed with skepticism or outright mistrust in the West.

A Distrust of the Federal Government

The seeds for the distrust of Washington by Westerners is born out of the past actions of the federal government. The federal government's mistreatment of American Indians, its periodic non-consultative approach toward formulating land- and water-use and wilderness preservation policies, and its approval of nuclear testing and radioactive waste storage on public lands in the West are enough for most Westerners to harbor an innate mistrust of federalism. Although history does not favor her position, Karen Christensen contends that through programs like "Challenge America," the National Endowment for the

Arts (NEA) can "sponsor community partnerships in every part of the United States in support of arts education, arts access, cultural planning, heritage and preservation activities, and positive alternatives for youth." Still, most symposium attendees prefer a decentralized network approach to formulating and enacting cultural policies rather than being yoked to federal programs not of their own making.

A Distaste for Centralization

Because Westerners have considered themselves to be left out of so many decisions that have resulted in centralization, the Western myth contains a deep mistrust of centralized processes. Westerners can point to many examples of

centralized decision making having a negative effect on them. Although a decentralized cultural policy-making approach

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affords a number of advantages, a centralized approach warrants additional discussion for at least two reasons. First, there is no guarantee that a de facto cultural policy of the region will be inclusive and equitable. Christopher Zinn gives warning in his presentation that "in the absence of an explicit cultural policy, we have instead tacit, often un-public, and largely undemocratic cultural effects."

Second, a centralized cultural policy may be required to serve as a counterweight to the

overwhelming proliferation of commercially generated policies.

Indeed, the supremacy of mainstream American culture can be problematic for those seeking to obtain a voice in the cultural policy decision-making process. History has shown repeatedly that views in discord with mainstream American culture are frequently marginalized and often silenced. For example, one need only consider the discrepancy between the Euro-American view of land as a commodity and the American Indian's ecological relationship between place and human life and the triumph of the former over the latter in public land policy. Jan Brooks reminds us that at stake in any discussion about centralized cultural policymaking is "identity, historical representation, diverse values, and of course, the power of intellectual authority." These issues speak directly to women, ethnic communities, and other collectives that long have existed on the periphery of mainstream American culture. If a centralized approach to cultural policymaking is taken, can it successfully bind disparate worldviews? More important is the question of whether evidence exists to suggest that a decentralized approach is better suited for the task at hand.

Interdependence

The Western myth sings the praise of individualism. Western history, however, is as much about interdependence as it is about independence. Just as "politics makes for strange bedfellows," so Westerners enjoy an uneasy relationship with the federal government that finances and/or subsidizes reclamation projects, resource-extraction activities, the ranch-

ing industry's use of public grazing lands, and other tools of economic expansion and development of the West. In addition, many Westerners could not survive without occasional help from local community members. The "raising of the barn" and the practice of partnering are often overlooked but important subtexts to the Western myth.

Participants in the symposium explore the issue of partnering in several ways. For example, the term *culture* in the West largely has been interpreted to mean the arts; however, the humanities and other endeavors increasingly are included in this definition. The coalescence of cultural endeavors such as historic preservation, public broadcasting, humanities advocacy, libraries, and the cultivation of heritage tourism is increasing in the West. The failure of these interests to expand public-sector funding for themselves individually has encouraged them to work together. Beyond this circling-for-survival behavior, the cultural groups in the West and those commenting on their work hold out the promise that collaborative action by these groups is likely in the region due to their collective commitment to the development and preservation of Western culture and the recognizable need to improve funding for all.

Collaborative efforts are not limited to kindred spirits but may include uncommon partners. Given that the cultural community typically vilifies its commercial component and occasionally expresses pride in a complete ignorance of that sector, partnerships between nonprofit cultural policymakers and the commercial culture industry have been largely underdeveloped or simply eschewed. Laura

Zucker, however, argues in favor of collaborating with commercial cultural enterprises to affect cultural policy in the West. Zucker opines that commercial enterprises believe “they are part of a cultural continuum that embraces art in all of its forms. Unless we accept that there are people in the cultural community and elsewhere with other viewpoints and that we are better off working with them, we are not going to be able to move forward.” Several participants echo Zucker’s suggestion not to view the commercial sector of the culture industry as an enemy but as a resource and an important element

of the overall cultural community. To do otherwise is to waste energy and invite dysfunction.

Several participants argue that the West’s culture community must formulate new and powerful partnerships outside the public sector—and most likely with the West-based commercial culture industry—if it wants to leverage its position and increase its ability to shape cultural policy and affect change.

They note that, except for the tax benefits allocated by the federal government for donations to cultural

institutions, there is precious little public-sector activity that makes a significant difference in the area of cultural policy. Still, many participants note that American culture is an irresistible global force, despite the fact that the United States has no minister of culture or extensively articulated cultural policy. To a large degree, this country’s cultural policy, as measured by its impact on audiences around the world and within the United States, is

private-sector centered and thus largely outside the reach of public-sector cultural policy-makers. Consequently, the potency and effectiveness of present or future public-sector cultural policy are questionable.

A Resentment of Financial Dependency

Another component of the Western myth is a resentment of financial dependency. Not only has the federal government had an overwhelming influence on the West, but so have capitalists from outside the region. The fact that for most of its history the West did not have the home-based capital to invest in new ventures meant that all or a significant part of mining, timber, transportation, and agricultural export businesses were controlled by interests outside the region. In the cultural community, this out-of-region financial dominance was reflected in the funding patterns of major private foundations that, until very recently, were located outside the region. The manner in which a foundation operates in a region is substantially different when the resources needed to underwrite a major project are not under the control of an entity from the region that shares similar values and perspectives but rather are available through an entity that operates in a different—and often non-synchronous—environment. These external sources—particularly foundations—have a considerable impact on cultural policy in the West.

Peter Donnelly’s comments at the symposium draw attention to the fact that commercial and nonprofit capital sources are changing in the West. The growth of the electronics, software, aerospace, and Internet industries in the West has increased the availability of both

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commercial and nonprofit capital in the region. Private foundations that are now emerging from the technology industries of the Pacific Coast region have the potential to counter-balance the cultural policy activities of the foundation community currently centered in the East. As a result of these recent developments, the capital structure for cultural activities is changing, and the funding resources of the West will increasingly become Western-based. These sources then will be challenged to develop region-friendly programming rather than to imitate historic funding patterns.

The Western Landscape as a Shaping Force

Conversations at the symposium also invoke the Western myth's powerful imagery of nature. John Muir articulates this aspect of the myth when contemplating the sublime scenery of the Grand Canyon: "No matter how far you have wandered hitherto, or how many famous gorges and valleys you have seen, this one, the Grand Canyon of the Colorado, will seem as novel to you, as unearthly in the color and grandeur and quantity of its architecture, as if you had found it after death, on some other star."³ The Western myth has helped transform the Puritan's "howling wilderness" into Emerson's romantic landscape, a sacred place that can inspire writers, painters, and poets. Wallace Stegner writes, "Every time we go off into the wilderness, we are looking for that perfect primitive Eden."⁴ While Stegner found his Eden in Utah's surreal canyonlands, others have found theirs in Washington's primeval forests, Colorado's magnificent Rocky Mountains, and California's crystalline deserts. Although terms like *picturesque*, *sub-*

lime, and *grandeur* long have fallen out of popular use, the public's appreciation of nature and the inspiration it imparts has grown over time.

Undoubtedly, the Western landscape has made an indelible impression on the region's psyche as well as on the construction of cultural policy. For instance, participants identify the West's wide-open spaces and natural wonders as elements that inspire a free, creative, and unbounded Western spirit. David Brower, Edward Abbey, Paul Shephard, and others have written of this spirit and the related issues of environmental balance and human habitation that underscore many of the major conflicts of the region. In addition, the relatively recent reevaluation of Western arts signifies the Western myth's perennial appeal to the public. Historian Donald Worster notes, "The beauty discovered in nature through aesthetic appreciation has inspired people repeatedly to try to construct harmonies of their own, in the landscape as well as in song and picture."⁵ Albert Bierstadt and Thomas Moran, some of the earliest artists working in the region, have been inspired by their Western surroundings, helping to promote the West's remarkable landscape and secure its place in the arts and the nation's consciousness. John Fisher, however, argues in his presentation at the symposium that if "we once had an enchanted marriage, we now seem to have an uneasy separation. Among environmental thinkers there is suspicion of art and aesthetics. And in the contemporary art world and art theory, there is disinterest or skepticism...about nature as the subject for art." Although Western aesthetics were not analyzed in depth, there is agree-

ment as to their ability to affect the cultural policy environment; the manner and extent to which this occurs, however, deserve additional analysis and discussion.

Assessing the Limitations of the Western Myth

Although the Western myth maintains a privileged place in the West, it does not exist uncontested. Woster writes, “Say the word ‘West’ and, immediately, vistas of mustangs galloping across wide-open spaces under immense, unclouded skies fill our imagination, and sober reason has to come panting after. Say the word and we are off living in a dream, experiencing its old powerful emotions but as ever finding it difficult to say how the dream ends. As a people, we are quick to invent fantasies but slower to find plausible, realistic endings for them.”⁶ Perpetuating the Western myth is problematic because of serious incongruities between the myth and social reality.

One specific problem with the myth is that it selectively recognizes certain cultural components while obscuring other elements of the West. For instance, Tomás Ybarra-Frausto notes in his presentation that contributions by American Indians, Latino Americans, African Americans, and Asian Americans are “largely absent from the historical record.” When these communities are presented in history, they often are stereotyped and caricatured. In light of this legacy of absence and distortion, Ybarra-Frausto calls for an “arduous cultural reclamation project.” To a certain extent, this project is underway. Philosopher Jack Turner reports that a new generation of historians is rewriting the past, “deflating the

West’s myths with rigorous analysis of our imperialism, genocide, exploitation, and abuse; our vast hierarchies of wealth and poverty; the collusion of the rich and the government, especially over water; the biological and ecological ignorance of many farmers, ranchers, and capitalists . . .”⁷ Ybarra-Frausto’s prescription enlists artists and cultural policymakers to serve as agents in “the social production of memory.” Assuming that the future of the West is, in part, a projection of its past, Ybarra-Frausto’s revisionist history harbors the potential to alter markedly the trajectory of Western cultural policy.

Another problem with the myth is that it does not speak to current physical, social, and political

aspects of the Western context. In discussing the physical characteristics of the New West, Patricia Limerick notes in her discussion that today’s

“The unpolluted, undeveloped, and sparsely populated West that gave genesis to the Western myth does not exist today... Cultural policymakers must address the revolutionary transformation that the West is undergoing if they want to contribute to the architecture of the emerging New West.”

West is one of the most urbanized sections of the country; 82 percent of Westerners live in cities. This fact raises questions about the reality of the component of wide-open spaces of the myth for many Westerners. Also, Limerick notes that developers and builders are actively homogenizing the West’s landscapes into strip malls, auto rows, and grid-based developments. Many wild animals that

survived civilization's initial onslaught on the West are now confined to small, protected ecological islands. The unpolluted, undeveloped, and sparsely populated West that gave genesis to the Western myth does not exist today.

The Western myth also pays no heed to important social dimensions of the current West. New and fast-growing minority communities are testing the elasticity of the Western myth. Easterners and emigrants relocating to the West import with them their own perspectives and attitudes of life in the West. For instance, South Africans, Eastern Europeans, and Southeast Asians as well as New Englanders, Southerners, and Midwesterners bring with them culturally specific behaviors and beliefs about the role of government, the importance of wilderness, and aesthetic values that both complement and conflict with the Western myth. Cultural policymakers must address the revolutionary transformation that the West is undergoing if they want to contribute to the architecture of the emerging New West.

Finally, the apolitical quality of the Western myth renders it virtually mute on the subject of politics. Yet, Westerners repeatedly have turned to political mechanisms to mediate their limited ability to control major decisions—decisions that directly affect their well-being. The people of the region have elected potent individuals to represent them in Congress, supported political causes with major funds from the private sector, and turned to both the politics of the Left and the Right to attain a higher level of control over their destiny.

Recently, Conservatives have dominated the region and its politics, although perhaps temporarily, and this fact cannot be ignored when considering the dynamics of cultural policy in the region. The political landscape of the West remains colored by the drubbing and ultimate defeat of national public-sector culture funders by the forces of the political Right. Not long ago, public-sector cultural activity was largely a politically neutral event that garnered little attention—even from the public sector that supported it with limited funding. However, when the political Right called for an end to the open-ended, limited-censorship approach to the funding of cultural activities by the National Arts and Humanities Endowments, the results were felt across the country—especially in the West. As a result of the national public cultural funding crises, several of the region's arts agencies faced multi-year attempts by state legislatures to eliminate them. In addition, the state arts agencies in the West entered and have not yet exited from a long period of funding stagnation. Although the far-Right has called off its direct challenge to the national cultural endowments, the concerns it brought forward continue to affect public arts funding in the West.

The Right-Left discussion on how much government should be involved in the support of culture has yet to play itself out fully in the West's cultural community. The political Right encourages the cultural community to think in terms of a market economy, claiming that such a system better serves the public at a price that is efficient for both the public and private sectors. Beyond this core argument, there are politically based arguments

such as censorship and intellectual property rights that branch off of this cultural policy discussion. The national discussion about the scope and means of public support for the arts has built the political factor into cultural policy discussions in a way that has not been

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developed before. Because the beliefs and attitudes of the political Left and Right are an overt part of the discussion, the political complexion of the West must be considered in any discussion of cultural policy. The Western myth, however, does not appear to offer a decisive map for navigating the political landscape of today.

Conclusion

The Western myth is a ubiquitous backdrop to cultural policy discussions in the West. Understanding the components of the myth and their antecedents is essential to comprehending past and present cultural policy decisions in the region. To accept the myth unchallenged and to build on its tenets without question invites the establishment of a parochial cultural policy. Still, Western cultural policymakers must take into consideration the myth’s perennial appeal in the region’s psyche. In light of the symbolic status of the Western myth, policymakers need to address two fundamental questions to advance beyond the symposium’s initial discussion on cultural policy in the West:

- 1) In what ways does the myth retard cultural policy efforts in the West and how can policymakers overcome these obstacles?
- 2) What elements of the Western myth can

cultural policymakers exploit effectively and strategically when crafting cultural policies for the West? Although cultural policymakers should be cautious of the Western myth’s restrictive portrayal of the West, they cannot help but remain its servants if they wish to capitalize on its cogent appeal.

The Western myth constitutes a component of the web that is interwoven with other beliefs, opinions, and practices that comprise Western culture. Although the Western myth is merely a strand, it is an important and well-recognized one that informs cultural policy and helps define Westerners. There is more to Western culture, however, than the Western myth. Cultural policymakers need not only understand the Western myth and its impact on cultural policy but also how the myth relates to other components of culture and where and with what strands of significance it intersects. Undoubtedly, discovery of how the Western web of culture is composed will take patience and perseverance. These proceedings mark an important step toward delineating the relationship between culture and cultural policy in the West.

¹ Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays by Clifford Geertz* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 5.

² Wallace Stegner, *Marking the Sparrow’s Fall: The Making of the American West*, ed. Page Stegner (New York: Henry Hold and Company, 1998), 194.

³ John Muir, *Our National Parks* (San Francisco: Sierra Club Books, 1991), 27.

⁴ Wallace Stegner, *Where the Bluebird Sings to the Lemonade Springs: Living and Writing in the West* (New York: Penguin, 1992), 34.

⁵ Donald Woster, *The Wealth of Nature: Environmental History and the Ecological Imagination* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 182.

⁶ Donald Woster, *Under Western Skies: Nature and History in the American West* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 79.

⁷ Jack Turner, *The Abstract Wild* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1997), 57.

CREATING CULTURAL CONSUMERS

by Lance Izumi

In preparing for this conference, I recalled reading about a world-wide forum on cultural policy held last year in Canada.

Despite the obvious worldwide influence of American culture, no U.S. representative was invited to the forum. The reason, according to the Canadian Heritage Minister, was that the United States had no specific minister responsible for culture. The seeming paradox, then, is that in the absence of a centralized cultural policy, the culture of our country, for better or worse, has been an irresistible force around the globe.

Yet, is it really a paradox? Under some interpretations, cultural policy implies policy made by a centralized authority, such as government. Indeed, in the Bogata Declaration of the 1970s, the signers stated, “It is the responsibility of the state to promote and support cultural development.”¹ Government cultural policy in many cases has an aspect of a horse race, in which officials try to pick winners and put taxpayer money behind that pick. The paper on cultural policy (included in the background reading for this symposium) points out that the key question in cultural policymaking is who decides. Giving broad decision-making power to pick winners in this cultural policy horse race to a relatively small group of people such as government officials means that their biases, like the biases of feudal patrons, will likely prevail over those who are out of the decision-making loop. Any coincidence between these biases



and the demands of the public will occur purely by chance. Government-enacted cultural policy that fails to win the support of the public or engenders public hostility is doomed eventually to fail.

Much of what is considered American culture, which the public here and abroad voluntarily supports with their hard-earned income, has come about in the absence of a

“Much of what is considered American culture, which the public here and abroad voluntarily supports with their hard-earned income, has come about in the absence of a centralized cultural policy.”

centralized cultural policy. In fact, the lack of such a policy (which can include obstacles to creative production) may be a reason that many of our cultural products have been so popular. Their appeal is not to a government agency but to the broader and wider public. Yet this popularity of American culture is seen by some as a kind of red flag about the product in question, raising the underlying issue that somehow the public is making “wrong choices” and that something—e.g., a centralized cultural policy—must be done to correct that.

Having majored in economics as an undergraduate, I find that one of the problems with this view is that it concentrates too much on the supply side of the ledger. It

focuses on generating differing cultural products, which may or may not be popular. It changes the mix of supplies of cultural products in ways that may be disconnected to demand.

Any desired long-term change in the supply of cultural products must ultimately come from changes in consumer demand. For example, the plethora of low-fat food choices on supermarket shelves right now is not the result of government dictate but of improved consumer information and education and consequent changes in demand. Similarly, if differing cultural products are to be appreciated, then education that teaches such appreciation is critical. As one cultural observer noted, the cultural character of an age is sustained and directed by the caliber of critical exchange it inspires, not only between artists and critics, but also among the educated public that cares about art and culture.

A key question then is how many people have been or are being educated about arts and culture. If our goal is to involve as many people as possible in our nation's cultural life, then consumers must be informed about culture before they will lend their participation and their support. But recent trends and developments indicate we are not committed to educating people about culture.

For example, in San Francisco, which considers itself the cultural capital of California, the

city school district has so mismanaged its finances that it is now in a deficit situation. To eliminate that deficit, the district has done what so many other school districts across the country have done over the years—they slashed art classes. What children learn or don't learn in school about math and reading, science and philosophy, and arts and literature influences the life choices and decisions they make when they grow up. Without any cultural education, they will be ignorant of the arts, apathetic, and indifferent. A city such as San Francisco, which boasts of its culture, undermines its cultural support and vitality by neglecting the very type of education that will build and strengthen the cultural interest of the next generation.

Fortunately, some positive trends are on the horizon. During this decade, the California state university system adopted new admission requirements. Entering freshmen must

have taken classes in seven different core subject areas while in high school. One of these required subject areas is visual or performing arts. A natural outcome of this requirement is that secondary schools have a strong incentive to provide arts classes and encourage students to take them.

“If our goal is to involve as many people as possible in our nation’s cultural life, then consumers must be informed about culture before they will lend their participation and their support. But recent trends and developments indicate we are not committed to educating people about culture.”

The background paper on cultural policy noted that the ultimate aim of cultural democracy is to enable everyone to participate in cultural policymaking. A necessary condition for meeting this aim, however, is an

informed and educated public. If we want cultural policymaking to be a bottom-up rather than a top-down enterprise, then meeting this condition should be a top priority.

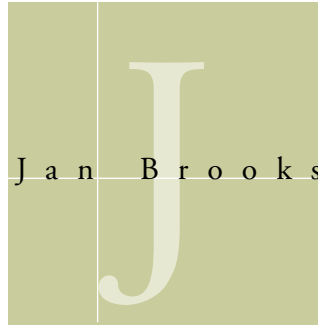
¹ “News Items,” *Cultures* 5 (1978): 183.

VALUES AT STAKE IN CULTURAL POLICYMAKING

by Jan Brooks

My perspective on cultural policy has been shaped, in part, by my experience and training as a studio metalsmith in an academic art department. One of my long-standing interests has been to seek frameworks for understanding and interpreting the histories of craft, because of the absence of this content in my formal education. I am one of a generation of studio craftspeople who found little historical, interpretive foundation for their work in the art history classes of the early 1970s. At that time, interpretation methods of contemporary art were dominated by formalism, leaving messy cultural questions out of the picture. Questions of class, ethnicity, gender, tradition, beliefs—all issues that would soon receive significant theoretical work in most fields—were missing. Also absent were the cultural expressions of my region—American Indian metal work and pottery, the cowboy images and culture that I grew up with in the Southwest. I was left to wonder, where do I fit in this so-called “art world,” where am I represented, where do I find the history that reflects my sense of place and my reality?

For women and people of color, these larger cultural questions were compelling and sparked an intellectual revolution within the academic world. Later in the 1970s and over the next decade, we saw a real blossoming of the curriculum. Of course, this ultimately led to the cannon debates of the early 1990s.



What was at stake in these conflicts was identity, historical representation, diverse values, and of course, the power of intellectual authority—all issues critical to any discussion on cultural policy.

The complexities that surround the subject of cultural policy relate to challenges that I subsequently experienced after my university training was over. In various professional contexts, issues of cultural hierarchy surfaced. Concurrently, I faced decisions of economic necessity and employment, the quality of my environment, and challenges to my political and religious values. These were dilemmas faced by every art major, perhaps. Then I began working with nonprofit organizations and exploring community-based projects to improve social and economic conditions or public art and design problems. These human encounters gave me the opportunity to learn from the practice of solving problems and conflicts with others. To do this required that I figure out what each of us had at stake in the project at hand.

Real-life practice, as opposed to formal academic training, demands that values be clarified and articulated in order to locate a commonality in areas of conflict. Values are frequently implied rather than explicitly expressed; at times, we have to tease them out. But values are the basis of much of our conflict as humans, and conversely, the very things that bond us to others. This observation is a critical part of my personal experience and a part of the policy dialogue we explore today.

One of the community cultural projects I

worked on in North Carolina involved efforts to change the economic development policies of the state as well as the assumptions and stereotyping that informed these policies for western North Carolina. As part of the project Hand Made in America, we conducted an economic impact study that examined a wide spectrum of material culture expression in 18 counties. Using statistical information provided by these studies, we were able to make a case for the role of crafts as a legitimate part of the economy of the region and the need to understand this production as part of the heritage that attracts tourists.

In each of these 18 counties, I researched and presented regional craft history to task forces composed of citizens from all walks of life. At the end of these presentations, audiences voiced their appreciation and excitement at seeing their lives reflected in my slides and stories. People would come up to me, saying, “We didn’t know that happened here” or “My aunt was involved in that project” or “It felt like my history was being told.” Through conversations and interviews with citizens during the survey of economic questions and the regional history lectures, we found that the social values imbedded in craft production were of equal, if not greater, importance than the economic value.

People expressed their regional and cultural identity through object-making. They sensed a connection with the past, they used crafts in celebration of religious rituals and as a means of keeping families together. Public-sector folklorists make these discoveries all the time, but it was a more prominent outcome of our work than we had expected.

In exploring the economic value of craftmaking, we stumbled onto a series of expressed cultural values that were crucial to understand before any economic development policy could be recommended for implementation. In fact, the information gathered from our work provided a basis for how to approach cultural policy recommendations for the region.

In her paper “The Burdens of Western American History,” Patricia Limerick points out the key conflict of myth versus reality, a conflict not unlike my academic experience in the arts or the stereotyping that long impacted the economic policies of western North Carolina. The conflicts Limerick describes deal with cultural issues related to religious belief, heritage, language, identity, economic opportunity, health—all real concerns of our lives as human beings.

“What scholars and practitioners from other professional communities can assist us in exploring these issues and help us understand how culture fits into the hyphen between such issues as health, the economy, or the environment?”

How can we explore these conflicts in ways that enable us to locate the values and principles ultimately at stake and create policy recommendations? What scholars and practitioners from other professional communities can assist us in exploring these issues and help

us understand how culture fits into the hyphen between such issues as health, the economy, or the environment? How can we involve more young people in this conversation? Where are the clergy? I hope that over the course of this symposium we may explore some of these questions.

MOVING TOWARD CULTURAL POLICY DEVELOPMENT

by Don Adams

The topic of cultural policy development is very close to my heart. Some 30 years ago, I began doing community and cultural development work in my home town in South Dakota, a small university town. We had a growing Native American population because of changes in Native American higher education policies in South Dakota at the time. Significant cultural activity took place around the university, but very little involved the people who actually lived in the community year in and year out.

At first as a musician, and then as someone involved in organizing cultural activities, I began to see the power of culture to help people cross over barriers that separated them and to expose them to new ways of thinking, to encourage them to try new things and participate in community life in ways that they had not participated before. After seeing the power of culture, I became enthused about the idea of making this my life work and began to wonder, Is this a profession, are people anywhere else working on these same issues?

Being the person that I am, I went to the university library and started scouring the shelves. I moved through the arts. I moved through psychology, sociology, community development, history, anthropology, and political science, looking for signs that people were working and thinking about the kind of



cultural development work I wanted to do. Each of the fields stopped short of the integrated picture I envisioned. In psychology, the people who were most interesting and who were participating in cultural programs were dysfunctional. In sociology, they were deviant. In anthropology, a lot of them were dead. I was unable to find anything that really signified that there were people working on this field per se, until in the basement of the library, in the government documents cage, I stumbled upon the UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization) shelf, and this is where I lived for the next few months.

I read my way through this shelf with great excitement because it showed me that there was a network of people out there who were thinking about cultural issues, who were looking at how cultural life was changing in the world and worrying about how to respond to these changes. My reading uncovered people focusing on many of the issues that are invoked in the background paper for

“...our unstated cultural policy is based on such principles as public money is there mainly to supplement private money contributions.”

this symposium. One of those issues was the proliferation of mass media and the urbanization of cultures around the world, which had resulted in people becoming less active in

community life and needing some spark to step forward and once again become active participants in community cultural activities.

At this time, a number of background papers had been published on the national cultural policies of perhaps 80 or 90 countries around the world. I began reading these and was very disappointed when I got to the paper on the United States. It was written by Charles Christopher Mark, and his stand on the question of cultural policy was that we do not have a cultural policy in the United States. Of course, this is not true. We have had a cultural policy all along. We have chosen to say that we do not have a cultural policy, but of course, our unstated cultural policy is based on such principles as public money is there mainly to supplement private money contributions.

For the better part of the next two decades and well into the 1980s, whenever I attempted to talk to people in the arts community about cultural policy, they insisted we had no national cultural policy. This has changed, of course, since the late Eighties when Jesse Helms and other organized forces began working against the public arts agency structure in the U.S. One began hearing the words “cultural policy” emanating from the lips of people who once (or at least their predecessors had once) opposed the very idea of a cultural policy in this country. In recent years, this has accelerated and now we have people in the United States talking about wanting to develop cultural policy.

Thus far, however, what has been referred to as cultural policy really falls into the category of arts policy. Many of the readings dissemi-

nated before the meeting exemplify arts policy, which is a narrower creature than cultural policy. When we talk about cultural policy as a whole, we are talking about policies that affect not only the arts but also education, sports, parks, recreation, public facilities, the

“We have a great deal to learn from the variety of cultural development approaches that have been tried, successfully or not, in other countries.”

media, political life, even how we relate to nature. Cultural policy has this broad scope and is always based on the statement of values. Cultural policy is primarily about the articulation of the values that culture contributes to communities.

This gathering is one of the first meetings I can think of in the United States to take up this topic of cultural policy, and I welcome the opportunity. I look forward to the day when we in the United States have educated ourselves about the discourse that has gone on around the world for the past 50 years and can enter responsibly into the international discussion that we have so far ignored. We have a great deal to learn from the variety of cultural development approaches that have been tried, successfully or not, in other countries.

THE WEST—PORTRAIT OF CHANGE

by Patricia Limerick

In preparation for this presentation, I have enjoyed spending time thinking about cultural policy in the context of the changing beat of the American West. The conversations that I have had with you in my head have been interesting and stimulating, so just think what it will be like to have you physically present. I am going to stick to my assignment and present a portrait of change in the regions of the West at this millennial moment. At the end, I would like to propose 10 issues or mental challenges that in my dreams, Western artists would be attending to—actually some are working on a number of them—in order to have art be the occasion of far more productive, far more intelligent conversations about issues of growth and change in the new West.

My portrait of the West will be a series of snapshots, using material from the *Atlas of the New West*. This is a project conceived by Bill Riebsame, my collaborator at the Center of the American West, and it stems from an occasion when he and a graduate student were driving back from the Western Slope after a meeting. They wanted to grab some cappuccino, but they said, “For heaven’s sake, what are the chances of finding cappuccino? We’re on the Western Slope.” As Bill and the student came into the next town, however, they saw three or four places serving espresso and were immediately struck by how rapidly change comes about. They bought their caffeine, got back in the car, and stimulated by

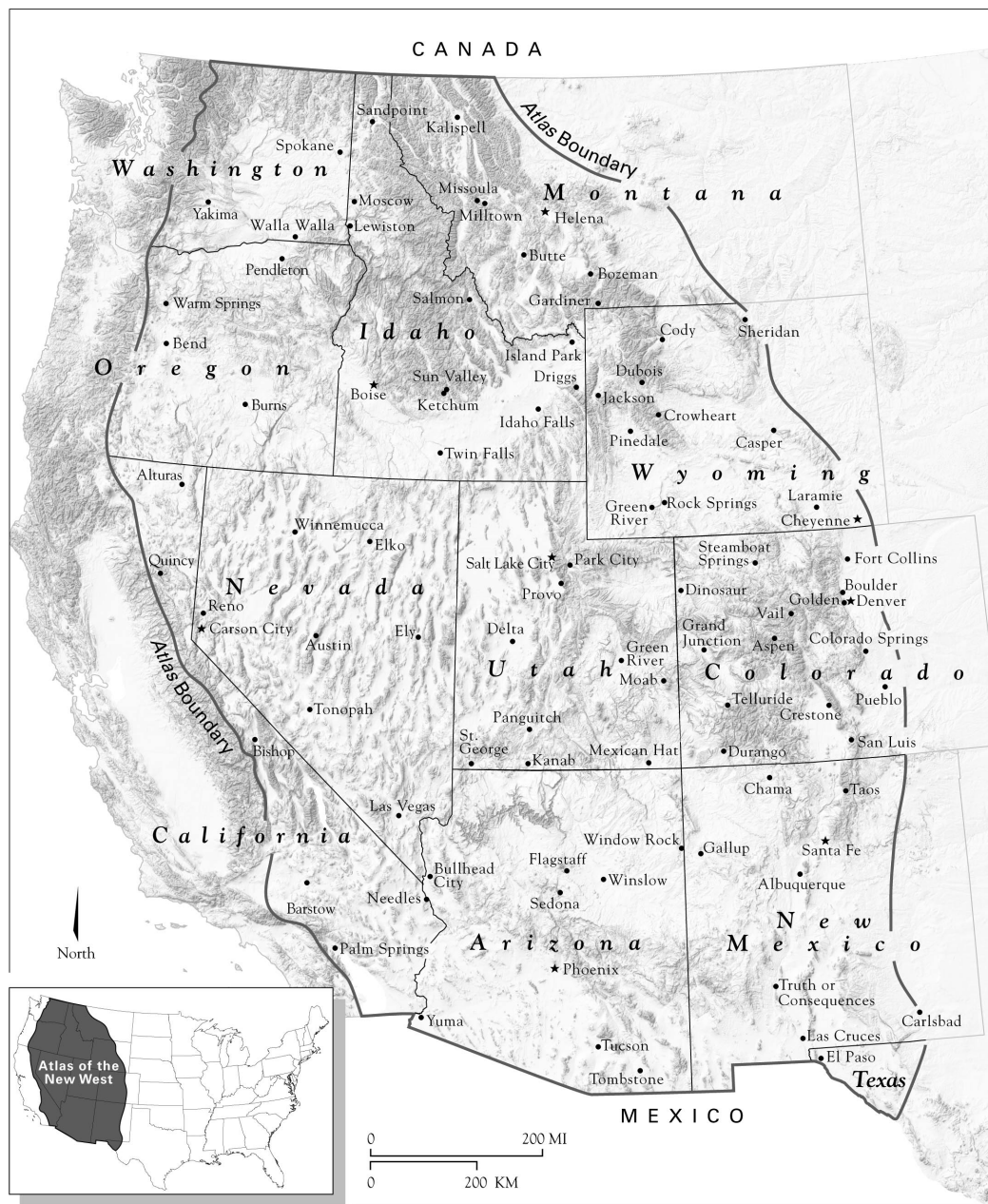


the research effort they had just made, they started cataloging all the ways in which the West has changed over the last decades.

As my contribution to the Atlas project, I was given the assignment of explaining why the West is so popular in our culture, but my real agenda was to restore our sense of wonder about the West. I have had it with the notion that the interesting West was the West of the 19th century and that we live in reduced times. I would like to present a quick example of the wonder and improbability of the contemporary West.

In January of 1996, *The New York Times* did a story about Denver’s annual stock show and rodeo. The reporter called me to ask what I thought about the rise of Western ranches devoted to emus, ostriches, llamas, and alpacas. I said that the history of the West has hinged on the introduction of exotic species; in that sense, the ostrich and the emu were just the latest successors to cows and horses. However, it is a second comment, quoted at the end of the article, that sticks more firmly in the mind. Here is the quotation from Professor Limerick: “There is a dignity in the words ‘cowboys’ and ‘cattlemen’ that’s just not there with ‘emu boy’ and ‘ostrich people.’ ”

This newest New West draws our attention in all sorts of ways, though this particular occasion of recognition is my favorite. It raises my hopes for a new brand of Western literature in which tall, silent ostrich boys, with their



Source: *Atlas of the New West*. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

PLACES ON THE LAND

The authors of the *Atlas of the New West* limit the area they consider to be the “New West” to the lands east of the Cascade and Sierra Nevada mountains and west of the Great Plains. Most Westerners live in cities and towns, not out on the open range. Even so, only four cities—Phoenix, Denver, Salt Lake City, and Las Vegas—contain more than a million souls. Wyoming and Montana boast no urban area with a population over 100,000 people, and the entire area of California, Oregon and Washington east of the Sierra Nevada and Cascade Ranges includes only one: Spokane at 396,000.

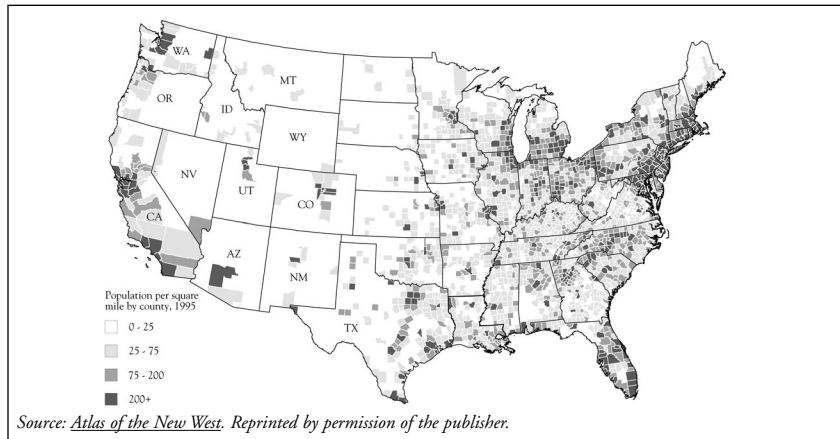
characteristic stiff-legged gait, face off against each other in show downs on main street and then rejoin their Montessori schoolmarm's for a debriefing and a cappuccino, while the townspeople gather to watch anxiously from the mountain bike store and the aromatherapy shop. At the turn of the century, Owen Wister published *The Virginian* and created the archetypal Westerner, despite his Southern name. The 1990s present a comparable opportunity for an ambitious writer to make her authorial reputation with the publication of *The Californian*, symbol of the New West of emus and ostriches, espressos and sports utility vehicles.

Now as to this business about why the West is so popular, I think it has to do with Baby Boomers and the conditioning that people my age received as children. The rise of television is obviously so consequential in changing people's consciousness; it actually rewires them in all sorts of ways. When you consider what was on TV for the early Baby Boomers, it was cowboys—Roy Rogers, the Lone Ranger, Hopalong Cassidy, and so on. To prove a point of how extraordinary the marketing of these cowboys was, here is a fact (apparently true) about Hopalong Cassidy, who was so popular in the early Fifties. Hoppy wore all black, with a white hat, and so many children wanted clothes like Hoppy's that the United States ran short of black dye.

When you think of how the consuming urges of Baby Boomers were shaped, you must consider the extraordinary range of products being marketed to take advantage of the cowboy heroes' popularity. To give you an idea of things that children would bug their parents to buy them, here is a listing from a recent

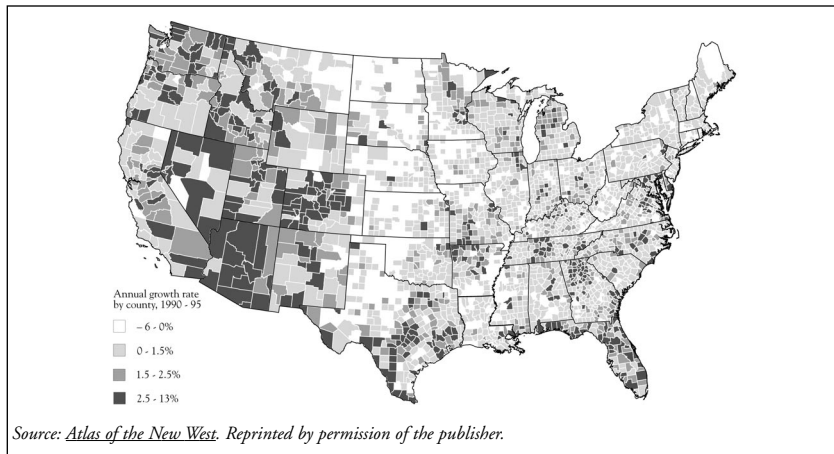
collector's inventory of Roy Rogers' memorabilia: alarm clocks, archery sets, badges, bandannas, basketball, beds, bedspreads, belts, binoculars, boots, briefs, bubble gum, calendars, cameras, canteens, card games, cereal bowls, chaps, charm bracelets, chinaware, clay modeling sets, coats, coloring sets, cups, curtains, dart boards, dolls, footballs, furniture, glasses, gloves, guitars, guns, harmonicas, hats, holsters, horseshoes, jackets, jeans, jewelry, key chains, key rings, lamps, lanterns, lunch box sets, mats, mittens, moccasins, mugs, pajamas, pants, pens and pencils, plates, playing cards, posters, puppets, puzzles, raincoats, ranch sets, rifles, rings, robes, saddles, scarves, school bags, scrap books, shirts, shoes, shorts, soap, skirts, slippers, spurs, suspenders, sweaters, sweatshirts, swim trunks, t-shirts, writing tablets, telephones, toothbrushes, Trigger toys, TV chairs, vests, wallets, wash cloths, watches, and yo-yos.

It is really quite striking to see how many people of a certain generation will confess to still having that little fringed cowboy vest. My thesis is that when these toddlers grew up and had full consumer power and no longer had to ask their mommies and daddies to buy them things, it was a very predictable outcome for them to buy real estate in the landscape of their childhood dreams. Keep in mind, too, the value that Baby Boomers place on youth and hence the attraction of the West imagined as eternally young. The pattern, usually, is that the passage of time transforms young things into old things, years pass and the young tree becomes an old tree, a new town becomes an old town, a young person becomes an old person. But the West has received this special dispensation: time passes,



A BLANK SPACE

With most Westerners jammed into a few cities and their suburbs, the vast majority of the intervening geography is thinly settled. Only a few counties away from the cities contain population densities of even 25 souls per square mile, and some of the emptiest counties in the nation are found here, especially in those blank spaces of Nevada, which has the lowest population densities in the country. Each of the 4,540 residents of Nevada's Eureka County, if evenly distributed, would be alone in 3.5 square miles of land.



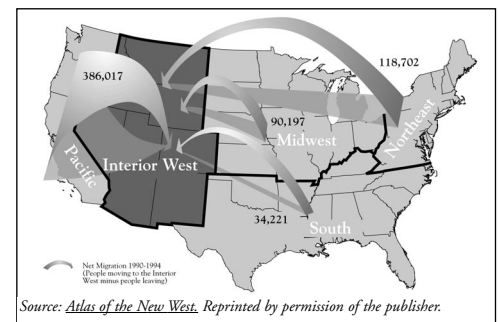
FILLING THE VOID

This map of population growth rates is more telling for those very few Interior West counties not growing fast. Most of the rest of the country, outside of Florida, southern Texas, and a few other hot-spots, barely matches the national average annual growth rate of about 1 percent, but only a handful of western places—mostly busted mining areas and declining timber communities—are growing less than 2.5 percent annually, growth rates that would double their population every 28 years. Several Western places, like Douglas County, Colorado, and Summit County, Utah, grew at 10 percent per year in the 1990s, a rate that would double their population every 7 years.

ordinary logic reverses, and the Old West ages into the New West. We could sum this up in a limerick:

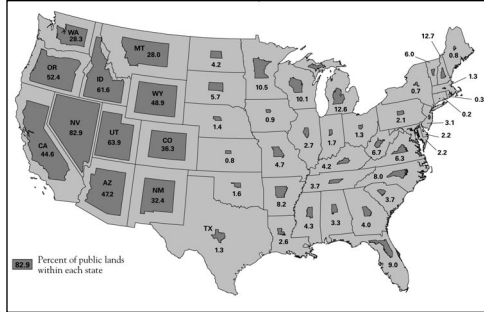
The years may demand their due,
 But the West still calls itself "new."
 It casts time away;
 It gets younger each day.
 Don't you wish this could happen to you?

In the *Atlas of the New West*, Bill Riebsame and Jim Robb have numerous maps delineating the various consequences of the West's popularity. In the map showing population density, for example, we see the distinctiveness of the Interior West compared with the East and the Californian coast—there are very few densely populated areas in the Interior West. The map of the nation's annual growth rate by county helps explain why the West is a place of some contention these days. Idaho, Colorado, Montana, Arizona, and



PEOPLING THE NEW WEST

In their endless to'ing and fro'ing, more Americans are ending up in the West. All of the country's other four census regions sent more people to the Interior West than they got back—a "positive net migration"—during 1990-94. The Pacific Region sent the most refugees inland, with California providing the lion's share—over 30,000 Californians moved into Colorado alone during 12 months starting in spring of 1993. The Northeast sent almost 119,000 more people to the West than it got back, most out of New York and Massachusetts. The Midwest comes next, with more Illinoisans than other Midwesterners joining the modern westward migration. This big immigration created knock-on effects within the region: Colorado absorbed the biggest slug of immigrants, and some 2,000 of that state's residents, disgusted with crowding and traffic, sold the newcomers land and houses and headed up to Montana in 1993, a place that reminded them of Colorado before the boom.



Source: *Atlas of the New West*. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

PUBLIC WEST, PRIVATE EAST

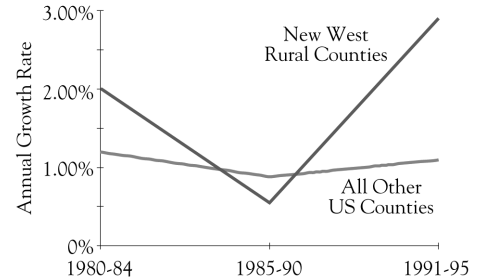
Though a few national parks and forests dot the eastern two-thirds of the country, 88 percent of the nation's federal public lands outside Alaska lie in the 11 Western states. Some counties in these states consist of 80-90 percent federal lands, leaving little room for private development, but providing millions of acres of open space, natural resources, recreation, and wildlife habitats.

Utah grew faster than all the remaining states during 1995. Outside of Florida, southern Texas, and a few other hot spots, the rest of the country barely matches the national average annual growth rate of about 1%, but only a handful of Western places—mostly busted mining areas and declining timber communities—are growing less than 2.5% annually, growth rates that would double their population every 28 years. Several Western places, like Douglas County, Colorado, and Summit County, Utah, grew at 10% per year in the 1990s, a rate that would double the population every seven years. When you show

these kind of statistics to county commissioners of the Interior West, they open their eyes and say, "Oh, no wonder our resources are stretched to the limit, no wonder we're struggling, no wonder we're under a whole new set

of pressures."

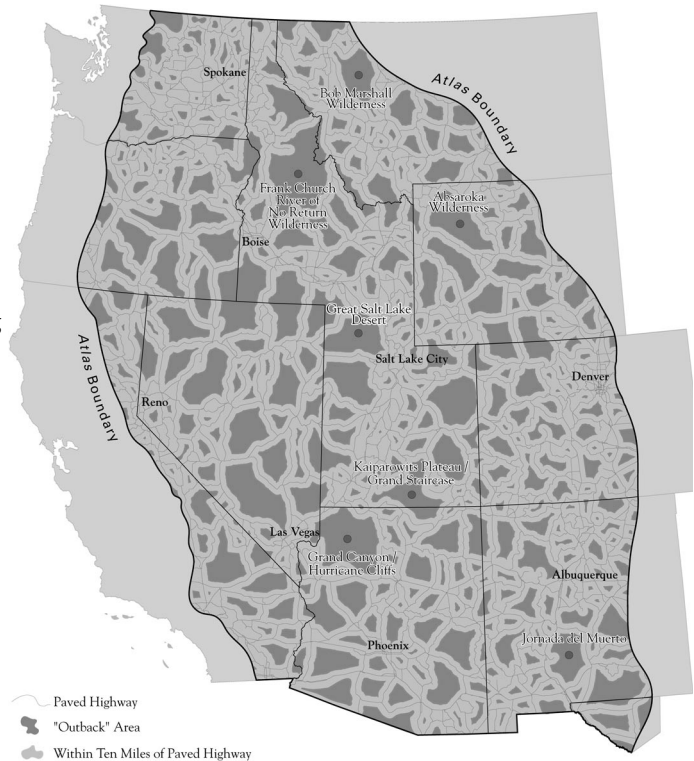
Where did all these new residents come from? During 1990-94, all of the four other U.S. census regions sent more people to the



Source: U.S. Census Bureau

Source: *Atlas of the New West*. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

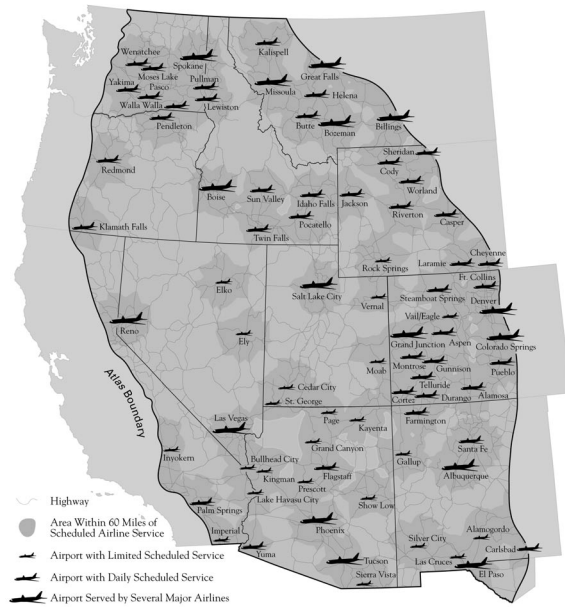
GENTRIFYING THE NEW WEST



Source: *Atlas of the New West*. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

A ROAD RUNS THROUGH IT

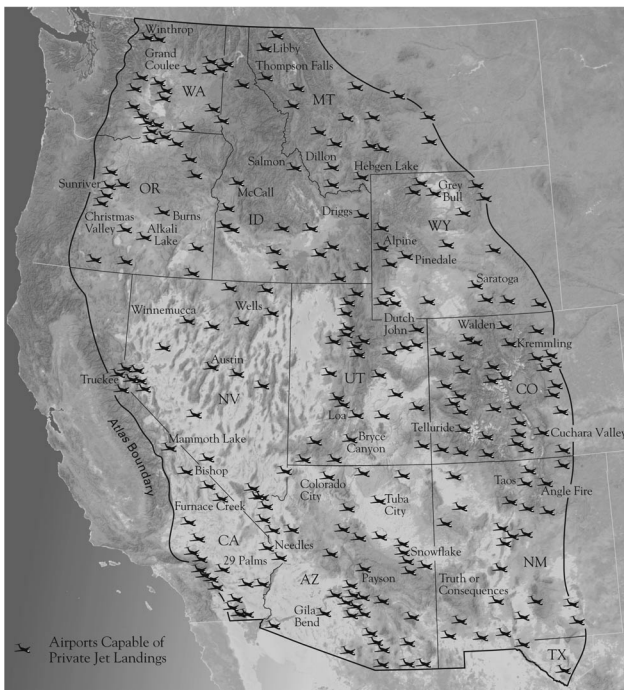
Westerners think nothing of 500-mile weekend outings on the region's network of good highways. The roads shown here allow a family sedan access to virtually all of the region's wide space. This places a premium on solitude, on the New West's "unpaved outbacks," mapped here as purple zones, at least 10 miles from a highway. The largest of these is central Idaho's River of No Return Wilderness. Other large unpaved outbacks show up in Nevada, Arizona, and New Mexico. Much of the roadless zone straddling the Utah-Arizona border was declared a national monument by President Clinton in 1996. Yet, many of the outbacks mapped here are crisscrossed by dirt roads used by four-wheelers seeking "wilderness" adventure. Further inside them survive the last truly wild places, completely roadless wildlands whittled to ever smaller patches.



Source: *Atlas of the New West*. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

FLYING IN AND OUT OF THE WEST

Airline service puts a town on the modern economic map, especially in an era of capital and labor mobility. The map shows zones within 60 highway miles of scheduled air service—less than an hour's drive at Western speed limits if it's not snowing. Small towns and rural hinterlands inside these perimeters are roosts for tele-commuting professionals and second-homeowners. The Rocky Mountains, from Colorado to Montana, are especially well-served, partly because airlines find profit in catering to skiers. The thriving towns of eastern Washington have also created an air service zone based on the high-tech development attracted to the Hanford Nuclear labs, and the Interior West's sunbelt—from Albuquerque to Palm Springs—is also well-peppered with scheduled service.



Source: *Atlas of the New West*. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

JET-SETTING THE WEST

The high-end Western air traveler flies private jets, headed for landing fields near world-class trout streams or ritzy resorts. The Saratoga, Wyoming jetport on the North Platte River is chock-full of corporate jets during the fly-fishing season, and tarmacs from Sun Valley to Tahoe to Driggs, Idaho (the latter hard by the west foot of the Grand Teton), are busy during the ski season. Corporate executives can visit the company's ranch near Pinedale, Wyoming, or Lone Pine, California, or get to the distant office quickly from their homes on the range.

Interior West than they got back—a “positive net migration.”

The map that the county commissioners adore, the one they're most eager to get a copy of, is the one showing the percentage of federal land in each Western state. Almost half of the land mass of the 11 interior Western states is federally owned. In comparison, no state east of the Rockies is more than 13% federal land. Almost 90% of the nation's federal public lands outside Alaska lie within the 11 Western states. Some counties in these states consist of 80-90% federal lands, leaving little room for private development but providing millions of acres of open space, natural resources, recreation, and wildlife habitat.

Rural areas with the most open space and federal lands are developing faster than the West's metropolitan areas. Counties with federally designated wilderness areas grew two to three times faster than all other counties in the U.S. from the 1970s to the 1990s. Rural counties in the West grew twice as fast as other counties in the region and nation during 1990-95. Even so, the interior Western states are more urbanized than the mid-Atlantic states. Roughly 75% of people in Eastern “metropolitan” states like New York and New Jersey are urban dwellers, but fully 86% of Westerners live in cities.

The “A Road Runs Through It” map illustrates how accessible the West is, especially to Western city-dwellers, with very few areas farther than 10 miles from a paved highway. The West is also readily reached by commercial air travel or, for the high-end traveler, private jet.

The *Atlas of the New West* also tells us about



Source: *Atlas of the New West*. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

SOVEREIGN LANDS

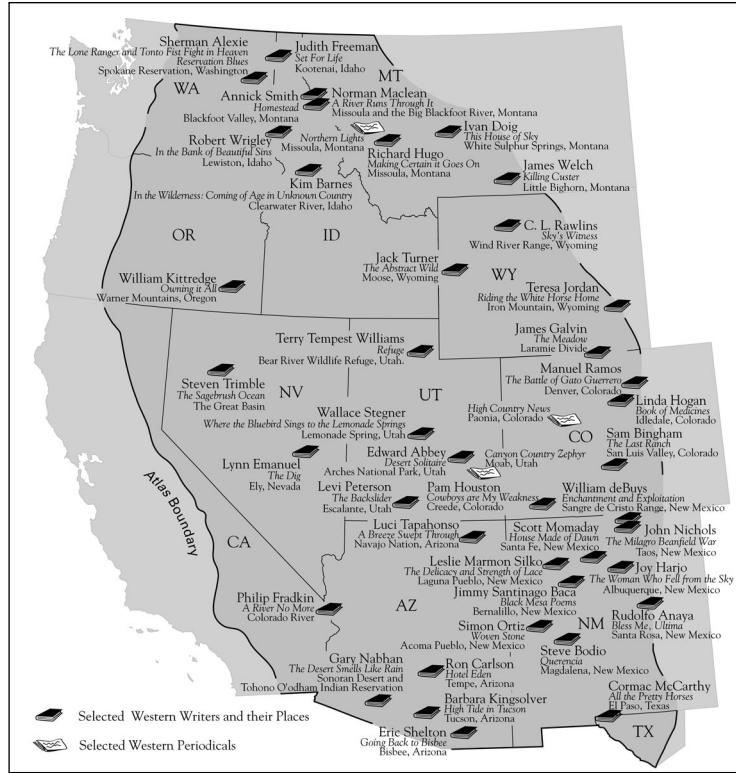
the people residing in this region. Ethnic diversity is a prominent feature of the West’s social landscape, with Native Americans and Hispanics the most-represented groups. A fifth of the Interior West is owned by Indian tribes. Just over one million Native Americans live in the 11 Western states, roughly half of them on reservations. The largest reservations are the size of a small Eastern state, and the smallest are like small towns. As sovereign governments, the tribes make their own laws and land-use decisions, sometimes in conflict with the states and federal government. Tribes also wrestle internally over how much development or resource extraction to allow. Of the 135 reservations in the Interior West, 40 maintain fish and wildlife management operations, and 25 have joined together in the Council of Energy Resource Tribes to

improve energy resource management.

I have not forgotten the arts and cultural amenities, all well represented in the Atlas. Western American writing and Western writers have become a powerful force in our culture. A map of the Cultured West shows the sites of music, art, and theater festivals, colleges and universities, National Public Radio and Pacifica Radio member stations, symphony orchestras, and art galleries. With the map of consumerism in the New West, we return to the origins of this exploration project with a plotting of areas offering gourmet coffee plus *New York Times* distribution, Land Rover dealerships, full-line Orvis shops, and Patagonia Outfitters. Even the microbrewery rage has infiltrated the New West.

Moving to a different kind of fluid, this next map highlights one of the West’s hottest issues—water. Aridity and semi-aridity are the governing factors for much of the West. On this map of gallons of water consumed per person per day, it is clear that the driest of regions has the highest water consumption. If people were to take it seriously, this map of agricultural water use compared with municipal and industrial water use would be the most consequential of the maps. Environmentalists frequently say, “Water sets our limits.” Right now, we are choosing (and it is a social choice) to move water from agriculture to urban and industrial uses, a pattern we have followed to a large extent for the last 30 or 40 years. Nature will not set the policy on growth limits; that’s still up to human beings.

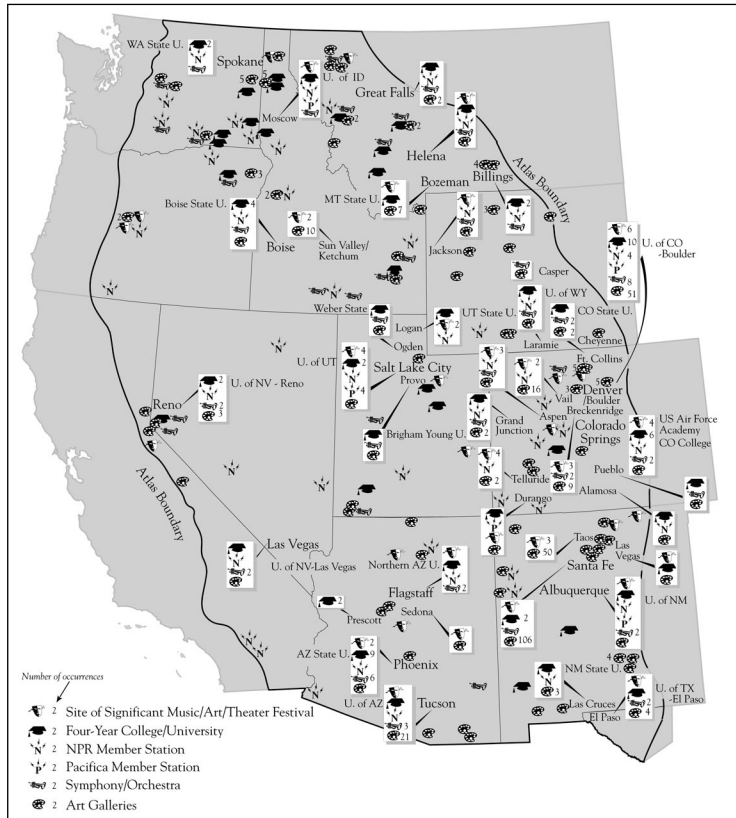
I have been involved in organizing and pre-



Source: *Atlas of the New West*. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

WRITING THE NEW WEST

Western sense of Western place is actively nourished by the New Western writers. We map here a selection of authors whose writing especially links people and place in the Western landscape. Their "places" might be whole mountain ranges, as in C.L. Rawlins's book about his years collecting data on "acid snow" in Wyoming's Wind River Mountains, or William DeBuys' examination of New Mexico's Sangre de Cristo Range. Some authors use a small place to explore the bigger human predicament, as in Teresa Jordan's story of her wedding at Iron Mountain, Wyoming, while others range across the region and beyond: Wallace Stegner wrote about many Western places and about the West as a whole; Leslie Marmon Silko reflects the whole Indian experience from her home on the Laguna Pueblo.



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Long associated with the region's rural, rugged image, and its Hispanic, Indian, and cowboy heritage, the "cultured West" now includes not only cowboy poetry, mariachi bands, and Native American art, but also symphonies, plays, and film festivals—trappings previously enjoyed mostly on the east and west coasts and a few cities in between. Many of these cultural amenities appeared in ski towns like Telluride and Sun Valley in the 1970s as the summer attraction that made them year-round tourist economies. Four-year colleges and even National Public Radio and Pacifica Radio member stations add a sophisticated, in-touch ambiance even to smallish Western towns like Laramie, Wyoming, or Gunnison, Colorado.

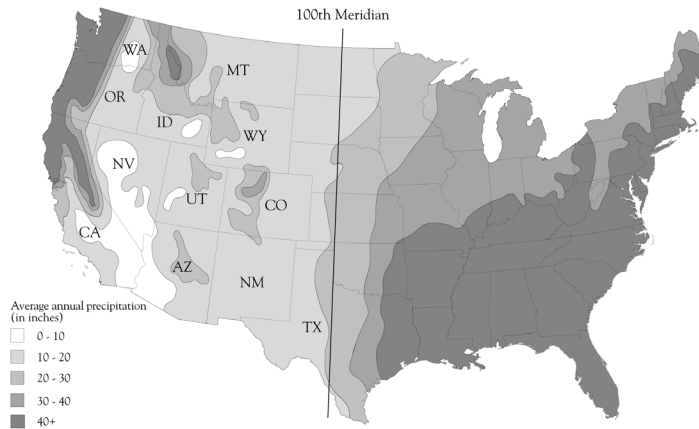
THE CULTURED WEST



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CONSUMING IN THE NEW WEST

New Western immigrants bring with them their information sources (The New York Times), addictions (good coffee, good New West beer), pastimes (fly fishing and golf) and consumer values (the understated elegance and practicality of Range Rovers and Patagonia clothing). It's no surprise that well-established New West entrenchments like Scottsdale, Boulder, Santa Fe, Aspen, Jackson, Sun Valley, and even Moab provide most of the perceived necessities of the good life. But New West outposts, like Panguitch, Utah; Dubois, Wyoming; and Saratoga, Wyoming, also offer five-hundred-dollar Orvis fishing poles, and the latest in outdoor clothing.



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ARID, EXTRA DRY

Scholars refer to the 20-inch annual precipitation line, roughly paralleling the 100th meridian, as the edge of arid America. Unirrigated agriculture is nearly impossible west of this line, making lawn watering a way of life. Pockets of moisture exist in the West: the Colorado Rockies and Northern Idaho mountains stand out. But so too does the desiccated zone sprawling out from the junction of Nevada, Arizona, and California, a sprawl of true deserts like Death Valley, which can go years without significant rainfall.

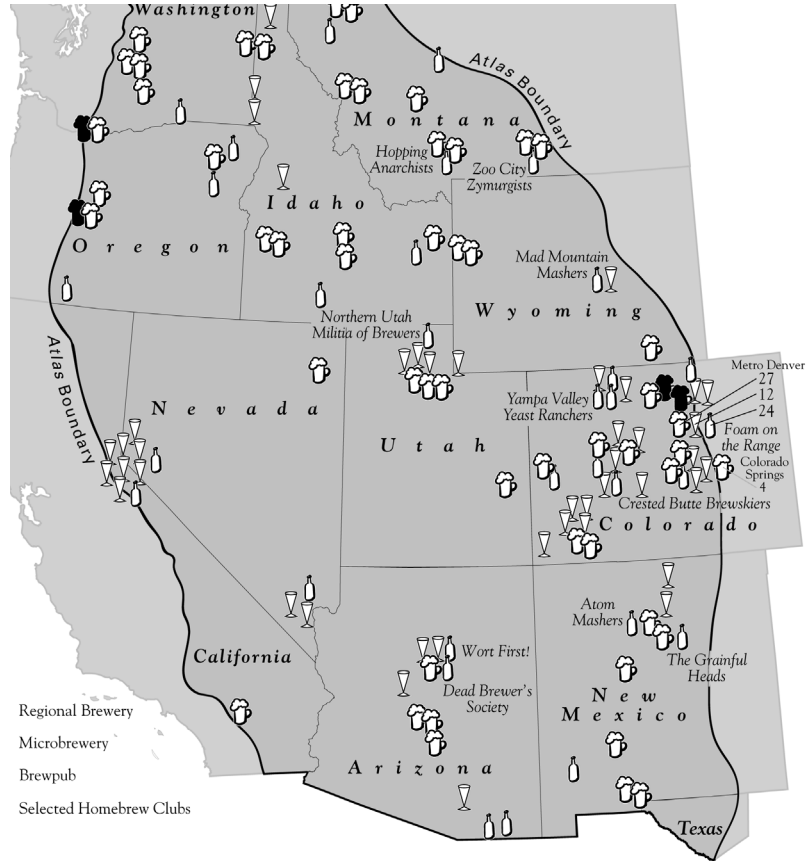
senting information that we hope can be the basis for calmer, more productive, and clear-headed conversations on these issues that are driving people crazy in many parts of the West. At the Center of the American West, we tried several approaches, and only in the last few weeks have I started to realize how much we rely on art to communicate this information.

Four or five years ago, we started presenting a program on the relationship between the urban West and rural West. Rather than give a public lecture on what a troubled relationship that is, we decided to present it as a play. I play Urbana Asphalt West, a friend plays Andy Greenfields West, we have a child who grew up without supervision or guidance, Suburbia or Subbie Greenlawn West. We have local people serve as witnesses and talk about how they see this relationship and whose side they're on.

We have traveled around the West with this presentation, performing it in Idaho and Colorado and Oregon. It is really quite popular and quite a wonderful way of taking on a topic that is otherwise so heated that rural people find it difficult to touch. We always have a local jury, which frequently recommends some kind of tough-love, upward-bound program for Suburbia West and sterilization for Urbana and Sandy West.

Audiences would always say, "We're looking forward to your play," and we would tell them, "It's a humanities program, it's not really a play." Then over time, we started to realize, it is a play. Now we are starting to think of other programs—like having the

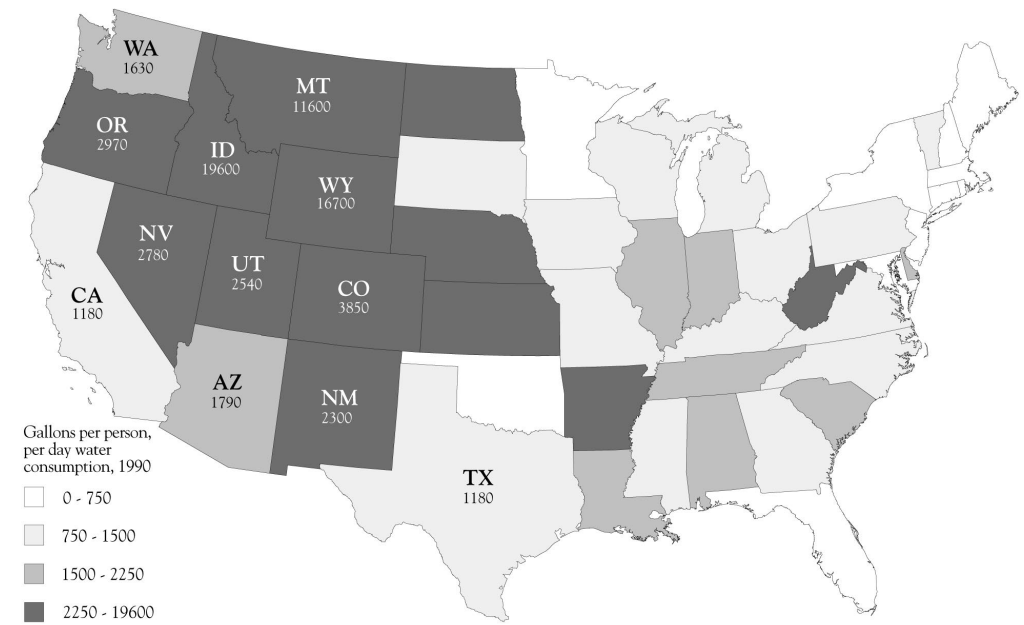
What's Brewing in the New West? Lots of beer, that's what, in microbreweries producing nectar named Fat Tire or New West Avalanche ale, and in basements throughout the region. Homebrew clubs started a tradition of colorful names, often reflecting local features, like the Atom Mashers near the Los Alamos nuclear labs, or political sensibilities, as in the Northern Utah Militia of Brewers.



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WHAT'S BREWING IN THE NEW WEST

Water consumption is greater per person in the West than in other parts of the country, mostly due to the irrigation needed to grow anything in the region's dry climate. Though crops consume most Western water, more of the liquid that refreshes is shifting from farms and ranches to cities and suburbs every year. Western cities are fairly efficient water users, especially in parts of Arizona, where residents were coerced into a strict water conservation program in exchange for approval of the federally funded Central Arizona Project. CAP enables Arizonans to appropriate their share of the Colorado River, but with new conservation programs in place, residents are finding they don't need the new water!



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QUENCHING THE THIRST

West in a psychiatric intervention program where, in the most helpful way, various counselors try to get the West to face its illusions and its romanticized history. I am really quite exhilarated by the range of possibilities in what we are doing.

This realization that an artistic “take” on a controversial subject can help open people’s eyes brings me back to those 10 items I wish

that artists would take on (and in some cases, have already taken on). These 10 areas strike me as the ones in most urgent need of an artist’s perspective, of productive thoughts, of a fresh framework of thinking about our challenges.

The first item—reducing the great conceptual separations and divisions between

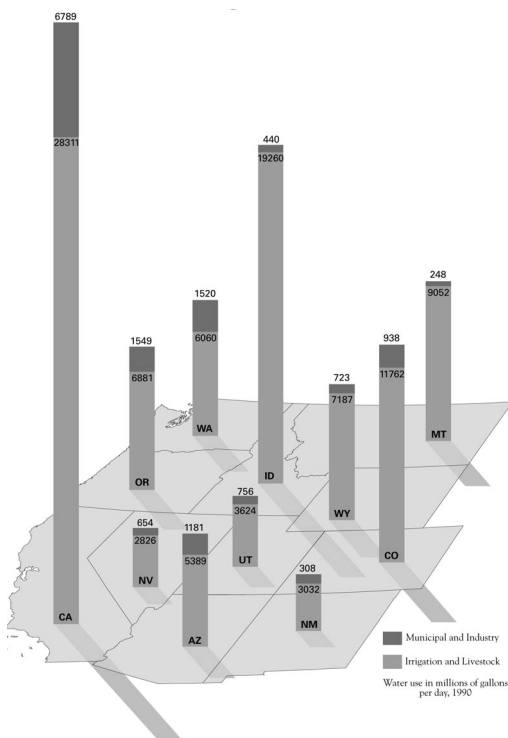
humanity and nature—is already being addressed to some extent. Many artists, recognizing that we just cannot continue with that notion of nature as separate from humans, are portraying human beings not as a disruption of nature and the great outdoors; instead, they are taking us farther down that path where the natural and the human co-exist.

Second, I would like to see artists conduct a

creative re-examination of the claims of the True Westerner. This is a region formed by invasion and conflict; a nation that begins on that foundation will be unsettled. Various people will make claims and counter-claims to being the true Western residents, and it is important to think critically and creatively about those claims. Does place of birth really make a Westerner? Can one really take much personal credit for the location where one’s mother happened to be at the time of one’s birth? Can one tell real Westerners by their clothes? By their occupations? How did we come up with these various curious standards for “realness”?

Third, I would like an exploration of this region’s diversity of language as a tremendous opportunity rather than a misfortune. Is the problem of the United States that we have too many people who are too fluent in too many languages? I don’t know if you experience the same misery I do when an American president is at an international gathering of heads of state. The speaker makes a joke and all the other heads of state laugh. Our president waits for the translation and finally chuckles two minutes later. Excessive language ability is not our national dilemma. We need to recognize the ways in which languages are a source of enrichment and beauty. We need, as well, celebrations of translators and interpreters, who may be the most understudied, under-attended-to folks in Western-American history and contemporary life.

Fourth, I dream of artists exploring the concept of cities and urban experience as central to the West. The West is one of the most



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DRENCHING THE FIELDS

Eighty-seven percent of western water is used by farmers, but industrial and household uses—the latter mostly to keep lawns alive and green—consume an increasing share as farmers sell their water to cities. California consumes more water for both agriculture and domestic uses than any other state in the nation, but not far behind is the mostly agricultural state of Idaho, where potato fields can soak up 60 or more inches of water each summer, equivalent to the average rainfall of the country’s wettest places, like New Orleans.

urban regions and the region most committed to urban denial. Given this fact, I would like to reverse the clear and unfortunate impact of much Western art that celebrates the open view. Imagine, for instance, what a breakthrough in land-use planning and preservation of wildlife habitat could have resulted from the banning of picture windows in houses located beyond city limits. Why not explore art that celebrates density and acknowledges the pleasure of human company and lots of it?

My fifth aspiration for artists is an investigation of the rural crisis that is upon us. In presenting our little drama of Urbana and Sandy in such locations as Denver, we have noticed that Denverites come up afterwards and say, “We had no idea the rural people were that upset.” The great urban majority of our Western cities need someone to acquaint them with the crisis in farming and ranching and to explore what cultural preservation of this rural lifestyle would require in the way of economic subsidies. What would cultural preservation and economic preservation of the agricultural economy require of urban Westerners? Will the rural West submit to such a condescending form of “rescue”? Does this rural preservation add up to a kind of museumizing of rural life, and is that an acceptable social strategy?

Sixth, I would like artists to examine our reciprocal and mutually interdependent cultural and material lives of the West—the ways in which various cultures or groups appropriate the customs, styles, language of another. Water moves from one place to another, and we are all downstream from somebody. Think

of the unexpected way in which cowboy dress has been appropriated by Native Americans and urban dwellers. African American people have readily adopted such terms as “the frontier” and “pioneer.” There are so many ties that bind us to the same story, including the literal ties of intermarriage and shared ancestry.

Seventh, it would be great to have artists explore the centrality of federal agencies in Western life and the human reality of being a federal employee in the West. We have a regional tradition of bashing feds as intruding, invading outsiders—a stereotype that does, occasionally, connect to reality. But it is also a stereotype that does an enormous disservice to many dedicated and committed Westerners who get their paychecks from the national government. We have thousands of books on cowboys and only a trickle on Park Rangers or Forest Rangers.

Eighth, artists could go to town in exploring the environmental impact of individual choice in consumption and resource use. Individuals pursuing pleasure and personal responsibility can have a difficult time detecting the dimensions of the impact of their own actions. In a mass society devoted to material consumption, why does it matter what one person, or one family, does in the way of building a house in wildlife habitat or planting a bluegrass lawn to be watered from a well connected to an aquifer or buying an SUV or two?

Ninth, artists could remind us that human beings do have a wide repertoire when it comes to ways of disagreeing. Conflict is not

just an aspect of Western life today, it is a reality of human life. Since we can't avoid it, we might as well find ways to enjoy it and even benefit from it. The exploration of pleasant and productive ways of disagreeing, of better strategies for improving behavior than reproach and guilt, would give a wonderful usefulness to artistic imagination.

Tenth, and last, we come to the big question always ready to drain the energy from Western art: What to do about Remington and Russell? Say "Western Art," and many, many minds will instantly offer up tributes to the influence of Charles Russell and Frederick Remington, with True Western Art meaning images of heroic, horseriding white men in wide open spaces. What could offer a better opportunity to take on Western nostalgia and to challenge the narrowness of conventional thinking about the West? Of course, this sort of challenge is no easy undertaking; it is difficult to challenge stereotypes of the West without, simultaneously, invoking them and giving them restored power!

With 10 of these suggestions launched, it is surely time to quit. My situation now might be reminiscent of the story that Mark Twain sometimes told. He had gone to church to hear a missionary speak, and for the first 10 or 15 minutes, Twain was so moved that he began to wish he had brought more than five dollars with him to put in the collection plate; soon he concluded that he would have to borrow some money from a friend seated nearby. But then the missionary went on and on, and Twain began to think that five dollars would be sufficient. And then, by the time the speaker finally stopped, Twain reported,

he was feeling so mean and nasty that he stole a quarter from the collection plate. Surely one of the highest arts, regional or otherwise, is knowing when to stop.

A NATIONAL AND REGIONAL VIEW OF CULTURAL POLICY

by Frank Hodso ll

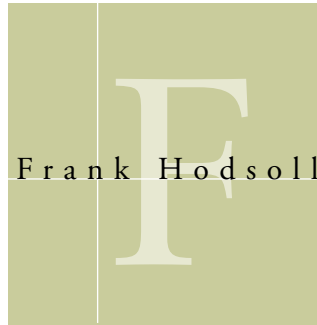
I have been asked to talk about cultural policy nationally as well as cultural policy in the West and in my home of Ouray County, Colorado. To answer the question “What is cultural policy?,” one must begin with the question “What is culture?”

The British literary theorist Raymond Williams notes that linking the word “culture” with elite culture is a relatively recent development. Earlier uses of the term referred to cultivation, as in crops. According to Williams, the more recent usage coincided with the period of European colonization, with the emphasis being on civilizing forces improving objects and peoples of the colonial territories.¹ In this sense, the term became politicized.

Williams concluded his 1976 *Keywords* with three definitions of culture:

- a process of intellectual, spiritual, and aesthetic development, with a hierarchy of cultural capital distributed throughout the population;
- a particular way of life (everyday culture); and
- works and practices of intellectual and artistic activity, with forms accorded high status at the top of the cultural tree.²

For the purpose of this presentation, I shall mongrelize all three definitions and talk of



culture as the creations and practices of humans that symbolize to them and others their commonalities and differences.

In the arts, different folks accord different hierarchies, but I can think of no folks who do not have some sort of hierarchy. I might note that in the end, history is the only real judge of hierarchy. Those things that survive are at the top of the hierarchy.

Having defined what I mean by culture, I must move on to the word “policy.” *Webster* defines “policy” as “a providence or wisdom in the management of affairs” or “a definite course or method of action selected from among alternatives and in light of given conditions to guide and determine present and future decisions.” Once again, I shall mongrelize, and talk of policy as the outcomes that humans and their institutions strive for and the strategies for striving.

Glenn Wallach, deputy director of The Center for Arts and Culture, puts it as well as anyone when he says, “Scholars, practitioners, and policy makers need to redefine ‘cultural policy’ to mean more than policies toward the arts. They need to imagine culture as influencing the way people live and make sense of their world, and that definition has an impact on policies beyond the funding of arts and cultural institutions.”³

Within the arts, another point is also clear. As we concluded at our 1997 American Assembly, the arts include those things that make money, those things that do not make money, and those things that come from

what we called the “unincorporated part of the arts sector”—the indigenous arts in their many manifestations. All of these are a part of culture. All are a part of the arts. And all have public purposes and contribute to the public well-being.

Cultural Policy in the U.S.

What cultural policy or policies do we have now? In the United States, we have a variety of policies that contribute to our cultural well-being or pose problems.

At the federal level, we protect free speech, copyrights, and patents; provide federal tax deductions for gifts to 501(c)(3)s; commission selected works of art; provide small amounts of subsidy through the National Endowment for the Arts and the Corporation for Public Broadcasting and directly to selected national institutions and projects; and honor artists through the Presidential National Medal of Arts.

“In the United States, we have a variety of policies that contribute to our cultural well-being or pose problems.”

At state and local government levels, a wide variety of policies affecting culture are in place. They include tax deductions and credits; sales and property tax and general revenue subsidies; construction of cultural facilities; arts education in schools; and the honoring of artists through a range of awards.

It is the private sector, however, that provides the lion’s share of cultural support—whether for for-profit or not-for-profit institutions or professional or amateur artists. Earned income and investment comprise all of for-

profit revenues, and on average, roughly half of not-for-profit revenues. Individual professional artists’ incomes vary widely, but the large majority do not make their living from the arts. Amateur artists survive because they make money elsewhere and volunteer.

Within the private sector, it is individuals—not corporations or foundations—who provide 91 percent of the contributions to not-for-profit arts and humanities organizations. Tax-deductability makes this giving considerably cheaper. In fact, when you calculate tax expenditures, the United States ranks much higher than it otherwise would, in terms of national arts support.

Do we have the right mix of cultural policies, or do we need to do something differently?

First, I would suggest that the European model of centralized national funding is not one likely to be applicable to the United States. We are too diverse, and our tradition of a mix of support mechanisms is too ingrained. I would also argue that diverse sources of support and diverse policies undergird freedom and have served our culture well. The variety of excellence in this country—whether in the commercial, not-for-profit, or community arts—is nothing short of extraordinary, especially in this century.

Second, we need to better understand the facts of the cultural sector. At present, there is no source of comprehensive, reliable information on the arts sector. Without this, we cannot have even a modest level of certainty as to what works and what doesn’t, to provide a basis for marshaling the analytical and political advocacy for new policies. This is the

beauty of the new Pew Trusts initiative. It promises to bring together comprehensive, reliable information on the arts sector.

Third, I think we need to explore the following options:

(1) We must broaden the capacity of Americans to appreciate the arts that are not “hits.” This means better arts education for regular folks, not only the gifted and talented. The last national figures I looked at do not indicate, as some contend, that the aggregate supply of arts education is down; however, K-12 arts education is still too performance-oriented with

“We must expand the capacity of for-profits and not-for-profits to create, produce, and present-exhibit-publish ‘non-hit,’ middle-ground, middle-budget work that is important.”

emphasis on the talented. This goal of broadening arts appreciation could also be supported by outreach programs by artists, not-for-profits, and amateur organizations,

and co-ventures with for-profits to expose general audiences to that great variety of fare beyond the box office favorites.

(2) We must expand the capacity of for-profits and not-for-profits to create, produce, and present-exhibit-publish “non-hit,” middle-ground, middle-budget work that is important. My colleagues Alberta Arthurs, formerly of the Rockefeller Foundation, Steve Lavine, president of the California Institute of Arts, and I recently interviewed prominent individuals in the for-profit and not-for-profit arts. We concluded “hit-oriented” mega-projects

(e.g., the *Titanics* of the entertainment world, the Monet shows of the museum world, and the *Aidas* of the opera world) will prosper. So, too, will the myriad of small-budget productions and exhibitions, whether experimental for *aficionados* or for broader audiences.

What appear to be struggling are medium-sized exhibitions of non-celebrity paintings from permanent collections, medium-budget feature films (e.g., the *LA Confidentials* of the movie business), and large-cast Shakespeare productions (other than *Romeo and Juliet*) in regional theaters. Our concern in this area is one of the reasons we will be exploring, with the help of the Irvine Foundation, the possibility of philanthropic and commercial funding for new and improved deals between for-profit and not-for-profit partners. One possibility is a “culturally responsible” investment fund, similar to the socially responsible funds in the areas of the environment and education, where external, as well as internal, rates of return are taken into account.

(3) We must assist the development of artist pipelines to allow artists time to hone their talents for “prime time.” Bob Hurwitz, president of Nonesuch Records (a for-profit division of Time-Warner), continues his for-profit production of recordings of compositions by artists such as John Adams. But Hurwitz will tell you that it took time for these artists to get to the point where it made sense to release their recordings. Nonesuch had initial support from the Rockefeller Foundation; perhaps similar ventures might be organized.

(4) We must move towards new means of providing copyright protection in an increasingly electronic world. Patricia Search, an

expert in copyright, points out that, with electronic media, the concept of “original” artwork no longer presumes a unique or rare object. Pamela Samuelson, a talented copyright lawyer, uses legal arguments to conclude that the user is the author of a computer-generated work. Search adds that, when algorithmic functions are combined with artistic expression, the artwork might have to be patented as well as copyrighted. Others suggest that copyright is obsolete in an Internet world. We are fortunate that The Ohio State University is being funded by the Rockefeller Foundation to explore these and other issues in depth.

Cultural Policy in the West

The Center of the American West has published the *Atlas of the New West* that shows the growing presence of music, art, and theater festivals, New Age havens, gourmet coffee houses, microbreweries, and recreational centers. It is interesting to note that the Atlas, unlike WESTAF, excludes the West Coast.

I would suggest that there are three New Wests:

- the highly prosperous urban/suburban corridors (for example, the Fort Collins to Pueblo-I-25 corridor with 5 of the 10 fastest growing counties in the nation);
- the resort towns of Aspen, Sun Valley, and others that are moving in the direction of urbanization (at the Endowment we called them bucolic, not rural); and
- the remaining large areas of agriculture and extractive industry.

Interestingly, of the 20 counties in Western Colorado (i.e., to the west of the Continental Divide), only two derive more than 20% of their income from agriculture.

Now, let us turn to culture and cultural policy within these New Wests. The prosperous urban and suburban areas are all, in different ways, working hard to be regional New Yorks. Greater Denver’s Scientific and Cultural Facilities District allocates 0.1 of 1% in sales tax for cultural and scientific institutions in Adams, Arapahoe, Boulder, Denver, Douglas, and Jefferson counties. This amounts to some \$30 million a year, compared with an annual budget of \$2.3 million for the Colorado Arts Council to fund its activities throughout the entire state.

Most resort towns have discovered that a significant arts presence enhances property values, and so they have it. We have the Joffrey Ballet in Telluride playing to standing ovations—better than New York! For the resort community, having a bit of “elite culture” is like having a good wine cellar, although for some it is also a genuine pleasure.

But what of the truly rural areas? Most of the nonresort towns, whether they are medium-sized or even fairly large, are working to provide a variety of cultural offerings, building on unique local assets. Montrose, Colorado, a regional commercial center on the Western Slope, has built a small performing arts and community center. They also have a truly first-rate community theater. In Salida, Colorado, a friend of mine (formerly with the Santa Fe Opera) has brought a section of the Aspen Music Festival to her town and nearby Buena Vista. People turn out for these events.

It needs to be pointed out, however, that Western Colorado is rapidly boutiquefying. There is more ambivalence on the Eastern Plains. I shall never forget going to Wheatland, Wyoming. We had a good hamburger at the local diner, during which my hosts decided they really did not want to go to the effort of bringing in the Salt Lake Symphony again. Too many headaches, they said.

One last point: Most of the western states (excluding those on the Pacific Coast) have shied away from putting major public resources into the arts. (On a statewide basis, Colorado is bottom of the pack in this category.) An extraordinary exception, however, is the state of Utah, which provides higher public per capita support of the arts than any other state in the nation. The Church of Latter Day Saints has from the beginning considered the fine arts to be a part of the spiritual life of Mormons. They follow in the path of Saint Augustine.

Cultural Policy in Ouray County

I now turn to the cultural offerings of smaller communities that are not yet resorts, and in the case of Ouray County, absolutely do not want to become a resort. We in Ouray County were fortunate to be able to create a repertory theater company that has toured regionally and to England, a 40-member chorale, a touring-presenting series, and what we call the 2nd Sunday Cinema. With the exception of the cinema, all of this is community- and amateur-based.

In our repertory theater, we do Dario Fo and Tom Stoppard. The casts include our county

attorney, the wife of our road boss, a waitress from a local restaurant, a school teacher, and even once, this county commissioner. The local high school kids performed a “knock-your-socks-off” rendition of Studs Terkel’s *Working* that went on to tour. Our chorale performs Bach and rock and includes the chairman of the board of our very fundamentalist Christian church as well as a number of aging hippies. The 2nd Sunday Cinema brings films like *Smoke Signals*, *The Full Monty*, *Ulee’s Gold*, and *Dancing at Lughnasa* to a commercial theater in Montrose on Sunday afternoons. The cinema has generated enough money to fund four arts scholarships and produce a return for our amateur productions. The showing of *The Full Monty* was on a Denver Broncos playoff Sunday on the team’s way to the Super Bowl. Yet the theater was packed—with natives as well as transplants like me.

What is the policy point here? It is that, even if some of the traditional temples struggle, the arts can be alive and well, as well as struggling, in communities. By arts, I mean popular culture, classics, and indigenous arts. Involvement happens in theaters, in community centers, in the streets, and, yes, importantly, in churches. This is consistent with national statistics indicating that 67 percent of Americans personally participate in arts activities even though only 42 percent attend live performances of “high culture” performing arts events. This is good news. Participating in the arts is one very good way of making them a part of one’s life and learning about the treasures of humankind.

In conclusion, let me say that cultural policies

are messy, and they should be. At my second meeting chairing the National Council on the Arts, Theo Bikel told me I was going to be the “high priest” of the arts. I said, “That’s terrible news for the arts. I’m not cut out to be high priest of anything, and even if I were, that would be truly dangerous for American culture.” The point is that cultural policy should be policies (plural)—a competition in a marketplace of ideas and expression.

But, even if we talk about cultural policies (plural), the truth is that we do not have an even remotely adequate repository of knowledge on culture and its impact on society.

This seems somewhat strange for a sector that consumes 3-6% of gross domestic product; affects all our lives in a profound way; and is so important to national identity, quality of life, the economy, education, and self-fulfillment.

As we enter the 21st century, we need to be building a non-advocacy knowledge base that we can use to correct deficiencies in the marketplace and current policies and to anticipate the new “virtual world” that we are all now becoming part of. I am talking about venturing beyond providing more money for certain artists and institutions, way beyond securing more funds for the National Endowment for the Arts or state and local arts councils. In the West, we need both information on best and worst cases and a strategy and policies for dealing with the problems identified in that information.

I would like to close with a story told by Bess Hawes, the wonderful former director of the NEA folk arts program when I was there. Bess came from one of the most distinguished

folk arts families in the world—the Lomax clan. Her brother, Alan, was perhaps the foremost ethnomusicologist in the world. Her father, John, was one of the great pioneers in the folk arts.

As Bess told the story, her father John Lomax

“...cultural policy should be policies (plural)—a competition in a marketplace of ideas and expression.”

grew up in the late 19th century in West Texas and went to the University of Texas at Austin. He majored in music, but during the summers went out on the range with the cowboys whose songs and stories he began to record. One day, John brought some of those songs to his music professor, but the music professor “pooh-poohed” them—“not real music,” the professor said. So John just stored the songs away but went on recording and scribbling on the range.

John went on to graduate studies at Harvard—pretty good for a Texas boy in those days. While at Harvard, he got to know a fellow by the name of William Kittredge—one of the foremost scholars of Shakespeare at the time. John showed some of his recordings and scribblings from the range to Professor Kittredge. Unlike the professor of music at Texas, Kittredge liked them, thought they ought to be published, and said he knew a fellow who would write the foreword.

So, John Lomax worked on a book of cowboy songs which, with Professor Kittredge’s help,

was published. The foreward was written by that fellow that Kittredge knew; his name was Teddy Roosevelt, and at the time he was President of the United States. So much for professors of music at the University of Texas at the turn of the century.

¹ Raymond Williams, *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976), 78-79.

² Williams, 80.

³ Glenn Wallach, *The Politics of Culture: Policy Perspectives for Individuals, Institutions, and Communities* (New York: The New Press, 2000), 8.

POST-LIMERICK/HODSOLL DISCUSSION

Gardner: In my mind, the beginning of the end of the West's mythology happened when the word "cowboy" started being used as a verb instead of a noun, a verb that roughly meant "to act recklessly and thoughtlessly."

Limerick: I have done everything I can to keep verbs from turning into nouns and nouns from turning into verbs. I still fight "impact"—I don't know why I bother, because it is a hopeless and lost cause. I may be at a disadvantage here, but I fail to see how the West began to lose its magic when "cowboy" became a verb.

I have heard of many obituaries and have written quite a few myself for the Western myth. In fact, in my very first writing job at *Riverside Press Enterprise* in Banning, California, I wrote obituaries and I know that you are not supposed to write them until they are appropriate. On Saturdays, I was in the Banning office by myself, and it was very tempting to jump the gun on a few obituaries.

I have had many people tell me that the Western myth is headed into a decline and yet I do not see any evidence of that. Some years ago, at Fort Lewis College in Durango, I showed my students a newly published book, *The Heart of the West* by Penelope Williamson. *The New York Times* carried a very lurid ad for it, very Western and multi-technicolor, and the copy asked, "Was this schoolmarm's heart going to be big enough for a man of the West?" I held up *The Heart of the West*, and I held up my book, *The*

Legacy of Conquest. I asked the students out of a 100 points for influence, how many points they would give to Penelope Williamson and how many points they would give to me and my book. They said, "We give her 99, but we would give you a one." I said, "That's interesting." They went on, "Well, actually, we only gave you the one to be nice." I am very cheery about it now, but 10 years ago I thought, I'll get that myth. I'm going out there now, and I'm going to get that myth.

I do not have any illusions about it now. In fact, I question whoever said the myth of the West is in decline. We have heard that observation quite a number of times, and it seems to me one of those cases where the editor at the *Riverside Press Enterprise* would have chastised me if I had written such a premature obituary.

Goldbard: My comments are in response to Frank's presentation. First, I would like to point out there is no single "European model of centralized funding." European countries use many different models for cultural funding, some of them much more decentralized than our own. So let's not set up a false idea to push off against.

Second, I have grave reservations about the Pew Trusts' cultural policy approach, and here are my reasons. I keep hearing people like Frank say, "We need broad research to form the foundation of a cultural policy." But this is an error. Policy doesn't flow from data, but from the articulation of values and aims. There have been so many audience studies carried out, at such great expense, and I have seen nothing useful to cultural policy come out of them. The best examples of policy-

making come from other sectors and from cultural policymaking in other parts of the world. Policy objectives and policy aims based on values are articulated, and then research is done to find out how the world measures up to what you're trying to accomplish, and policy fills in the gap. For example, say it's a public goal that people be actively involved in cultural life, rather than merely consumers of products. Then the data tells you to what extent this goal has been realized. Then realistic policy initiatives are devised to advance that goal further. The data all by themselves don't generate policy. Also, people are appalled by the size of the contract Pew has given to the Rand Corporation, which has no track record or background in this area of research, so I find their qualifications questionable. It's already been revealed that their research into the whole landscape of the arts is to have big missing pieces, despite the expansive definition of culture Frank gave in his talk. For instance, Pew evidently doesn't think independent media should be part of the research, let alone the cultural industries and the commercial sector.

Hodsoll: First of all, Arlene, I think you and I disagree on the first point that you made. I believe one needs to start off with a conception and then get facts and analysis that help confirm the conception in accordance with one's values. Maybe this reflects my background as a professional bureaucrat, but I do not share that point of view. I follow the scientific method. I start with, What are the realities? What are the real facts as best as we can understand them? Then you see where the facts lead you.

When I was at the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) and also when I was at the Endowment, I found that, particularly when I got up to the senior level staff, they would often start the way that you have suggested. I would then tell them, "I do not want to hear what you think is right or wrong. I want to understand the universe as best as we can and then we will have our chance to act in relation to that." So in that sense, I am in agreement with the Pew.

With regard to Rand, I do not know whether Rand will do a good job, but I can see a lot of merit in a highly analytic outfit, without any predisposition in an area, adding to its perspective. Again, at OMB I was, among other things, in charge of evaluation of federal programs. There was often merit in getting an evaluator who had not been in the field at all but had the ability and the kinds of people to get to the bottom of things—totally dispassionately—no matter what the result.

That is what I do in my own consulting practice. I turn down jobs unless I can come in, look at the situation, assess it, and let the chips fall where they may.

Now, in terms of the for-profit and not-for-profit parts of the arts sector, I thought that both Marian Godfrey and Steven Urice, in their initial announcements of the Pew initiative, were heavily oriented toward not-for-profit arts organizations and a little bit toward artists. Of course, artists are neither not-for-profit, nor for-profit. They are simply out scrambling for a living, trying to make some money. And there is some language in Pew's press releases that would suggest a concentration on not-for-profits. I have been

assured, however, that they absolutely are going to get into the entertainment industry, the facts and figures, the economics of decisions that are made. Actually, the American Assembly project will be of help to them. That's because we've interviewed so many people in the entertainment industry, not only the executives, but also artists, celebrities as well as people who are struggling, writers, production assistants, and producers.

But I think something is missing here. If you go out into the environmental arena and other areas of governmental concern, you will find much more balanced information available to you than there is in the arts. That's also true of the entertainment industry. You go to the Motion Picture Association, the Recording Institute Association of America, television groups, etc., they're all about advocacy based on research and grounded in data. In order to become effective advocates, the arts community must know more about itself, the trends it has been through, its audience, and its economic structure.

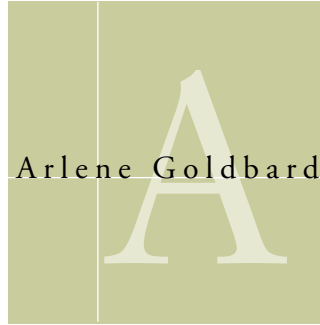
THE CULTURAL POLICY COLONIZATION
OF THE WEST, OR, FATTENING FROGS
FOR SNAKES

by Arlene Goldbard

When I was invited to speak at this symposium, I was asked to address “the cultural policy colonization of the West.” I admit I felt a little frisson of excitement at the prospect. Suddenly, my mental viewscreen presented me with an image like one of those Saul Steinberg cartoon maps, only instead of seeing everything west of Riverside Drive as uncharted territory, I saw a huge colonial palace spring up east of the Rockies, streaming out occupying forces, plutocrats in the lead and bureaucrats bringing up the rear. Obviously, the kind of colonization we are talking about is a much more subtle thing. But whether the subject is colonization of the land or the mind, the essence of a colony is the same: its inhabitants are not the ultimate beneficiaries of its endeavors, although this reality may be masked by clever public relations and judicious dolings-out of perks. In the West, we have a saying that sums this up: fattening frogs for snakes.

From the vantage point of the West, we can see that the development of public cultural policy has been shaped by three short-sighted mistakes, each of which fits Amilcar Cabral’s definition of colonialism when applied internally, to segments of a single society, rather than to a conquered nation and its conqueror:

[C]olonialism can be considered as the paralysis or deviation or even the halting of the history of one people in favour of the acceleration of the historical development of other peoples.¹



The first mistake was to look at culture in primarily economic terms. If you look back at the formative documents leading to the creation of the NEA, for instance, you see a lot of talk about the “income gap”—the gap between cul-

tural institutions’ aspirations and their incomes—and the wish to fill it as a driving force behind public cultural subvention. Similarly, if you look at the discussions that foregrounded the licensing of broadcast television, you see this most powerful tool for

“Looking at culture as a subset of money was a foolish mistake, because there is no correlation between what is profitable or what is lavishly funded and what contributes to cultural freedom, depth, and vitality.”

cultural transmission treated first and foremost as a business, with far more attention paid to issues such as competition than to cultural impact. Along the same lines, during the Eighties a whole forest of trees bit the dust in the service of fatuous reports on the economic multiplier effects of cultural expenditure, as if prosperity sprang from every pair of theater tickets as Jack’s beanstalk shot up from a handful of magic beans. Looking at culture as a subset of money was a foolish mistake, because there is no correlation between what is profitable or what is lavishly funded and what contributes to cultural freedom, depth, and vitality. All the economic

mindset did was enrich the haves at the expense of the have-nots.

The second mistake was to focus on a lot of arguable distinctions and categories rather than see culture as a single, dynamic, protean whole. The silliest and most obvious manifestation of this error emerges whenever policy experts talk about “the arts.” *The New York Times* August 2nd piece announcing the Pew Charitable Trusts’ investment of mega-bucks in arts research makes reference to a Pew-funded study showing that “90% of those surveyed... participate in the arts at least once a year.” How absurd that must sound to someone who is not an initiate of our stunted arts-policy discourse! Almost everyone I know listens to music, most of them daily. A lot of them play instruments or sing. They go to the movies or rent videos. They take photographs or do needlework or write poetry in their spare time. The distinction between these activities and the ones the Pew Trusts consider “the arts” are economic: either they register too low on the economic-activity scale—singing in a church choir or drumming with your friends are “amateur” activities, beneath consideration; or they register too high—popular music and feature films stink too much of commerce, evoking a fastidious revulsion in the nonprofit arts sector, so they are declared invisible. Looking at “the arts” as a specialist preserve of professional nonprofit institutions was a major blunder—and a veritable frog-feast for the commercial cultural industries—because it struck the most widespread and potent manifestations of culture from the agendas of cultural policymakers, leaving them to fiddle with the residue, as if it was all that mattered.

The third mistake was to look at culture in social-science terms, seeking to rationalize arts subvention through its secondary impacts. Mozart is good for math scores; arts programs in prisons reduce recidivism; public art raises utilization rates of public plazas. It’s not that such things aren’t true—I’m prepared to believe them all. It’s that embracing these arguments with such fervor exposed the weakness of their advocates. Decades of economic and specialist discourse had led to the absolute impoverishment of any argument from the power of art to stun, to speak truth, to celebrate, to condemn, to refresh perception, to suggest what cannot be adequately

“Leaning so hard on art’s secondary effects implied that the argument from its primary purposes had been definitively lost, and this inadvertently lent aid and comfort to the opposition.”

expressed outright. Leaning so hard on art’s secondary effects implied that the argument from its primary purposes had been definitively lost, and this inadvertently lent aid and comfort to the opposition. If all we had to offer was this limp stuff about reading and math scores—which could be raised just as high by so many other means—wasn’t that tantamount to admitting defeat? Trying to justify cultural subvention through social-scientific quantification was a depressing misstep, like a tired poker player half-heartedly bluffing his way through the last hand of the game.

For the West, what is the sum total of these mistakes? This region is home to heritage values that are entirely alien to the thinking behind the cultural policy blunders I have described. It is a commonplace that the indigenous cultures of the West value spirit above the material and harmony over the imbalance attendant to unfettered acquisition. It is a commonplace that the beauty and grandeur of the natural world is uniquely made manifest in our region, inspiring awe and an ineffable sense of mystery. I like the phrase coined by Rabbi Abraham Joshua Heschel—“radical amazement”—to sum up the fundamental condition of human life, expressed so richly in the cultures of this region. Heschel makes the point that it is the human condition never to know the most fundamental things about the world or our place in it. We can know we are standing on a very large and round rock, hurtling through space. We can know the most minute information about the composition and character of that rock, but we can never know why we are here, why it inspires awe in us to contemplate that question, indeed, why we possess the gift of consciousness that enables us to ask it.

Radical amazement is at the root of all art-making, all creation of culture. As Heschel put it,

It is the sense of the sublime that we have to regard as the root of . . . creative activities in art. . . . Just as no flora has ever fully displayed the hidden vitality of the earth, so has no work of art ever brought to expression the depth of the unutterable, in the sight of which the souls of saints, poets, and philosophers live. The attempt to convey what we see and cannot say is the everlasting theme of mankind's unfinished symphony....²

Yet here we are, having allowed ourselves to succumb to a cultural policy that does not even give lip service to the truths we know about our place in the world and in our cultures. The bloated commercial cultural industries symbolized by Hollywood sit squarely in our midst, the sum total of human ingenuity in the creation of images and spectacles, churning out a never-ending stream of garbage that almost overwhelms the thin trickle of fresh, interesting work that manages to survive. Our laissez-faire cultural policy has left these giant corporations free to conquer the world, like the robber barons of an earlier time. If the story of consolidation of media control is featured at all in the mainstream press, it receives gee-whiz treatment: the recent acquisition of CBS by Viacom was covered in the awestruck cadences of a report on the discovery of the world's biggest diamond or a new record for most consecutive strikeouts in a baseball career. Hollywood's image-factory has assembled the iconography the rest of the world associates with the word “West”—dusty trails and six-guns, campfires and war cries, the whore with a heart of gold and the hero with a tin star. There is no way actually existing stories of life in the West—the real history of conquest and domination, of resilience and liberation—can match the weight of these dream-images. The inexorable appetites of the cultural industries have, like Jabba the Hutt, demanded a steady supply of fresh meat, chewing up cultures as they are actually lived and spitting out their media surrogates.

Our cultural policymakers, struggling to construct something worthy with the flimsy broken tools of economism and pseudo-social-

science, have failed even in their self-limited task of securing adequate support for professional nonprofit arts work. In the last two years, Don Adams and I have conducted two major studies for the Rockefeller Foundation, examining the state of the nonprofit independent media and performing arts fields in this country. As part of our research, we conducted confidential interviews with more than 150 artists in these fields. Many of them may be familiar names to you—people like Bill T. Jones, Steve Reich, Julie Dash, Yvonne Rainer, the late Henry Hampton, Guillermo Gómez-Peña, Jon Jang, Liz Lerman. What they told us was remarkably consistent: that even established artists such as themselves find it impossible to attract stable subsidy; that the locus of financing for U.S. artists is moving to Europe and Asia, and those who are able are already earning most of their income from foreign sources; that young artists, who are not receiving a leg up from funders and cannot cobble together a living as their elders did from bits of CETA funding, NEA Regional Fellowships, small state and local grants, are finding the going exceedingly hard.

It chills my blood to hear the social Darwinist response to this that issues from so many policy experts, for example, the individual who directs Pew's initiative was quoted in the aforementioned *Times* article as saying: "It may be that we discover the arts simply need reliable, more consistent support or consolidation in some areas where there is oversupply." The speaker is conflating human expressions of the creative impulse and human desire to make meaning with fast-food restaurants and shoe stores, miniaturizing cultures

into commodities.

In the Fifties, Heschel warned against what my cultural tradition calls idolatry—investing your own creations with ultimate meaning and worshipping them; what the ancient Greeks called hubris; what the Marxists called commodity fetishism: "Forfeit your sense of awe," said Heschel, "let your conceit diminish your ability to revere, and the universe becomes a market place for you."³

A decade later, the social critic Paul Goodman foretold our predicament so exactly I am almost glad he did not live to see it:

The chief danger to American society at present, and to the world from American society, is our mindlessness, induced by empty institutions. It is a kind of trance, a self-delusion of formal rightness, that affects both leaders and people. We have all the talking points but less and less content.⁴

A few weeks ago I read a review of a book about Maxwell House Coffee. It quoted Bill Benton, principal of the coffee company's advertising agency, as follows: "Every businessman," he said, "wants a product that is habit-forming. That's why cigarettes, Coca-Cola and coffee do so well."⁵ To which list we can surely add television, video games, and once commercial interests figure out how to effectively exploit its profit potential, the World Wide Web. It is easy to discount this state of affairs. We cannot blame snakes for behaving like snakes; there will always be greedy and unscrupulous people; people are more resilient than such analyses give them credit for. But I say our complacency in the face of this obvious truth is an irrefutable symptom of the trance Paul Goodman described more than 30 years ago.

So what should we do about it? This is not the sort of situation that can be ameliorated by little adjustments and modest reforms. Instead, we need to completely reconceive our relationship to cultural policy, in three stages.

First, and absolutely necessary, is to make a realistic, honest assessment of the cultural conditions in our region. Here again, Heschel is an invaluable guide:

The greatest hindrance to knowledge is our adjustment to conventional notions, to mental clichés. Wonder or radical amazement, the state of maladjustment to words and notions, is, therefore, a prerequisite for authentic awareness...⁶

Drop all the conventional pieties and received wisdom, and what are the cultural conditions of our region? They are schizophrenic, to say the least: An unprecedented number of children live in conditions of poverty that make it very difficult to see themselves as creators of culture, while the consolidation of wealth in the hands of a minority is proceeding at an unprecedented pace. This creates a stratified society, multiplying opportunity for some and shrinking it for others. We are both the belly of the beast and its favorite snack, overwhelmed with commercial cultural product, and in the face of that deluge, still managing to generate the unrestrained cultural vitality that is our salient characteristic.

Beneath the vast migrations typical of our region, we are the future named by Carlos Fuentes in his masterful Massey Lectures of 1985:

[T]he emergence of cultures as protagonists of history proposes a re-elaboration of our civilizations in agreement with our deeper, not our more ephemeral,

al, traditions. Dreams and nightmares, different songs, different laws, different rhythms, long-deferred hopes, different shapes of beauty, ethnicity and diversity, a different sense of time, multiple identities rising from the depths of the poly-cultural and multi-racial worlds of Africa, Asia, and Latin America.... This new reality, this new totality of humankind, presents enormous new problems, vast challenges to our imaginations. They open up the two-way avenue of all cultural reality: giving and receiving, selecting, refusing, recognizing, acting in the world: not being merely subjected to the world.⁷

Ours is the challenge he presents, of creating a cultural policy that can honor this diversity, honor the central place in our time of cultures as the protagonists of history, and create and nourish ample opportunity for individuals and communities to enter into this awesome task of creating a truly egalitarian, multi-directional, poly-cultural cultural infrastructure, a re-elaboration of our civilizations in agreement with our deeper traditions—not ephemera such as cost-benefit analyses or standardized test scores.

Therefore, our second step should be to propose a bill of cultural values based on the real conditions of our region, to inform future

“One aim of cultural policies should be to correct the imbalances of the marketplace, rather than following or reinforcing the market’s dominance.”

policymaking and cultural development activities. I don’t want to take your time now to propose my full roster of personal favorites,

but let me suggest just a few of these values:

- Cultural policies should be based on a comprehensive understanding of culture as a vast, dynamic, interactive whole, with shifting boundaries between sectors, disciplines, activities, and all the categories that have circumscribed our understanding thus far. The entire landscape of instrumentalities, from taxation and regulation to education and preservation should be used to cultivate a vibrant, diverse ecology of organizations, institutions, and opportunities for individuals.
- One aim of cultural policies should be to correct the imbalances of the marketplace, rather than following or reinforcing the market's dominance. Markets are wonderful, powerful things, but they can no more function as the primary generator and protector of cultural resources than they can create other social goods such as education, health care, and public safety. With the overwhelming social trend toward privatization and commercialization, an underlying principle of cultural policies should be to create protected public space in culture, analogous to nature preserves as protected public land.
- In an era when mass-produced and passive entertainments overwhelm other manifestations of culture, cultural policies should have an explicit aim of stimulating and enabling direct, active participation in community life and artistic creation. Since the commercial cultural industries are so good at manufacturing and distributing passive entertainments,

they should be taxed to provide subsidy for live cultural offerings, living artists, and participatory activities.

- Cultural policies ought to be based in part on providing the means of cultural creation and participation, rather than only rewarding certain designated end-products in imitation of private patronage. Just as public libraries can function as part of our cultural commonwealth, every community should have the cultural infrastructure to sustain a lively, multi-directional, creative climate, featuring amenities such as accessible classes, dark-rooms, studios, performing and exhibition spaces, recording and editing facilities, and non-commercial distribution systems.
- Cultural policies should acknowledge deep spiritual values, recognizing the

“Cultural policies should acknowledge deep spiritual values, recognizing the condition of radical amazement which underlies the creation of culture and its purest expressions in art.”

condition of radical amazement which underlies the creation of culture and its purest expressions in art. Honoring the impulse to create in the face of mystery, recognizing the grandeur of creation and the moral grandeur of which humans are capable should be acknowledged as social goods worthy of pursuit and should not be supplanted by unrelated aims such as

expanding wealth or quantifying social progress.

- In a time characterized by the emergence of cultures as the protagonists of history, one aim of cultural policies should be to nurture the richness of diversity, expanding opportunities for interaction and appreciation between cultural communities. The aim of forging truly poly-cultural policies should be a yardstick against which all cultural action should be measured.

Having heard this, perhaps some of you will want to charge me with one of the most grievous flaws it is possible to own in our cynical times, being an idealist. As an inoculation against that prospect, I want to declare that indeed, I am not an idealist. We live in a time of amazing reversals in history—the fall of the Berlin Wall, the end of apartheid, the Velvet Revolution in Czechoslovakia.

Compared to ending apartheid, everything I have laid before you would be downright easy to accomplish. In truth, everything I have advocated is feasible if only a few responsible and influential leaders in the field give up fattening frogs for snakes, free themselves of “conventional notions and mental clichés,” and begin to act in the true interests of our region’s cultures. Of course, the bigger and fatter those snakes grow, the more difficult it will be to bring them under control. Along those lines, I want to share with you a few words that were written 500 years ago by the great political theorist Niccolò Machiavelli in his masterwork, *The Prince*.

[I]f evils are anticipated they can easily be remedied but if you wait till they come to you the remedy is too late and the sickness is past cure, such things being like the hectic fever which, as the doctors tell

us, at first is easy to cure though hard to recognize, but in time, if it has not been diagnosed and treated, becomes easy to recognize and hard to cure.

This is true of affairs of state, for if the ills that are shaping up in the present are recognized in advance (and this is an art possessed only by the prudent) they can be quickly remedied, but if, not being recognized, they are allowed to grow until they are evident to all, there is no longer any remedy.⁸

The final step I want to suggest, which I am sure you see for yourselves, is elaborating the apparatus and instrumentalities, the forms of expression that reconceived cultural policies would take. In Machiavelli’s terms, this means devising the remedy before things are past curing. I have more ideas, but no time left to describe them. Perhaps they’ll emerge from our discussion, or the future discussions I hope this symposium will stimulate.

¹ Amílcar Cabral, *Revolution in Guinea* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1969), 76.

² R. Abraham Joshua Heschel, *Man is Not Alone* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Young, 1951), 4.

³ R. Abraham Joshua Heschel, *God in Search of Man* (New York: The Noonday Press, 1956), 78.

⁴ Paul Goodman, *Like a Conquered Province* (New York: Vintage Books, 1968), 270-271.

⁵ Bill Benton, quoted in Betty Fussell, “The World Before Starbucks,” *The New York Times Book Review*, 5 September 1999, 26.

⁶ R. Abraham Joshua Heschel, *Man is Not Alone* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Young, 1951), 11.

⁷ Carlos Fuentes, *Latin America: At War With The Past* (Toronto: CBC Massey Lectures, 1985), 71-72.

⁸ Niccolò Machiavelli, *The Prince*, trans. Thomas G. Bergin (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts Educational Division, 1947). NP.

POST-GOLDBARD DISCUSSION

Zucker: I am Laura Zucker with the L.A. County Arts Commission, and I am so sputtering with indignation that I don't think that I could possibly address my concerns within the two-minute time limit. I do not think you are an idealist, Arlene, but I do think you are phenomenally naïve. Your segmentation of the commercial and the nonprofit arts and your righteous indignation were so extreme, I had the feeling that they were bulldozing your land.

Your approach will lead you to the same place found in the background policy paper [supplied for symposium participants] that describes the conflicts between the environ-

"We should not take pride in working against commercial enterprises. We should want these folks to be our allies, we should want them to join us in our struggle."

mental movement and the ranchers in the West. The conflict between loggers and the environmental community is another example of what has happened to us in the West when

environmental interests and commercial interests have collided, and we have a great dysfunction. We can learn from these conflicts in the environmental area, and we should use them as a guide.

We should not take pride in working against commercial enterprises. We should want these folks to be our allies, we should want them to join us in our struggle. Yet we turn around and attack them at every front. It cannot work this way. It will not work this way. The

commercial enterprises believe they are making art. No matter what you think of it, their perspective is that they are part of a cultural continuum that embraces art in all of its forms. Unless we accept that there are people in the cultural community and elsewhere with other viewpoints and that we are better off working with them, we are not going to be able to move forward.

Pieper: First of all, Arlene, I applaud your desire to recognize diversity in culture. However, when I say applaud, remember it takes two hands to applaud, and much of what I heard was one-hand clapping. You cannot have it both ways. You talk about decentralization as a way to enrich the arts experience, yet at the same time you were putting down stratification in a society that promotes a few at the expense of others. You criticized the Pew Trusts for not looking at the amateur, yet ordinary, popular culture is often created by people who start as amateurs. At the same time, you elevated refined culture. I do not see how you can get away with saying we should do one at the expense of the other.

You also have a nice way of putting down Darwinism. Let's not talk about social Darwinism, let's talk about the word "selection," because that is a root of democracy and individualism. You cannot put down the idea of selection in one area, and then say we must have selection.

D'Arcy: I think that the point that I was hearing is that culture in the West, in America, is full of contradiction. As you look with radical amazement at the sublime landscape that surrounds us, there is a strong

response to that on one hand, but there is equally as much that responds to completely different stimuli. When you look at the output of Hollywood and at the virtual world of Silicon Valley, I think you are looking at correcting imbalances. The challenge is how to make these different visions come together in some meaningful way and encourage them to work together.

Woodward: As a painter, I view my job here as speaking for artists. It is always interesting to attend forums such as this and discover how frequently people begin their presentations by saying, “I am an artist” or “I started out as an artist, but now I do this.” It is interesting and gratifying to me that Arlene’s presentation

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finally mentioned artists and the struggle that artists have—both major artists working in the European tradition and emerging artists. Both are having difficulty at the present. I applaud the move toward a broader base for the arts and our new interest in audience development and arts education. My concern is that, as we do this, we may forget that there is a role in cultural policy to sustain art as well, and sustaining art has two components. I hope that when people talk about cultural policy they will look not just at the role of institutions but at the role of artists and recognize that

artists need to be sustained in terms of recognition and in the maintenance of their self-esteem. We have to take into consideration their need to be validated from outside the West and that there is an element of radical amazement to what we do as artists.

Gardner: Like Lance, I am a non-industry participant and I am fighting an uphill battle against the jargon used here. I applaud what I heard in Arlene’s presentation. She set a passionate pitch from the start and stimulated a lot of thinking. She is not happy with free-market Darwinism. However, in my experience, policy is created by coalition-building not by manifesto. To me it is completely rational that we defend cultural policy in terms of economics and in terms of outcomes, because that’s what policymakers and decision-makers are asking for.

Arlene pointed out some failures in the system, and these are appropriate places to focus our attention on devising cultural policy. That has been the approach used with a great deal of other subjects here in America. Part of what I heard in her presentation was that the consolidation in the industry, the mass marketing in writing, in music, and in film, and the catering to the lowest common denominator has caused a lot of frustration. I certainly share that sentiment. Mass commercialization means that there are fewer opportunities to bring in new voices, so the focus on large market products may be suffocating the very fountain of creativity that those markets require as their source. I think that is an appropriate framework within which to think about the relationship between for-profit and nonprofit arts activities and their relationship

to cultural policy.

Goldbard: To correct something Barbara Pieper said earlier, I did not say Pew was not looking at amateur work or popular culture. I am aware of what the Pew Initiative is; neither of these statements were part of my comments.

I have two stories to relate. Before Don Adams and I moved to Seattle a few years ago, we lived in Mendocino County, California, for 12 years. This region was the site of real timber wars. We were participants in a publicly convened process in which our advisory commission (made up of environmentalists and timber industry people, regulatory agencies, U.S. Forest Service personnel, and so forth) for a few years tried to craft one of these win-win solutions. What happened was this: The industry people met for that period of time and were subsidized by their industry. The environmentalists took time out from their underpaid jobs and spent a lot of their scarce money to take part in the process. Eventually this win-win solution, this report full of compromises, was crafted. On the evening the report was submitted to the county board of supervisors, the industry people withdrew their consent from it, charging they had been railroaded into doing it, and they submitted a minority report.

The same scenario recently took place in Hollywood with the Gore Commission, which was appointed to look at the new 500-channel digital television environment. The industry representatives participated with the nonprofit, public interest representatives for years to craft one of these win-win solutions. Right before the final report was submitted,

the industry people said, “We were railroaded, we can’t have this.” Eventually, their interests prevailed, and so now, out of the new 500-channel environment, there are just five public interest channels. That was the big compromise that the industry was willing to make. It is naïve to say that we are all equal and we are all sitting down at the table together to craft solutions that work for both of us when this kind of power imbalance exists.

Hodsoll: The corporations that are in the entertainment industry are not all black and white. They are comprised of many different competing interests, just as other corporations are or Congress is. Don and Arlene have mentioned that cultural policy is about statements of values and is broader than art. In fact, the Center for the Arts and Culture, an institution founded by a group of foundations in Washington, D.C., is publishing a book on this topic that goes way beyond art. As for the Pew Trusts, its focus is not for-profit, but its overall effort will cover all of the arts sector, including for-profit and the amateur arenas. Its purpose is to gather facts, which you cannot discover in pure discussions of policy or values.

Benally: I think Arlene very effectively named the forms and situations of colonization and detailed its threat to the cultural arts and cultural policymaking. I also have a real appreciation for the spirituality in her comments and am acutely aware of all the social conditions that interrupt and work against spirituality. I appreciate the ways in which Arlene is seeking to include spirituality as a subtext of cultural policymaking.

Donnelly: Over the last decade or two (and possibly driven by circumstances), it has become hard to state reasons to support the arts. We have lost the vocabulary that talks about the arts for their own sake and what the arts mean and the power of the arts. We try to present ourselves as social workers, able to solve social issues and cure homeless problems, which we cannot solve any more than we can solve the common cold. It is false and misleading, and we fail at it. In my position, I deal with young arts managers, and I have found they've almost lost the muscle for talk-

“We have lost the vocabulary that talks about the arts for their own sake and what the arts mean and the power of the arts.... We need to get back to the power of the arts and rediscover the language to express that power.”

ing about what they do and what its value is. We need to get back to the power of the arts and rediscover the language to express that power.

the arts cannot heal sickness or cure homelessness; at the same time, I think there is a very strong reason to have the arts and artists involved in those social issues. Part of what we have been talking about is not segregating the arts as if they are something separate from the real life of the community.

Christensen: As a participant in the cultural wars, I agree that we need to develop a new vocabulary about the value of the arts. Arlene noted her concerns about using some of those social-science reasons, such as the Mozart effect, as justification for the arts. Now, new studies are claiming the Mozart effect does not exist. Does that mean, therefore, there is no value to the arts? Of course not, but this is one of the pitfalls of having a limited language about the arts as opposed to a vocabulary that can clearly delineate the value of the arts to culture. At the same time, I do not discount the social value of the arts. Certainly

CULTURE WITHOUT POLICY

by Christopher Zinn

As director of a cultural agency, I find myself thinking a lot about cultural policy—what it is, what it is designed to do.

Here in the West, where the institutional cultural environment is arguably “thinner,” the question takes on added purpose, since one aim of cultural policy might be to build up our region’s cultural resources. In Oregon over the past year, we have been discussing how to go about establishing a cultural policy that will solidify public and private support for culture. The first report of the Governor’s Task Force on Cultural Development set an ambitious agenda for such a policy: “The task force’s vision is to create a renaissance in Oregon’s heritage, humanities and the arts, to ensure that in the new millennium the grandeur of Oregon’s natural landscape will be matched by the richness of its cultural environment.”¹

Although I took part in these discussions, I remain unsure about what cultural policy is and what it can accomplish. For this reason, I welcomed Adams and Goldbard’s excellent background paper on cultural policy. I am persuaded by their argument that, in the absence of an explicit cultural policy, we instead have an implicit policy, with tacit, often unpublic, and largely undemocratic cultural effects. It is obvious, for instance, that we have created in America, whether we meant to or not, a mainstream culture based on privatization, the suburbs, consumption, the shopping center, and various idealiza-

Christopher Zinn

tions—such as the myth of an innocent, freedom-loving people.

I’m also struck by two ideas in the background paper: first, that culture is “all-encompassing,” and second, that it there-

fore should derive from democratic decisions and processes. Both of these ideas seem to reflect a deeper, affirmative assumption that the production and effects of culture should be transparent and in some fashion predictable. I do not disagree with this, but my

“...my own experience tells me that our experiences in culture and our encounters with creativity are rather more complex, unruly, and wonderfully unpredictable.”

own experience tells me that our experiences in culture and our encounters with creativity are rather more complex, unruly, and wonderfully unpredictable. Let me offer two personal examples.

Five years ago, as a Fulbright Scholar, I lived in Izmir, Turkey, with my wife and our six-month-old baby. We developed a warm friendship with a woman who worked for us. Sometimes, we were invited to visit with her family in their home. This was a fairly poor neighborhood where people had little money for cars. As a result, the streets were open and refreshingly convivial—all through the neighborhood, people sat out on their steps talking.

With some of her earnings, our friend and her family purchased a new television, and they invited us to their home to celebrate this acquisition. My wife, an avid student of languages, had learned enough Turkish that we could sit in conversation with our friends. We were having a lovely time when our friend proudly turned on the new television. On the screen appeared some incomprehensible, ludicrous space opera—like any American family, we all continued our conversations above the racket, and in a state of continuous visual distraction. What had become of our visit?

For me, this was a moment of extraordinary cultural collision. Here was global, incessant, American “cultural imperialism” intruding into the conversation that was taking place between well-meaning Americans and these lovely, well-meaning Turkish people. Their hospitality and family ritual were changed by the presence of random American programs. The effect of American culture at that moment was one that could not be engineered, anticipated, or clearly defined. Yet, its cultural impact was real, and could not be

“For me, the dichotomy of cultural policymaking consists in recognizing, on one hand, the perils of organized cultural life, and at the same time embracing the necessity of such organization.”

reversed. The “purity” of our cultural exchange was compromised.

Let me mention a second incident that took place this past summer when I was home visiting my family. I went to the Museum of Glass in Corning, New York, near where I

grew up, and there I saw a piece that I had never seen before. It was a large drinking glass, a rummer said to have been engraved by the poet and artist William Blake sometime between 1796 and 1800. The bowl is decorated with a full-length angel in stipple engraving on one side, one wing fully detailed with feathers, the other unfinished. On the other side, the bowl is engraved with the inscription *Thou holder of immoral drink/I give you purpose now, I think*. At the base is scratched “Blake in anguish Felpham Aug. 1803.”

I was stunned to read these words of Blake’s because the plate itself expresses so much about the tension between craft and art. Blake was a visionary artist as well as a skilled craftsman. Commissioned to produce a drinking cup for some cheerful patron, he abandons the work “in anguish,” leaving only one unfinished angel’s wing for an explanation. In what was a difficult period of his life, Blake manages here to express the depth of his anxiety in the face of a commercial art market that persisted in having little use for, and almost no comprehension of his ultimate artistic aspirations. Two centuries later, tourists and lovers of glass, like myself, can stroll through a museum in upstate New York and encounter the obscure eloquence of this piece.

Both of these examples illustrate, I hope, how hard it is to predict and measure the nature of our cultural encounters. In each case, powerful cultural forces exert their influence over the encounter, but they do not determine its outcome. The irregular commerce between artist and audience prevails in the long run.

All of us have had similarly instructive examples, I suspect. My fear is that policy—being “a system of ultimate aims...in an explicitly coherent system”² as Augustin Girard puts it—might in some respects be unwelcoming or unmindful of cultural encounters that fall outside of our policies and slip behind our agendas, however enlightened they may be. I fear our policies would tend to support only cultural endeavors that can be shaped by those policies, and neglect those endeavors that fall outside its grasp. Much does.

For me, the dichotomy of cultural policymaking consists in recognizing, on one hand, the perils of organized cultural life, and at the same time embracing the necessity of such organization. How can we craft cultural policies that are less than cumbersome in promoting and making possible such trajectories, such cultural exchanges as I have described? Is it possible to foster cultural activity and understanding in ways that preserve and encourage culture’s complexity? My own belief is very simple and in some sense, quaint.

American culture reflects in rich and interesting ways the dominance that certain kinds of market forces play, have played, and continue to play in American life, arguably to an unprecedented extent. The very fact that television preoccupies the imagination of most Americans is a startling fact still little understood. It means that creativity, collective imagination, understanding, and memory are marshaled and largely controlled by a commercial medium and its attendant aesthetic in ways that are largely antithetical to what most of us believe conducive to a rich and vibrant

cultural life. Some might argue that television merely reflects the actual culture of the nation, or that unintended riches seep out of this commercial culture. It seems obvious, nonetheless, that television preempts people’s imaginative and intellectual lives. But it is also true that this situation is accidental and reversible. Conversely, knowledge of history, familiarity with the arts, facility with written or plastic expression, and the capacity for critical thinking about culture—these are foreign or irrelevant to most Americans today but they need not be. This too is reversible. The reversal of both of these conditions would, perhaps, help restore America’s flagging cultural democracy.

Cultural education would play a large role in reversing these trends. Cultural education can help people become both lifelong learners of culture and critical thinkers about culture as

“We must do whatever we can to enable our constituents to become active participants in their culture, either as understanders, producers, or both. This is the essence of cultural democracy.”

well as the material and spiritual dimensions of life. We need to promote the idea of culture not as a lofty concept tinged with distinctions of class and ability, but as a rich tradition, a cluster of competencies, that we share in common. In the American West, for example, we have a significant heritage of literature, art, and crafts. The study and enjoy-

ment of this regional culture can open minds to an understanding of how culture can be both global (we look beyond the regional to other cultures) and personal (we make our own culture). We must do whatever we can to enable our constituents to become active participants in their culture, either as understanders, producers, or both. This is the essence of cultural democracy.

At base, I am deeply committed to a politics of culture even as I am wary of the policies we craft to promote it. We must expand America's capacity for cultural understanding in order to make us all better students and makers of the culture in which we live. Because of this, I am willing to work for policies and agendas that unsettle the dominion of today's mass-produced American culture and promote pluralism of cultural activity and understanding, even if the means to do so are inherently flawed.

¹ Oregon Arts Commission, *Oregon's Task Force on Cultural Development: A Report to the Governor* (Salem, Oregon: Oregon Arts Commission, 1998), 4.

² Augustin Girard, *Cultural Development: Experience & Policies* (Paris: Unesco, 1972), 130.

POST-ZINN DISCUSSION

Woodward: The straw man we should fear setting up and having a good time shooting arrows at is the specter of global American imperialism culture as embodied through television. It is too easy for us to blame everything on television culture and on the imperialism of American culture.

I also want to briefly say something about Christopher's experience at the home of his Turkish friends and his disappointment that because of the presence of television, he did not have the kind of pure multicultural experience he wanted. One of the things that I have learned from more than 20 years of living in Alaska and interacting with native people there is this. To have a true multicultural experience, to appreciate modern-day people from other cultures, you must accept the presence of cultural phenomena in those cultures, e.g., television, and embrace the way people from those cultures have incorporated these phenomena into their lives.

Pieper: If you look at musical phrases and popular tastes among the billions of people around this earth, you will discover that there are components in American popular music that are now adopted into music written in other countries, music that is purported to be part of that culture. It is inescapable that people are exposed to American culture and respond.

Ybarra-Frausto: I found myself very taken by Christopher's presentation of cultural encounters and more importantly, cultural intimacy. Perhaps one important concept we should

talk about is cultural translation: what would it take to be able to translate across cultures in the West in order to be able to at least have a cultural encounter and perhaps ideally reach some sort of cultural intimacy? I am interested in exploring the whole notion of cultural translation and how it works, why it is important, and how in many ways people involved in culture are acting as translators. It seems to me that business, government, and the private and public sectors would benefit

"I am interested in exploring the whole notion of cultural translation and how it works, why it is important, and how in many ways people involved in culture are acting as translators."

from working together. We need to say, this is your jargon, this is my language, now how do we translate those languages and jargons in a way that makes us capable listeners and participants.

As for the question of the gargantuan American media, historically we have a way to reverse that influence. For example, teenagers in Los Angeles take an automobile and make it a low-rider; this is a very important statement of taking an object that is supposed to be one way and reconverting to have other meanings that are loaded in a culturally specific way. I am not as worried about this gargantuan commercial culture or media taking over, because I have many examples of how people have reversed that.

Adams: I want to speak to what we have been saying about commercial culture, and especially the electronic mass media. The electronic mass media have changed cultural life more than we could possibly recognize. This has been happening since the late 1920s with the introduction of radio, film, and television, and now the proliferation of many other means of electronic mass media that can be freely distributed. Instead of having entertainment take place in a personal encounter between an artist and an audience, entertainment is taking place at this great remove. In fact, our economy works against the employment of living artists, a phenomenon familiar to anyone working in an arts agency. This recognition that the economy of the commercial sector was changing drove the creation of the WPA programs in the 1930s to employ displaced artists in public service situations where they could do the community some good.

It is important that we not be in denial about the impact of television, not only on the rest of the world, but on our culture here in the United States. We are witnessing the loss of many world languages, and much of this is because of American electronic mass media product flooding other countries. Young people no longer want to learn their own languages, they want to learn English instead. To a certain extent, this is an inevitable trend. To me, however, the importance of having a consciousness of cultural policy and of the dynamics that result in cultural change is that we can make choices within this. We do not just sit back and consume change. We look at the impact of change and make choices about it.

In the United States, the fact that we have an entirely commercially driven media environment changes the atmosphere for free speech, a fundamental aspect of American cultural life. When we are receiving interpretations of public events through a few big corporate-owned media channels, this transforms our ability to exercise our free speech. In this country, we have not made anywhere near the kind of investment in media necessary to have an effective voice that could speak back or introduce more diverse ideas into the media landscape. And this is true throughout the world.

Zucker: Technology is out of the box, it has happened, and it is changing our world. On the plus side, it is connecting us globally in very important ways. If the globalization of our culture might end up wiping out war across the world, I personally would find it a very good trade-off. I do not think that global

“I do not think a global technological culture and personal experience are mutually exclusive. The question is not either-or, it is how are we going to live in a world with both?”

culture will replace in any way, shape, or form the need or the desire for authentic, real-time experience. If anything, in my community in Los Angeles, I see a move back toward seeking authentic person-to-person experience. I think that might very well be the trend of the next 50 years. I do not think a global technological culture and personal experience are

mutually exclusive. The question is not either-or, it is how are we going to live in a world with both?

Zinn: For the record, I did not find myself disappointed by my encounter with my Turkish friends. I think it is naïve to say that our exchange was altered inevitably by technology. Technology can be used in many different ways, but the uses we make of technology should be a matter of choice and policy. Right now, decisions about the way people encounter technology are made by the marketplace and by the people who control the marketplace. So unfortunately, global culture tends to shape itself powerfully in one direction.

Hodsoll: Nothing is black and white in this world. Mr. Gutenberg put the monks out of business and there were people who worried about that. Now we have other electronic media, which have replaced the printing press, and there is good and bad in them. A very small percentage of what goes on the media is high art, and that will probably last. We have seen that with such commercially-produced movies as *Citizen Kane*. Rembrandt was a commercial artist, Shakespeare was a commercial artist, as well as many others. The issue at stake here is concentration of power; it is an antitrust issue.

Gardner: The word I wrote down and highlighted during Christopher's presentation is "serendipity," and I think that is what his stories were trying to express, especially the second incident. Just as personal development is a life-long process of knowing oneself, so community development is a collective process of learning about the place that we

live in and who we are together. In terms of cultural policy, we can be more intentional about encouraging the occasion of serendipitous experiences such as Zinn described.

There is a movement called synchronicity in the art leadership, which talks about how serendipity is actually fairly predictable; in fact, we can set up a supportive framework that will encourage serendipitous development experiences, either personal or community-based.

Goldbard: Without putting it in terms of "black and white," I want to applaud Christopher's point about television and the colonization of the imagination that television has brought about. I am sure we have all watched television, I watch television. Television is a wonderful medium.

But, the fact is, technology has not been the primary force aiding the development of television in the United States. If that were true, every country's television broadcasting and television programming would be powerful, because the technology is essentially identical around the world. We are the only country on the planet that did not declare protected public space in television broadcasting before we opened it up to commercial development. The only one. All the others said, this is a powerful thing. We need to create some protected public space here, and then, in a measured way, open this medium up for commercial development. Let us ensure that it is not primarily a medium for advertising. In the United States, the opposite approach was followed. And because advertising is powerful, heavily capitalized, and catchy, and because it infiltrates your mind and has a wide reach, it

has gotten around the planet in no time flat. But the fact is, there is nothing about the technology that dictated this must become an advertising medium. That was a choice of our policymakers, and it is a choice that can be changed. It is a disgrace that in the new 500-channel environment only five channels are set aside as protected public space for public discourse.

Fisher: As a philosopher, some of the language here is new to me. I have been struggling with the notion of what is culture and what is policy. More to the point of the current discussion, I find myself asking, is advertising culture? Are we talking about a policy that would apply to advertising, among other things?

I teach philosophy at the University of Colorado at Boulder. The fine arts department there is housed in a somewhat run-down building, and a few years ago, the art department decided to “sell” one of its walls. Now as you walk down the hall, there is an electronic billboard advertising product.

Christensen: Before coming to the Endowment, I worked at National Public Radio for a number of years and was in charge of the underwriting credits, so I am familiar with these issues. This discussion is not about advertising or commercialism per se, but about how they pertain to cultural policy. One difficulty is determining the distinctions between commercial and nonprofit. NPR continues to struggle with the difference between a commercial and an underwriting credit. That issue is being repeated in cultural institution after cultural institution—museums as well as presenting organiza-

tions. For example, nonprofit presenters use commercial Broadway shows as a way to involve a new public and build audiences. Commercial sponsorship creates a revenue base for the institution so it can then bring in other types of community and nonprofit arts.

Donnelly: To continue on that point, theater managers have faced a similar dilemma for years. I ran a theater for 25 years. There are great profits to be made if you have a production that originates in your theater and are able to move to other venues. The money can be more than you can imagine, and it can be a very corrupting force.

Jennings-Roggensack: I am a presenter and have been involved in presenting everything from the Rolling Stones to tractor pulls. I would like to hear from the respondents more about the notion of culture and the definition of culture. Second, I would like someone to address the whole notion of value and who sits at that table and has that discussion. Will there be people from the community as well as people from the commercial sector? I do not think commerce is a bad word. Having been a presenter for 23 years and involved in keeping nonprofit organizations alive for 23 years, I cannot set the commercial aside and say we are going to operate in this little simplistic box, have our protected space, and say, “This is art” and “This is commerce.” Many of the actors you see on television also do stage work, for example. If you go to Los Angeles, you see television performers doing theater and bringing audiences in because of the recognition factor. The world functions with people going back and forth through those doors of “commerce” and “art.”

FEDERAL CULTURAL POLICY IN THE WESTERN UNITED STATES

by Karen Christensen

In a planning conversation for this session, Don Adams informed me that in an earlier time the National Endowment for the Arts was “highly resistant” to the idea of cultural policy. He recalled that the rationale was on the order of “because totalitarian governments have a cultural policy, we don’t want one.” I cannot say whether Don’s impressions and recollections are accurate, but I do know that I have never heard any such “cold war” rationale discussed in the last six years at the Endowment. The activities of the chairman and other Endowment staff at various cultural policy discussions bespeak a real interest and engagement in the issue of cultural policy.

Policy, including cultural policy, is at its core action. The word “policy” is derived from the Latin *politia*, meaning government or administration, and one *Webster* definition of policy is “a definite course or method of action selected... to guide and determine present and future decisions.” I believe it is useful to discuss the Endowment’s cultural policies by looking at our actions. I suggest that if we look at what the Endowment has done over the past several years, its cultural policy is clear. “Actions speak louder than words,” and I believe that our actions have been powerful and effective.

The Endowment’s chairman and agency staff have made a concerted effort to establish the value of the arts, to move the perception of



artists and the arts from one of solitary eccentrics toiling on the periphery of society to the reality of the arts as part of the fabric of American life with artists integrally involved in their communities. At the same time, we have been

working to articulate, in clear and compelling terms, the value of the federal investment in the arts through the NEA as well as other federal agencies.

“The Endowment’s chairman and agency staff have made a concerted effort to establish the value of the arts, to move the perception of artists and the arts from one of solitary eccentrics toiling on the periphery of society to the reality of the arts as part of the fabric of American life with artists integrally involved in their communities.”

Chairman Bill Ivey, a folklorist and ethnomusicologist, has developed a mantra about the Endowment’s role in preserving “our living cultural heritage.” He has talked about the arts as “democracy’s calling card” and the role of the arts as central to a democratic society. Moving beyond speeches and conversations, within weeks of his arrival in 1998, Chairman Ivey directed staff to develop a strategic plan detailing the agency’s primary goals:

- access to the arts for all Americans,
- creation and presentation of artistic work,
- lifelong education in the arts,
- community-building through the arts, and
- enhanced partnerships with public and private sectors.

These goals are charting our course through 2004 and form the framework for the agency's activities, from grantmaking to leadership initiatives, from interagency agreements with other federal agencies to state, regional, and local partnerships.

The administration's FY 2000 budget request for the NEA is based on many of the goals in the strategic plan. The cornerstone of the request, the Endowment's Challenge America initiative, was developed in collaboration with arts service organizations and our public partners in an effort to ensure that the initiative is a responsive and productive means of distributing national support for the arts at all levels. If funded by Congress, Challenge America will allow us to sponsor community partnerships in every part of the United States in support of arts education, arts access, cultural planning, heritage and preservation activities, and positive alternatives for youth.

In September 1999, the U.S. Senate voted to increase the NEA budget by \$5 million, the first increase since 1992. At a time when congressionally imposed budget limits have made increases in appropriations almost impossible, the Endowment was able to reverse the trend of the past seven years. Far from being eliminated, as some commentators had predicted,

the Endowment has shown real vitality.

We have made sure that our funding guidelines reflect our goals and emphases. For example, we now use geographic location as one of the elements of the artistic merit review criterion, so that the impact of a project is judged in the context of where it will take place. A project proposal from Sheridan, Wyoming, for example, is evaluated in the context of that community and not in reference to Chicago or Los Angeles. This change has made a real difference in the breadth and diversity of what the agency is funding.

Our panels increasingly reflect the nation's diverse population, as we strive to ensure that the coastal tilt of past decades is not repeated. In addition, we now require a representative of a state, regional, or local arts agency on each panel to further strengthen those partnerships. And I strongly encourage the inclusion of a young person on the panels to ensure that we are involving our next generation of artists and arts administrators.

Instead of more than 100 separate funding categories for the various fields and disciplines, we now have a single set of guidelines to which all disciplines apply. The guidelines contain five funding categories reflecting the agency's primary goals. The cultural policy reflected here is the importance of all artistic disciplines and fields—from dance and design to folk and traditional arts to visual arts—and in all of their various genres and dimensions.

In developing these actions, we used the cumulative experience of agency staff, which spans a broad range of artistic disciplines and fields, as well as the wisdom and expertise of

the hundreds of knowledgeable citizens who serve as panelists. We chose to move from culture-with-a-capital-“C” to a respect and appreciation of the broad diversity of American “cultures,” lowercase “c” and plural. We chose to move from the “entitlement” model of arts funding to a paradigm in which funds are sought in order to make a contribution to community life, whether one’s community is defined geographically, ethnically, or aesthetically.

Now what does this mean for Western states? I must begin by stating the obvious: we at the NEA are sensitive to regional differences. It was the Endowment that created the regional arts organizations, and we now provide significant support for the cultural activities that the regional organizations determine are most appropriate for their areas.

As an agency, we recognize the importance of diverse viewpoints. The Western perspective is well-represented on NEA staff and on the National Council on the Arts where half of the 14 presidentially appointed members hail from Western states. They contribute their individual perspectives in Council discussions on funding and policies, informed by their life experiences in the West. Perhaps most important to the Endowment’s application review process and policy discussions are the nearly 400 panelists who every year share their expertise and viewpoints shaped by experiences in their Western home states. They ensure that the Western region is not just represented on a panel, but also that the perspectives and opinions of the Western states inform NEA funding decisions and the development of new policies and programs.

Although the Endowment acknowledges and respects regional differences, we do not, for the most part, have different policies for different geographic areas of the country. One possible exception is the ArtsREACH program, which is targeted to 20 states that are under-represented among grantees. The goal of ArtsREACH is to assist communities in cultural planning so they will be able to develop and sustain a critical mass of cultural activity. These 20 states are located in all parts of the country but do include five WESTAF members: Idaho, Montana, Nevada, Utah, and Wyoming. The background paper on cultural policy distributed for this symposium refers to the term “community animation,” and that is exactly what ArtsREACH seeks to promote.

Perhaps one reason for not having different policies for different regions is the complexity of defining and agreeing on exactly what constitutes the geographic regions of the United States. Regional identities and concerns do not fall into neat, absolute boundaries. For example, the West is described by the National Governors’ Association as the Dakotas, Nebraska, Kansas, and Texas. The National Trust for Historic Preservation’s definition of the West excludes the Mountain Plains states of Colorado, Montana, Wyoming, Utah, the Dakotas, Kansas, and Nebraska. The travel industry defines the Rocky Mountain region as Idaho, Montana, South Dakota, and Wyoming and the “Foremost West” as Arizona, Nevada, New Mexico, and Utah. The existence and even the name of the “Art Beyond Boundaries” conference linking the Dakotas, Nebraska, Wyoming, and Montana demonstrates that

artists and arts organizations recognize different regional interests and boundaries.

Moreover, even if we could agree on what land mass constitutes “The West,” there would remain the question of who is a “Westerner”? In addition to native peoples, Eastern European pioneer descendants, Mexican Americans, and Latin Americans, there are more recent immigrants from Cambodia, Vietnam, and Bosnia. How is this rich diversity fully captured in the term “Westerner”?

I am not certain that the NEA could define a cultural policy that is uniquely appropriate for a specific geographic area and not equally valuable for at least portions of other regions. The remoteness, sense of isolation, difficulty of travel, and sparse and dispersed populations that mark many areas of the West are also issues in upstate New York, West

“An important component of our cultural policy is working to establish an appreciation of the value of the arts with other federal agencies.”

Virginia, and the panhandle of Florida. Although Chicago enjoys a plethora of arts activities, central and southern Illinois do not have the same access to artistic resources.

Geographic boundaries may not be the best organizing principle for cultural policy, but we can still acknowledge and celebrate the unique traditions and contributions of different regions. In the West, for example, the Endowment is credited with being the first funder to recognize and support the gathering

of cowboy poets in Elko, Nevada, which has become an internationally known annual event.

How is the Endowment helping artists and arts organizations in the West? ArtsREACH has funded cultural planning activities in both urban and rural communities such as Casper and Sheridan counties in Wyoming; the cities of Las Vegas and Henderson, Nevada; Bozeman and Missoula, Montana; Provo and Salt Lake City, Utah; and Boise, Idaho. Our partnership grants to WESTAF of \$1 million support substantial access to the arts through presenting, touring, and other activities.

Endowment panels have been very supportive of projects that draw on the creative energy of Western artists. Grants awarded through our Grants to Organizations (GTO) categories include a wide range of activities throughout the West. Within the GTO categories, Boise State University (on behalf of Poetry in Public Places) received an FY’99 education and access grant to support Idaho Skylights. Celebrated in the media, this creative program places illustrated poetry posters on schoolbus ceilings and engages poets and artists featured on the posters to ride the long rural morning bus routes while discussing poetry with the students.

In Seattle, an NEA access grant enabled Pat Graney Performance’s production of the fifth annual Keeping the Faith prison project. This 12-week residency program offers incarcerated women classes in dance, writing, visual arts, and performance skills. The material developed in the workshops is then performed by the inmates for other prisoners as

well as outside audiences. In the area of visual arts, we are supporting two residency programs for Western artist communities—Anderson Ranch in Snowmass Village, Colorado, and the Roswell Museum and Art Center in New Mexico.

We continue to recognize Western artists through literature fellowships. In recent years, Western writers have fared well, winning 11 of 32 creative writing grants in 1998 and 9 of 40 poetry fellowships in 1999—all selected by a panel of their peers in a blind judging system that places them in competition with writers from across the country. We are actively seeking nominations for our National Heritage Fellowships. In October 1999, we will honor three Western artists: horsehair-hitcher Alfredo Campos from Washington, basketmaker Ulysses Goode, and tabla drummer Zakir Hussain of California.

An important component of our cultural policy is working to establish an appreciation of the value of the arts with other federal agencies. Several of our interagency agreements with these agencies have targeted Western and Southern states (entirely appropriate in light of the substantial federal land ownership in these areas). The Endowment has been working with the U.S. Department of Agriculture through the U.S. Forest Service to support the Arts and Rural Community Assistance Initiative, which provides grants to arts-based rural community development projects. Over the past two years, this one program has helped fund exhibitions in Alamosa, Colorado; the creation of a play on the Nez Perce tribe in Lapwai, Idaho; crafts marketing projects in rural communities in New

Mexico, Arizona, and California; the development of a heritage tour of the Olympic Peninsula in Washington; and festivals in Idaho, Nevada, Utah, and Colorado. A list is being compiled of federal resources that will complement Challenge America grant activities in access, education, and alternatives for youth.

The Endowment is using the millennium to draw attention to the arts through a series of leadership initiatives. Continental Harmony, managed by the American Composers Forum, provides for composer residencies in all 50 states. Each composer will create a new work of significance to the community that has selected that composer. Arts on Millennium Trails is a joint project of the NEA, the U.S. Department of Transportation, and the White House Millennium Council in collaboration with several national arts, environmental, and trails-related organizations. This project will support high-quality, community-centered public art projects along designated Millennium Legacy Trails in every state. Through these types of arrangements, the Endowment has been able to leverage its funds with other federal dollars to support the arts. A millennium multistate grant to the Kronos Performing Arts Association provided funding for the development of three intricate and inventive musical projects in partnership with U.S. presenters in both rural and urban communities for presentation during the 1999-2000 season.

Internet activities are of particular value in rural and geographically isolated areas of the country. Open Studio: Arts Online is a

national initiative created by the NEA and the Benton Foundation in 1996. Its mandates are to help nonprofit arts organizations and artists get online, increase the arts and cultural presence on the Internet, and provide public Internet access to build an audience for cultural information online. Open Studio has been funded by three \$500,000 NEA Leadership Initiative awards, matched with funds from Benton, Microsoft, AT&T, and the Ford Foundation. There are currently Open Studio program mentor sites in Denver, Seattle, and Los Angeles. Other technology grants made directly to museums, theaters, and other organizations funded the creation of Web sites that extended the reach of exhibitions and performances across the nation.

Also in the area of technology, the NEA has awarded a grant of \$78,000 for a two-year statewide effort by the Portland Art Museum and the Northwest Film Center, in conjunction with Oregon's 220 school districts, to unite a broad range of arts education organizations to bring media literacy to the forefront of K-12 education in the coming century. They have created professional development activities for teachers, model projects, extended artist residencies, and other consultation frameworks that place media arts directly into the curriculum development. This is particularly valuable today when many schools have access to the Internet but lack the expertise to teach their students to use technology skillfully and creatively.

These are the activities that comprise the Endowment's cultural policy. They make up a "definite course or method of action" that I

am proud to have participated in. The NEA's funding decisions represent the best of cultural democracy, with broad participation by many citizens in setting cultural priorities. Panels have assisted the Endowment in developing policy that favors breadth of funding over depth, a policy that John Urice decried with respect to state art agency funding patterns, but which the U.S. Congress heartily endorses. I and others at the Endowment look forward to our continued work with you on shaping future decisions that benefit the West and fulfill our mission to "invest in America's living cultural heritage."

POST-CHRISTENSEN DISCUSSION

Goldbard: The NEA used to give small bits of money—\$5000, \$8000—to individual artists, independent film makers, writers, usually granted through regional organizations such as media centers or literary centers. When Don and I talk to artists around the country, they talk about “this first money that I received that actually gave me the courage and the spirit to carry my first project through to fruition. If I had not gotten that validation at that point, I don’t know if I would have been able to go on and be who I am.” I am talking about successful artists, headline names that you would all recognize, who 20 years ago were in tenuous positions. All of these fellowship programs became casualties when the individual artists grants that were controversial were transformed into weapons to attack the NEA. It is devastating for cultural development in this country, and it leaves stranded all those young artists who need a leg-up to get started in their work. If we are not investing in these artists now, what will be the result 20 years down the line?

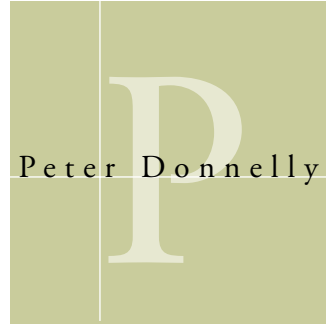
Christensen: Obviously this is one of the dilemmas we at the Endowment struggle with. When an artist or arts organization does receive a grant, there are all the federal regulations to go along with it. So, you have to be in a state of organization in order to comply with these. However, we also want to nurture the younger generations. My son is working in New York City with other young, struggling artists; they put together their own little production, find a place to put it on, create an audience, and hope to get discovered. There is no way the Endowment can at this

stage support that particular creative group of people.

THE PRIVATE SECTOR'S ROLE IN CULTURAL POLICY

by Peter Donnelly

According to philanthropy figures in the most recent Giving USA report, individuals gave \$175 billion last year. The arts received \$10.62 billion of this total, a 0.8% decline over the previous year.¹ Total public funding to the arts was about \$1 billion.



For those involved in the arts, private funding presents a set of challenges, or rather, opportunities. With so much competition from other sectors, we must make the case that the arts are important enough to hold their own for funding. At a time when people can access so much entertainment and creativity through technology in their home, we must ensure that the live arts do not become quaint or irrelevant. We must

It is against this background that I would like to introduce the following points:

- Private funding is commonly the catalyst for bringing new cultural organizations to life.
- Private funding and the influence of the private sector are frequently the lever for public funding.
- The private sector is highly instrumental in forging public-private partnerships needed to take on major cultural initiatives that are often linked to a broader civic agenda.
- Private funding (particularly from the corporate sector) tends to provide stability to cultural organizations that serve the greatest number of the public.
- Private funding differs from public funding in the decision-making process—who gets funded and who decides who gets funded. The private sector does not want to be governed and does not view grants to the arts as entitlements. Government, on the other hand, more often has a mandate to fund across a broad spectrum.

“We must learn how to work with a whole new generation of potential philanthropists and attempt to plug the energy and vitality that they have demonstrated for business directly into the arts.”

tap into the enormous intergenerational transfer of wealth. We must learn how to work with a whole new generation of potential philanthropists and attempt to plug the energy and vitality that they have demonstrated for business directly into the arts.

I would like to cite Seattle as a case study of sorts. The city’s cultural life is new enough to get your arms around and since my professional career spans nearly its entire development, it is one topic I feel qualified to speak on.

My first point of discussion focuses on new wealth and the new models of philanthropy it has created. Some of you may surmise that in

Seattle, our solution to any funding problem is to call Bill Gates and Paul Allen. Gates and Allen both come from families that were involved with the community and are themselves setting real examples of what can be done. Paul Allen has been a tremendous supporter of the arts and nearly everything else in the Northwest. Currently, he is completing work on a remarkable facility called the Experience Music Project, designed by Frank Gehry and dedicated to American popular music of this century.

Because Allen and others among the newly wealthy have resources and an entrepreneurial spirit, they can deliver a finished product to the community without engaging every sector in the usual and anguished process of consensus building. Construction and initial operation of the Experience Music Project, for example, is entirely funded by Allen, which means the project will spring fully-grown into the city. Once completed, however, the project, like other arts groups, must look to the community for part of its operating support.

As generous as Allen and Gates have been, they do not constitute the solution to all needs. In the Northwest region, we have more than 50,000 other millionaires, many of them from high-tech industries and many of them already retired in their thirties. And unlike Allen and Gates, many of these new millionaires come from backgrounds with little history of philanthropy.

In Seattle, an organization called Social Venture Partners is helping these individuals learn about philanthropy and get involved with particular initiatives. As the name suggests, the organization often uses its contribu-

tions to leverage particular results in a community. Given its entrepreneurial background, however, Social Venture Partners often tends to find the horizon for new possibilities more attractive than sustaining what the community has already built. Because the group wishes to provide expertise as well as money, it also faces the challenge of working successfully with the professionals involved with institutions. The potential for arts organizations is obvious. They can help define philanthropic opportunities and channel funding into particular areas.

Clearly, this new generation of wealth will significantly change the face of philanthropy in the Northwest and much of the rest of the country. Currently, the arts are not one of their primary interests. It is up to the arts and other nonprofits to learn how to do business with the new millionaires.

The second point I would like to touch on is the importance of partnerships between public and private sectors. Unlike the Experience Music Project, nearly all of the nonprofit arts

“...nearly all of the nonprofit arts groups in the Seattle area evolved through a partnership of the public and private sectors, with private sector initiative taking the lead.”

groups in the Seattle area evolved through a partnership of the public and private sectors, with private sector initiative taking the lead. This relationship has had significant implications for the development of Seattle’s cultural

life, as demonstrated by the following thumbnail history.

Before the 1960s, Seattle had just two arts institutions of note—a symphony and an art museum, both of which emerged from the living rooms of patrons. The symphony came about by the sheer strength of will of one of the city's *grand dames*; the museum was formed through one man and his mother's collection and largesse. The primary motive of these patrons was simply to provide the community with the fundamentals of cultural experience. These institutions took root because friends of the founders pitched in and helped assemble a core of individual supporters.

In the late 1950s, a group of business leaders decided to change what had been a sleepy seaport into a great community. They began by pulling together resources to convert an old auditorium into an opera house to give the city a place to stage significant cultural events. That initiative developed enough momentum to drive these and other civic leaders to bid for and get the 1962 World's fair, which gave birth to the Space Needle and a 74-acre campus of exhibition buildings. The fair was a huge success, put Seattle on the map, and more importantly, opened a window to the world for the city, especially in its appetite for the arts.

Many of the same civic leaders behind the fair were still driven to make the city great and viewed the campus as a field of dreams. Using individual and corporate dollars, they converted one of the buildings into the Seattle Repertory Theater. Before the doors opened in 1963, the Seattle Rep had 12,000

season ticket holders. The success of the Seattle Repertory Theater ignited tremendous cultural growth in the city; within just a few years, several other theaters, an opera company, and a ballet had sprung up. It is important to note that these groups collaborated extensively, going so far as to loan the newcomers their mailing lists. At about this same time, the public sector began to awaken in a systematic way, starting with the formation of the National Endowment for the Arts.

During the 1970s several of us working in the arts saw an opportunity for local public sector involvement. We sat with a number of civic leaders (including Paul Schell, who is now our mayor) and drafted language for an ordinance that created the Seattle Arts Commission. That commission and our county arts commission were two of the earliest local arts commissions in the United States. The creation of these local bodies was comfortable for elected officials because a fairly broad base of support for arts groups already existed in the private sector. Since that time, however, public sector agencies have often joined individuals in helping start-up organizations whereas corporate funding usually kicks in once an arts group gets on its feet. Another important difference between corporate and public funds is that corporations fund in locations where they have a base of employees and these tend to be urban centers. Public funds generally serve organizations throughout a jurisdiction, including much less-populated areas.

Since the 1970s, Seattle's arts development has relied on a three-way partnership among corporate, individual and public sectors. By

way of illustration, in the decade or so leading up to the year 2000, our region will have invested about \$600 million in new arts facilities. Funding for each has varied, but as a rough average, support has been about one third corporate, one third individual and one third public.

The city's new \$118-million concert hall offers a good illustration of this point. Responding to crowded schedules for the opera house (then shared by the symphony, ballet, and opera), symphony leaders started efforts to construct a new facility. A generous donation of \$15 million by one philanthropist gave momentum to the effort, and then several leading corporations jumped in. Soon after, downtown civic leaders, including the city government, worked very hard to bring the hall to the heart of the city to help ensure the vitality of downtown. In the end, the city provided some \$40 million in support to the hall, which turned out to be a good investment; with the concert hall, museum and several theaters, the arts bring as many as 10,000 people a night to downtown. Interestingly, the development of both our downtown museum and A Contemporary Theatre (also located downtown) were tied in with affordable housing initiatives.

Nearly all of those facilities were supported with state funds through a program called *Building for the Arts*. Through this program, arts capital projects from around the state are able to secure up to 15% of total construction costs from state funds. To date, some 70 groups have received \$32 million through the program. Founded by Corporate Council for the Arts with help from The Boeing

Company, Building for the Arts represents another great public-private partnership, initiated from the private sector.

While on the subject of public-private partnerships, I must mention one aspect that is not strictly a public-private issue but does represent a further opportunity for the arts sector. To have real, ongoing stability, (particularly in the West), the arts must pursue developing endowments. We can do this both through direct gifts now and through bequests, which Giving USA reports rose 8% last year.

The final point of my presentation delves into the virtues of united arts funds (UAFs). The organization I head, Corporate Council for the Arts, is one of about 60 UAFs around the country. Each is independent and created specifically by the community it serves, but all function as a vehicle for channeling funds to nonprofit arts groups. One of the great potential strengths of a UAF is that it can bring considerable influence to bear on cultural policy in a number of areas.

Because UAF grants are, in many cases, the largest single source of operating support, UAF funding to some extent defines which arts institutions prosper. Furthermore, the grant itself can provide an imprimatur for an arts group and help it raise other funds. UAFs differ in their funding guidelines, but ours and many others align with corporate funding guidelines of supporting fairly well-established arts groups that serve a wide audience.

UAFs can also wield a considerable amount of political clout in affecting public policy. Using my own organization as an example,

Corporate Council for the Arts provided the corporate connections that helped the Building for the Arts program secure \$32 million in state funds for arts capital projects. In addition, we played a pivotal role in NEA funding by working with senior executives from The Boeing Company who held leadership positions with four major arts groups in Seattle. These executives signed a letter to help persuade the state's senior Senator, (the chair of the U.S. Senate Interior Appropriations subcommittee) to put funding in the budget for the NEA. We have also used our connections with many arts groups and corporations to mount effective grass-roots campaigns on other important arts issues.

Before I close, I would like to remind the gathering that this country did have a cultural czar back in the 1950s and Sixties. His name was McNeil Lowry, and he wrote the rules through the Ford Foundation that really started the U.S. philanthropic arts movement in a major way. So much of what we do came out of Mac Lowry's work. The extraordinary aspect was that he was the person making final decisions on how the system would operate and what would be funded, etc. That model would never work now, but it certainly got us up and running.

¹ American Association for Fund-Raising Counsel Press Release—[cited 13 April 2000]; available from INTERNET@www.aafc.org.

POST-DONNELLY DISCUSSION

Woodward: I think it is in the arena of corporate and other kinds of private funding that we can more effectively and perhaps more appropriately serve the artists on the periphery. This is also the area where what Arlene termed the “quirky” madness of panels and procedures can more effectively be put to use. Whereas the state art council member, let alone the NEA panelist, may have to defend or justify any lump sum awarded, a private foundation can award money wherever it sees fit. That is one reason it is important that private foundations and individual funders not take federal and other governmental models as the only models they use for distribution.

Jennings-Roggensack: Many of us who live in the West are not fortunate enough to live in cities like Seattle where there is a great deal of private-sector funding, so we must look outside our communities for money. The fact that any funding we actually get from private sector sources is from outside the region has an impact on the community and the art we do. The other option open to many of us is for businesses and corporations to provide funding through their marketing department, and often those monies are tied to demographics.

Gardner: The word that came to my mind during Peter’s presentation was capacity. In many smaller places in the West, both the philanthropic sector and the nonprofit or arts organization sectors are very thin, which again points up the need for capacity-building in our arts communities. It also speaks to the need for an education effort to foster a

stronger philanthropic sector.

Cohn: I think that there are other roles that both the public and private sectors have in cultural policy. Several participants have alluded to the capacity that organizations must develop to create partnerships. For us in

“I think that there are other roles that both the public and private sectors have in cultural policy. Several participants have alluded to the capacity that organizations must develop to create partnerships.”

Arizona, the work that has been done through transportation and the T-21 fund, which provides federal dollars through transportation agencies for aesthetic enhancement. These funds have made a tremendous impact on our communities and their capacity to do projects of a scope and size that they would not have been able to do without these funds and deeper conversations about design issues.

Donnelly: In response to Richard, I do recognize that most of my career has been spent in an urban situation, but we also have a strong hand in Tacoma, Washington. Tacoma is a small but vibrant city, and in my opinion, one of the liveliest arts cities in the country. There are eight professional arts organizations, three theaters, and two new museums for a city with a population of about 100,000. Many of us in Seattle are working in partnership with Tacoma. In fact, the

Corporate Council for the Arts is the largest funder in Tacoma. So I think that Seattle's success is not just a Seattle story; the partnership model has worked very well in both communities.

Hodsoll: Peter's story can be replicated on a much smaller scale or in larger towns as well. The serendipity factor we talked about in the arts and cultural experience happens without regard to policy. It is purely serendipitous, whether in Seattle or Austin or Los Angeles or my town of Ridgway, Colorado, with only 450 people. When people in this country start thinking about culture and how they are going to fund cultural expression, they do not begin with tax advantages. They may start with some economic development aspects as well as the arts, but the spark really happens in living rooms and over coffee.

Goldbard: I want to draw attention back to earlier questions about where the decision-making power rests and who gets to make choices. The ability to accumulate wealth (or in the case of the Microsoft folks, the ability to be tenured in the right place at the right time) is to be envied. And we hope that people will be generous with their windfalls. But the fact is, it is not an attribute of wealth to have astute judgment about the best places to make social or cultural investments. Because we are (or at least we aspire to be) a democratic society, I would like to see some kind of balance in this aspect of the marketplace as well, so that the choices about what gets subsidized do not rest with rich people with no particularly special qualifications other than their wealth to justify their decision-making power. I would like to see balancing mecha-

nisms so that people who have been unable or unwilling to accumulate personal wealth also have a voice in these decisions.

Ybarra-Frausto: I want to thank Peter for his eloquent presentation of what, in my irreverent younger days, we used to call the "SOBs"—the symphony, opera, and ballet. But since I lived there and participated with Peter in some of these developments, I would like to point out that there is another history of Seattle. It is that history of culture with a lowercase "c" as opposed to "Culture." To me, the problem is how to secure private sector involvement in the fragile institutions that in many ways are providing a more interesting model. Not that the Seattle Art Museum is not interesting, but I am thinking of the Wing Luke Museum, an extraordinary place opening all kinds of new models across communities, as well as other historic, ethnically based centers in Seattle. If we are interested in the intersectorial, then we must begin building a coalition and talking about how to intersect these groups and private sector involvement. Arlene's point is well-taken; how can we have a more balanced system of analysis and distribution?

Donnelly: The Wing Luke Museum is funded by the Corporate Council for the Arts. We fund 65 organizations now (when Tomás was in Seattle, we funded 12). But none of these organizations are funded at the levels they should be.

Adams: I want to bookmark two issues. As Peter mentioned, right now private sector entities are taking more risks than the public sector when it comes to support of the arts, and yet, where are the people who are able to

raise that risk-taking to a more significant level? Unfortunately, we are in an era in which the public sector is running scared. I wish that we had entered the period of the late 1980s with a stronger and more broadly and publicly understood appreciation for the importance of noncensorship from the public sector in a democracy. This is probably the wrong time for the NEA to pick up this banner but the issue belongs somewhere in this conversation about cultural policy.

Second, I must echo what has been said about rural communities and inner city neighborhoods: often the economic profile of an arts organization may be determined by a setting in which you cannot achieve the scale necessary to support cultural development personnel. In many cases, cultural development depends upon professional people being paid to carry out programs. We have seen organizations such as the Dakota Theater Caravan, an excellent theater of the late 1970s and early Eighties, go down because it was held to the same standard that the Guthrie Theater would be in terms of raising private support, a standard impossible to attain in towns of 500.

Zucker: I think support for arts and culture comes from the passion of individuals and that passion is driven by one of two factors. The first is early experience in the arts that individuals feel inform them as people, an experience that in some ways their money has separated them from and that they want to get back in touch with. If we are lucky, we will have created those experiences for people who are going to happen to be wealthy. The second factor driving arts supporters may be a

kind of civic competitiveness, a desire for this community or that community to have the largest monument, the best whatever. There is no question in my mind that these are the people with political clout and that governmental policy follows them. Whether we like it or not, the reality of power over policy has

“The second factor driving arts supporters may be a kind of civic competitiveness, a desire for this community or that community to have the largest monument, the best whatever.”

been created, and I do not think this reality has changed much over the past 2,000 years. One of government’s roles has been the redistribution of resources to provide some balance, but that redistribution has never equaled the passion or the size of the driving force of the wealthy few.

WHOSE MYTH? NATIVE AMERICAN
PERSPECTIVES ON CULTURAL POLICY

by Suzanne Benally

I would like to begin with a passage from the book *Ceremony* by the American Indian author Leslie Silko:

“Ceremonies. I will tell you something about stories,” he said. “They are just entertainment. Don’t be fooled. They’re all we have, you see. All we have to fight off illness and death. You don’t have anything if you don’t have the stories. Their evil is mighty, but it can’t stand up to our stories. So they try to destroy the stories, but the stories cannot be confused or forgotten. They would like that. They would be happy because we would be defenseless then.” He rubs his belly. “I keep it in here,” he said. “Here, put your hand on it. See? It is moving. There is life here for the people and in the belly of this story, the rituals and the ceremonies are still growing. Thought Woman is sitting in her room and whatever she thinks about appears. She thought of her sister and together they created the universe, this world and four more below. Thought Woman inspired named things and as she named them, they appeared. She is sitting in her room now, thinking of a story. I’m telling you the story she is thinking, what she said. The only cure I know is a good ceremony. That’s what she said.”¹

Our ceremonies are still growing, things are changing. Like Thought Woman, who thinks and names things and is weaver of the world, we are shaping the world through our discussions of cultural policymaking. My remarks focus on Aboriginal Indigenous people and their role in shaping cultural policy.

For many tribes, our existence began here in the West. The land gave birth to us; she is our mother. All around us are mountains, our relations, our aunts and uncles. Our creation stories are here in this place. When I was



growing up, I was told two things. “Get up early in the morning to greet the sun so that grandfather may recognize you as his grandchild.” And “Stand and look all around you, trace the landscape; this is who you are. You are at the center.” This relationship with the land is a very different one from the relationship that European-Americans know, see, feel, hear, or express nostalgia for.

Indigenous people incorporate many symbolic expressions reflecting the cultural constructs of their lives (e.g., mother earth, corn mother). These expressions reflect common understandings and shared foundations for traditional and cultural ways of life. Beyond these metaphors are the philosophical infrastructure and fields of tribal knowledge that lie at the heart of American Indian epistemologies. For instance, mother earth embodies the understanding of the whole earth as a living, breathing, and knowing entity who nourishes and provides for every living thing through her own life processes. These myths and the variety of myths related to other symbolic complexities present the nature-centered orientation of Indigenous thought. Rightful orientation to the natural world is the primary message and intent.

A majority of tribes recognize seven sacred or elemental directions. Through deep understanding and expression of the meanings of their orientation, Indians have intimately defined their place in the universe. By perceiving themselves in the middle of these directions, they orient themselves to a multi-

dimensional field of knowledge and the phenomena of their physical, spiritual, and creative worlds. Extending the environmental orientation inherent in these sacred directions creates elemental, yet highly integrated, kinds of knowledge and thought. These orienting foundations of spiritual ecology include the environmental, the mythic, the artistic/visionary, and the effective/communal. This is a cultural process reflected in all life and in all cultural practices, including the arts. This kind of integrated meaning of the collective cultural, psychological, and ecological viability of a people should inform cultural policymaking.

The concept that “we have a right to exist” stems from a world view and spiritual way of being with the land and cosmos. It is not a concept congruent with the conquest of the West, historically or currently. If “we have the right to exist” were an embodied concept contextualized in the understanding briefly outlined, then the four sacred mountains from which I come from would not be deemed a national sacrifice area.

So how do we as Indigenous Indian people fit in this discussion on cultural policymaking? Perhaps as we reflect on culture and cultural policymaking, we should begin by recognizing, acknowledging, and addressing the socioeconomic and political realities of all people (inclusiveness)—Whites, Latinos, American Indian, Asian American, African American, and many of the immigrant groups (recent and past) who shape and define culture, especially of the West. The West is not a romanticized West, it is not your myth, it is a real living spirit embodying

all things. How does this get reflected?

In policymaking, diverse representation and diverse perspectives should be at the center of the dialogue. There should be an inherent understanding of the complexity of this country and how the American consciousness has

“When the dialogue on cultural policy is inclusive rather than exclusive, the discussion can begin to explore alternative paradigms, behaviors, and practices. These practices may not be familiar or comfortable.”

been shaped with regards to land, people, and culture. That this shaping of the American consciousness has been a distorted process is shown by the powerful negative narrative of the American Indian people used to justify conquest and cultural genocide. When the dialogue on cultural policy is inclusive rather than exclusive, the discussion can begin to explore alternative paradigms, behaviors, and practices. These practices may not be familiar or comfortable. These paradigms may reflect time differently.

Again, I return to the question of how do we fit in when our world view is different? For Indigenous people, life is art; there is no separation in an integrated world view. When I think about cultural art within my community, I can name numerous examples from daily life. I think of the chapter meetings, where people gather every Sunday to discuss the community’s issues and concerns. Old people,

young people, everybody speaks; no one debates, but everyone has a voice around the issue. I think of open markets where people congregate at a particular spot to set up pickup trucks with crops in the back. People stop, talk with each other in commonplace but integral community interaction.

I think of our traditional games that are held in the winter. I think of the song and dance fests that are held on Friday evenings. People dress in traditional clothing and sport wonderful turquoise and silver jewelry and come to the community center to sing and dance. I think of senior centers where our elders are artists and share their weaving, jewelry-making, and story-telling. I think of our spiritual ceremonies and our healing ceremonies, which are very much communal activities.

I think about activities such as farming, where people come together to help each other harvest crops or cut hay. I think about a very important way of life to us as Navajo people, and that is our sheep. I think of sheep-herding and sheep dips, of sheering and the processing of wool, which eventually becomes the weaving into rugs. The whole process is cultural art. So for American Indian people to participate in any dialogue about cultural policy, there is the stretch from the realities of their lives—where everyday activities are a cultural process—to sitting at a table like this and discussing policy.

Community life and values are reflected in everyday life and activities. How do we capture this and support it in cultural policymaking? Other questions arise as well. How do we honor the past so that time collapses, and past, present, and future are one? We

tend to think only of the here and now and our immediate needs. How do we honor time so that we understand our present and possible future? How do we capture and understand change in cultural policymaking? How do we reflect the continuity yet change of cultural life? A case in point comes from the Hopi reservation where young people are using rap to tell their own stories.

In our discussion of cultural policymaking, we should consider what has been lost and what has been gained by participating in a system that does not honor unique Indigenous perspectives. How can we re-envision and re-establish a particular ecology of thinking that shapes cultural policy? How can cultural policymakers respond to diversity and inclusiveness, not as token participation but as meaningful contribution? How can cultural policy and the arts respond to socio-cultural, socioeconomic, and political needs and concerns, especially of communities of color? And how should cultural policy serve the purpose of enabling communities (all communities, communities of color, Indigenous communities) to interpret, reflect openly, and make statements about their lives?

Remember, we are weavers of a world that takes shape in forums such as this one. It is our challenge

- to freely cross the borders that separate us;
- to embody stories and art as a way of conferring identity, forming connections, and acknowledging ties with the past;
- to engage change and the youth who

drive change; and

- to see our cultural policymaking as a ceremony, a creative if not curative act.

¹ Leslie Marmon Silko, *Ceremony* (New York: Viking Press, 1977), 2-3.

POST-BENALLY DISCUSSION

Wilson: How do you present sheep-shearing and wool-processing to people from a different culture so that they understand and appreciate it as an artistic process? You can photograph the different steps in the process and put these on the wall, but that is not the same as the process or its place within the community.

Benally: I think we are all responsible for answering that question, but it may require a shift in how we think about some things. The question really is, how do we shift our own world views and ideas to engage in other paradigms?

Wilson: A related question is, how do you convince art directors and museum curators that art is much more than what you can put on a performance stage and hang on walls?

Benally: Much can be done by interpretation and by debunking the myths, stereotypes, and narratives that have been created about the Indian people.

Fisher: Suzanne's presentation led me to consider how any cultural policy that we develop must incorporate the notion of ritual and spirit and regeneration of community. She pointed out that for Native American people, life is art—there is no separation between them. If we have this world view, then cultural policy is not just a policy on art, it is a policy on life and on how we live. That raises political and constitutional questions that we must grapple with. We have operated so long on the notion that the spiritual is outside the realm of government. We have tried to keep

away from and avoid talking about ceremonies and spirit.

Hodsoll: This presentation was the first today that talked in descriptive terms about art as opposed to policies about art. In regard to Bert's question about how can you capture an artistic process, there are a number of art forms out there that pose similar dilemmas. Suzanne also asked what is gained and lost by staying in a system that does not respect your point of view. That is a difficult issue and one that is taking place in many areas outside of art as well.

Gardner: Suzanne's reminder that we should take a more holistic approach to this aspect of policy is a good reminder for me that culture is in all aspects of our lives. Her reference to the importance of sheep in native culture brought to mind an event in Idaho. Historic sheep trails run right through the middle of Ketchum, Idaho, and for the last few years, there has been a running of the sheep through the middle of town to celebrate the sheep-herding culture. The local arts group is a central sponsor.

Zinn: Suzanne underlined for me the understanding of culture as an inclusive and cohesive system in which we live our lives and in which our lives are given meaning. In his work on cultural theory back in the 1920s and Thirties, T.S. Eliot looked into culture and life and found that in the medieval world, everybody fit together; you did not study culture, you were inscribed in it. I think we long for that kind of culture, but how do we engineer or build a culture like that? I think it is very difficult and perhaps dangerous to do, and I suspect it is impossi-

ble to do.

My own inclination is to build cultural citizenship. Just as we expect people to participate in the political world of civic life with an understanding of how political culture works and why we have the kind of government we have, so we would expect people to partici-

“My own inclination is to build cultural citizenship...I think that cultural education can help achieve this, and yet I think it is a difficult prospect for cultural policy to undertake.”

pate with consciousness and critical awareness in the arts and culture. I think that cultural education can help achieve this, and yet I think it is a difficult prospect for cultural policy to undertake.

Goldbard: It is important that we acknowledge that we valorize a tremendous amount of religious art from European high art traditions, objects and musical repertoires that were created primarily for devotional purposes. This infusion of European religious art with its explicitly spiritual content and form is what we tend to prize most as a national culture. We often have a blind spot, however, when other traditions are brought into the conversation.

ART AND THE AESTHETICS OF NATURE IN THE WEST

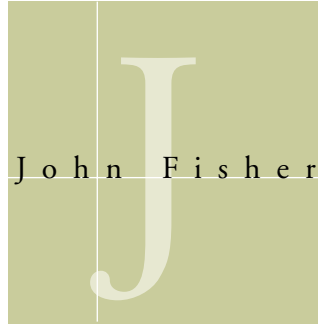
by John Fisher

I specialize in that branch of philosophy called aesthetics.

Usually, people in this field

focus on the arts, but aesthetics as a field and as a way of regarding the world has always applied to nature as well. Living in spectacular Colorado, I have found it natural to pay attention to the aesthetics of nature, especially to the striking and unique wild environments that occur more in the West than in the rest of the country. I have also found it natural to consider nature and nature's aesthetics from the environmental point of view. Environmental thinkers are simply those who value nature in itself, who are concerned about preserving wild nature, and who accept the goal of humans living in a sustainable way in relation to nature.

Our symposium target is the American West. It is more or less axiomatic that the West is a special place both in reality and in the American imagination. Undeveloped Western nature is perhaps the most important feature and symbol of the American West. Given these points as background, I want to suggest as a theme the relationship between art and the aesthetics of nature in the West. I am thinking especially of nature art or at least art whose subject is nature in the West. I do not suggest that all or even most art is about nature, but some is, in one way or another, and we can ask how important and productive this relationship can be.



There was once a marriage between Western nature and nature art, especially between the Western landscape and the arts of painting, photography, and writing. Since the romantic era, writers and visual artists have been instrumental

in generating a love of wild nature and an appreciation of the aesthetics of wild nature. They have been the inspiration for the environmental movement, from Wordsworth and earlier poets, through Emerson, Thoreau, and John Muir, from 20th century writers such as Robinson Jeffers and Edward Abbey to our contemporaries Gary Snyder, Wallace Stegner, and others. These writers continue to inspire and provide eloquent formulations of the delicate and unique aspects of nature, very often of the American West.

Visual artists who have influenced our present response to the West start with Albert Bierstadt and Thomas Moran and include more modern artists such as Georgia O'Keeffe. And where would the Sierra Club be without the spectacular photographs of Ansel Adams, Eliot Porter, and John Fielder? Starting in the 19th century, photography has played a major role in generating aesthetic appreciation of nature; the work of William Henry Jackson, for example, contributed to appreciation of the landscapes of the West. Photography of Western beauty still plays an important, perhaps even an essential role in defining the West and in making the West valuable in the eyes of Americans. One example is Eliot Porter's famous book, *The Place No One Knew*, which not only displayed the incredible beauty and aesthetic diversity of

Glen Canyon (by then destroyed by the Glen Canyon Dam) but also gave impetus to the movement to preserve the West's rivers and canyons rather than turn them into useful reservoirs.

What was once an important relationship, however, now seems troubled, a development that affects not only present and future art but how we regard nature art from the past. Although I am hopeful that the arts can still play an important role in the appreciation of the West, it seems where we once had an enchanted marriage between art and nature, we now seem to have an uneasy separation.

Among contemporary environmental thinkers, there is suspicion of art and aesthetics. They urge that we value nature in itself, not as a repository of resources existing for human exploitation and appropriation. This leads many such thinkers even to the point of rejecting anthropocentric, i.e., human-centered points of view. Needless to say, this thread in environmental thinking is in tension with the common conception of the arts as expressing a human, even a personal viewpoint.

The tension this creates can be seen in two opposing quotes from Wallace Stegner, often regarded as the dean of Western writers:

Wilderness: you don't go there to find something, you go there to disappear.¹

The deep ecologists warn us not to be anthropocentric, but I know no way to look at the world, settled or wild, except through my own human eyes. I know that it wasn't created especially for my use, and I share the guilt for what members of my species... have done to it. But I am the only instrument that I have access to by which I can enjoy the

world and try to understand it. [Fine, but note how Stegner continues.] So I must believe that at least to human perception, a place is not a place until people have been born in it, have grown up in it, lived in it, known it, died in it—have both experienced and shaped it, as individuals, families, neighborhoods, and communities, over more than one generation.²

Another issue is whether nature is to be appreciated in the same way as art. An important school of environmental thought argues that nature is to be appreciated in an entirely different way than art and supposing this is so, that artworks cannot display the true aesthetic qualities of nature. According to these thinkers, if the nature of nature is to be respected, it must be experienced in ways that conflict with the conventions of art. For instance, nature does not have a preferred perspective from which to be viewed, as in a "landscape," and nature does not exist to be an object of perception but rather we need to be in it, to interact with it with all our senses. According to this school of thought, the conventions of art appreciation—many based on museums and the commodification of artworks—are incompatible with the appropriate way to appreciate nature. If these arguments are right, then it is difficult to see how nature's true aesthetic character could be displayed by artworks.

A final idea argued by some environmental theorists is that wildness and naturalness are what underlie nature's unique aesthetic value. Thus, in this line of thought, the biological and geological origins of objects and settings in nature matter more than their formal properties. Put another way, the authentic natural category of a thing—be it a glacier moraine, a tidal basin, or an endemic tropical species—matters essentially in our apprecia-

tion of it. This idea, it seems to me, excludes a formal way of perceiving nature; an island or a canyon is not just a large sculptural object with shape, mass, and color. Yet, as I will mention in a moment, some earthwork and installation artworks seem to presuppose just this inappropriate regard of nature.

Turning now to the arts, we see trends and ideas that seem in tension with the environmentalists' position. The fact that in the contemporary art world and art theory, there is disinterest or skepticism about nature as a subject for art is only one indication of this tension. Other developments only add to the evidence that the beliefs and attitudes of the art world tend to be incompatible with environmentalism.

First, 20th-century art (especially visual art) is almost entirely an urban phenomenon. It is not unreasonable to conclude that artists and those who provide the supporting system for the arts are likely to be out of touch with nature.

Second, postmodern theory, which underlies so much thinking in the arts, is relentlessly antirealist, i.e., it regards the common sense belief in an independent world of nature as naïve. Some postmodern theorists regard everything as “text” to be interpreted, or better, deconstructed. Some regard all art (and especially nature art) as a political act. For example, W.J.T. Mitchell claims, “Landscape is a particular historical formulation associated with European imperialism.”³ These anti-realist ideas appear to be logically incompatible with the environmentalist and common sense belief that nature exists independently of us and is described by sciences such as

biology, geology, and so on.

The result of these two factors is an alienation of the art world from nature. This alienation is strikingly illustrated by a recent article by Michael Kimmelman, chief art critic of *The New York Times* and as such, both a significant shaper and reflector of art world opinions. As his contribution to a *Times* Sunday magazine on adventure, he hiked up two mountains in Provence—Ste.-Victoire (because it was painted so frequently by Cezanne) and Ventoux (because it was famously climbed by Petrarch in the 1300s). Ruminating on how he has never hiked and how our modern veneration for mountains is a cliché of 19th century painting and literature, Kimmelman never reacts emotionally or aesthetically to his surroundings. Because he sees everything through the lens of art history, he looks for a “sublime” experience such as he thinks artists in the past tried to portray, yet he is careful to remain sophisticated, only saying, “I am aware that ecstatic accounts of mountain vistas have been hopelessly clichéd... So let me simply say that the panorama was perfectly pleasant—not more, nor less.”⁴ He muses on painting, Cezanne, and groups of elderly Frenchwomen carrying canes (who are more in touch with nature and in better shape). In short, he muses on everything but his actual surroundings. As the photo caption explains, “The author, having attained the summit of Mount Ste.-Victoire, witnesses the splendor of Nature and awaits an epiphany. Try as he might, none came to mind.”

There is a third reason for concern. Although disavowed by some in the art world, formal-

ism—i.e., viewing objects principally for their formal properties—is alive and well in some corners, and certainly underlies some large earthworks such as Christo’s, e.g., his islands wrapped in pink plastic sheets. The fact that Christo’s grandiose installations are temporary does not weaken the point that he is a major exponent of a sort of art-for-art’s sake autonomy that wants to impose its will on nature to illustrate potential formal beauties that can only be brought out by human imposition.

Other, more paradigm earthwork artists, especially those who have operated in the West, seem to illustrate the same point. For example, Michael Heizer’s works, such as *Double Negative*, a 240,000-ton “displacement” comprising two, long bulldozed cuts in buttes, have much in common with the spirit behind the damming up and conquering of the West’s great rivers, such as the Colorado and the Columbia. In this regard, I cannot resist mentioning the definition of earthworks in the 1971 edition of *The Visual Dialogue*: “large-scale sculptural projects involving the excavation or movement of earth for the purpose of shaping a site into an aesthetically satisfying form.”⁵

In contrast to this macho heroic work, I should in fairness mention such British artists as Richard Long and Andy Goldsworthy, who illustrate that art works can exist in or interact with nature and yet respect it. Long, for example, did a piece in 1969 that consisted of walking four concentric squares in the Wiltshire countryside. Goldsworthy is known for ephemeral and nonintrusive works such as *Stacked Sticks* or *Yellow Elm Leaves Laid Over a Rock*; these involve temporary structures he

fabricates in nature out of things he finds there.

Is there a possible resolution to the opposing positions of art and nature? I have brought up the concerns and attitudes of both sides, not because I think they are entirely correct but because their acceptance tends to prevent a reconciliation of art and nature. What I have reported has come to be received wisdom in certain circles, yet I think both sides are purist stances, reflecting the common preference for simple, black-and-white positions.

I think environmentalists are right to want to respect nature for what it actually is but wrong to think that we cannot do that from a human perspective. I think artists are wrong to think they cannot be guided by their natural environment (rather than just their own artistic concerns) and still be true to art. They are also wrong if they think that their art

“I think artists are wrong to think they cannot be guided by their natural environment (rather than just their own artistic concerns) and still be true to art.”

works are so “autonomous” that they rise above obligations toward the environment. Closer to the truth is Robinson Jeffers, who wrote in one of his poems, “A poet is one who listens to nature and his own heart.”⁶

¹ Wallace Stegner, quoted in *Wild Ideas*, ed. David Rothenberg (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995). NP.

² Wallace Stegner, quoted in Don Scheese,

Nature Writing: The Pastoral Impulse in America (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996), 134.

³ W.J.T. Mitchell, "Imperial Landscape," *Landscape and Power*, ed. W.J.T. Mitchell (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 5.

⁴ Michael Kimmelman, "Not Because It's There," *New York Times Magazine* 6 June 1999: 118.

⁵ Nathan Knobler, *The Visual Dialogue* (New York: Holt, Reinhart, and Winston, 1971), 485.

⁶ Robinson Jeffers, *Let Them Alone*, in *The Beginning and the End and Other Poems*, ed. Steuben Glass (New York: Random House, Inc., 1963).

POST-FISHER DISCUSSION

Holden: I am wondering, John, if you and I even live in the same state. I recently had a conversation with some people about not only the historical influences of art in Colorado (primarily visual artists), but also contemporary manifestation of that. We were talking about three things, primarily. We were talking about landscape, we were talking about animals, and we were talking about mud, mud that has been formed into ceramics and other works. We were celebrating the very close relationship that art in this state has to nature.

Woodward: I would like to respond as both an artist and an art historian. I agree with Fran that the landscape remains a viable source of inspiration for artists today, particularly in the West, but not just in the West. The proliferation of land art described by John is a phenomenon of our time, and I think represents an attempt by contemporary artists to come to terms with many of the issues we are addressing today. There are numerous ways to make art about nature other than to make landscape paintings.

We tend to look back at artists like Albert Bierstadt and think that their work was about nature. In the last generation of art historical criticism, however, we have come to realize that their work is less about unmediated nature than it is about humans in relationship to nature. There are very few unpeopled 19th century landscapes. What is significant about the landscapes is that they are not empty but that there are people in the landscape, and the people are very small in relation to the

land forms. I think the juxtaposition of the size of people and the size of the land forms is the most telling aspect and the initial point of entry to understanding the relationship of people and the landscape in any art historical period.

Ybarra-Frausto: In all John's litany, there was not one person from any other culture but the European tradition. Yet the West is full of the people (such as those Suzanne talked about) for whom nature has a whole other meaning. Until we truly understand that racism involves an erasure of imagination, we will perpetuate the myth of some people as silent and voiceless. And every time we do not include them, we perpetuate the notion of this unpeopled landscape where only a single voice is heard. A cultural recovery project is necessary and has been going on. It is not that we do not know names of people and their cultural contributions, but that we persist in this idea that a place was uninhabited, unpeopled, unspoken, untheorized, untalked about, and that, I think, is very wrong.

Gardner: I believe that just as people affect the landscape, landscapes affect the people that live there. And I believe that people who are residents of a place have a higher say in the management of that place than outsiders who think they can impose their values on it. For me, a place is a geographic point filled with emotions and memories, and it takes people to help make a place. I feel that certain places are in you, so Western artists are important, because they help us interpret our places.

Fisher: To respond to Tomás, in my presentation I was talking about the so-called art

world, not about indigenous people. I am concerned about the mainstream art world and what strikes me as its alienation from nature. I am trying to raise the issue of respecting nature and that requires some concept of what nature is.

Pieper: When we talk about ecology, I think we are all in tune to ecology in any particular situation—ecology of a people, a land, or an art form. There are people who have taken ecology and environment into other issues and effectuated some interesting public policy. To that end, I think we should take a closer look at what has happened in terms of environmentalism over the last several years.

D’Arcy: I think this is a complicated issue. I live and work in the Northwest, which has one of the coolest and wettest environments; some of the oldest civilizations; and some of the most crowded and some of the least crowded places. My guess is that there are as many people living in the Northwest—artists, scholars, and writers—working there who came for the surroundings—the landscape—as there are people who moved here to avoid crowded places. So again, there are things at odds here—lots of contradictions.

Hodsoll: Going back to derivations of words, art is the root of the word “artificial.” Art is made by human beings; it is about human beings. Nature is something that can be described by science and can be said to have nothing to do with art. As Suzanne has pointed out, certain people are more attuned to nature or a more a part of nature than others. And there are humans involved in making their own perception of nature as opposed to a strictly scientific description. Just as artists

have different views about people and events and politicians, they will have different views of nature. For example, Capability Brown and other extraordinary landscape artists created gardens that were different from formal French gardens. These were certainly more natural, but they were absolutely not nature. My point is that the arts can encompass every conceivable view of nature, just as they have every conceivable view of what humans do.

Adams: Nature is predominantly cultural, and we have cultural institutions—parks—which are ways of mediating it. Arlene and I lived in a small community where traditionally everybody had their ranches or lived on the land. But 20,000 extra people moved in, and so access to land was less available to people there than it is to us now that we have moved to Seattle, where there are provisions to make the outdoors accessible to all. This changing relationship between population and nature puts cultural institutions such as parks under pressure.

The variety of attitudes toward nature can be illustrated by another case. A group in Mendocino County, the Intertribal Wilderness Council, was trying to obtain the rights to the last part of the California coast, which was too rugged to have a highway. The group faced opposition from the Sierra Club, which said this was a wilderness area, people did not live there. Actually, we did live there and so did other people. If you looked at this area historically and naturally, you would see the redwood forest as a cultivated phenomenon; there was interaction between the indigenous people of the redwood forests and the development of the redwood forests itself.

The tribal council won that round, but the conflict illustrates how a dimension of an issue that appears to be about environment or ecology has lessons for us as we ponder cultural policy questions.

Lastly, Los Angeles, San Francisco, and to a certain extent, Seattle are active art markets, but people in other parts of the West are removed from markets and may have a relationship to nature that is out of sync with the individual tastes of the art world. How do we find a way to create livelihoods for artists whose work does not relate to the markets as they exist? This is a problem that needs attention.

MUTUAL RECOGNITION OF DIVERSE CULTURAL CONTRIBUTIONS

by Tomás Ybarra-Frausto

The last page of Patricia Limerick's *The Legacy of Conquest* includes this plaintive assertion:

The cast of characters who inherit the West's complex past is as diverse as ever. As Western dilemmas recur, we wish we knew more not only about the place but also about each other. It is a disturbing element of continuity in Western history that we have not ceased to be strangers.¹

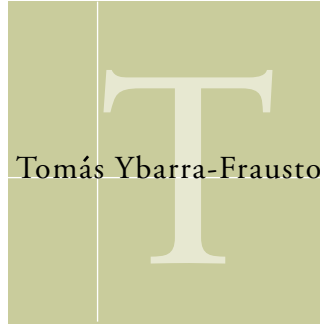
This legacy of absence—a lack of mutual recognition among people of the West—is especially acute in relation to the region's ethnic communities. Even with the current awareness that the American West was an

“This legacy of absence—a lack of mutual recognition among people of the West—is especially acute in relation to the region's ethnic communities.”

important meeting ground, a space where Indian America, Latin America, Anglo America, Afro America, and Asia intersected, the imaginations and cultural contributions of

Western America's minoritized communities are opaque and largely absent from the historical record.

My remarks focus specifically on Mexican Americans, who have been subjected to an almost total erasure. Ironically, the Spanish-Mexican cultural institutions of the borderlands—missions, *presidios*, irrigation systems, town planning, and vernacular architecture—



served as core components of the socioeconomic development of the West. Yet in the historical account, the people who created these institutions, i.e., Mexican American themselves, are encountered as shadowy ciphers with little agency, vision, or voice.

In a slow and arduous cultural reclamation project, scholars are gradually reconstructing and assessing the historical continuity and cultural contributions of Spanish-speaking communities within the sweep of Western history.² Struggling against historical amnesia, we can trace an emergent outline indicating that Mexican-American cultural production is not the result of “a new consciousness.”

Artistic production by Mexican-descended people in the United States goes back to the earliest Spanish explorations. A case in point is the Malaspina exploration of the Pacific Northwest in 1791-1792. Malaspina hired Mexican artists to record the region's terrain and topography, native populations, and flora and fauna with brilliance and exactitude. Tomás de Suria, an artist trained at La Esmeralda Art Academy in Mexico City, joined the Malaspina expedition as the official artist. He created some of the earliest visions of Nootka Sound and Eskimos.

By the colonial period in American history, the Southwest was the northernmost province of Mexican territory. Important conduits for the exchange of cultural products were the *Caminos Reales* (royal roads) connecting central Mexico with its remote colonies *en el norte*. One *Camino Real* extended from

Fresnillo, Zacatecas, to Chimayo, New Mexico. This was a much-traveled pilgrimage route sustaining the cult of the Santo Niño de Atocha, still a favored image of Catholic devotion on both sides of the U.S.-Mexico border.

Regular trade fairs were established along the royal roads as conduits for exchange of decorative arts, textiles, pottery, furniture, books, and religious objects to supply the colonies and the string of missions and *pueblos* established in Texas, California, and New Mexico. The American colonial period also saw the introduction of the Mexican Baroque in the Southwest, both as an aesthetic category and as a sensibility of everyday life. For this and each succeeding period in American history, we have yet to fully acknowledge and integrate the artistic contributions of Mexican Americans.

In the complex historical trajectory from *pueblos* to *barrios*, Mexican-American communities have struggled to maintain their language and cultural traditions. They formed mutual aid groups and literary salons, founded newspapers, and established dramatic and musical societies. Since 1848, Mexican Americans have been active cultural agents rather than the diminished shadowy figures ignored by the history books.

For Mexican American communities, the “Chicano Movement” of the mid-1960s was a transformative period of introspection, analysis, and action. Chicanos struggled for self-determination within diverse political arenas—the farmworkers’ movement led by Cesar Chavez, land grant struggles directed by Reies López Tijerina, the student move-

ment in colleges and universities, and other fronts for social justice.

Visual artists, poets, dancers, and filmmakers were aligned and integrated with all facets of *El Movimiento*. Intellectuals, scholars, and social activists thrust their imaginations outward to social reality, proclaiming *un nuevo arte del pueblo* (a new art of the people). Artists became active agents in the social production of memory. The collective imagination exemplified in vernacular customs and traditions was to yield the form and context for new forms of liberatory culture.

Remaining outside the mainstream cultural apparatus, Chicano artists organized alternative circuits of *centros* (cultural centers), *tallares* (workshops), and *espacios* (spaces) within which to create, disseminate, and market their artistic production. They created vibrant art forms that appropriated ancestral traditions and rearticulated these as contemporary expressions. Fusion, amalgamation, layering, and hybridity were their tools for creating new artistic expressions that united the forms, styles, and vocabularies of both Mexican and Anglo American antecedents. The result was a visual bilingualism in artistic expression that corresponded to the historical *mestisaje* (cultural hybridity) of the Chicano community itself.

A core aim of the Chicano Cultural Project was to resist, subvert, and counter dominant traditions of art as escape and commodity. Chicano art had the purpose of rousing conscience, raising consciousness, and activating resonance and wonder while simultaneously stimulating the viewer to a deeper comprehension of the social needs of the communi-

ties from which it sprang.

In the 21st century, a fresh cultural project is under way in Spanish-speaking enclaves throughout the U.S. The new subject is “Latino,” the new space is transnational, and the new social reality is a United States “that houses thirty-one million people of Latino ancestry, a rapidly growing number that in the next five years is expected to surpass African Americans as the largest minority group and will most likely make up a fourth of the nation’s population in fifty years.”³

In the U.S. of today, however, the politics and relations of inequity, asymmetry, and social exclusion persist. The Mexican-American imagination that has made fundamental contributions to American culture remains largely unrecognized and conspicuously absent in the consciousness of most Americans. Furthermore, the cultural production of other Central American, Caribbean, and Latin American groups is hardly acknowledged except as a potential market niche for consumer products.

“In the U.S. of today, however, the politics and relations of inequity, asymmetry, and social exclusion persist.”

An urgent task is to engage in what scholar Charles Taylor calls “the politics of recognition.” He argues that a pluralistic

America must engage

in collective dialogue for public recognition and preservation of particular cultural identities. Our public institutions must also activate a dialogic imperative, “an understanding of how diverse communities integrate, reflect upon, and modify their own cultural heritage and that of the people with whom they come

in contact.”⁴ Such a relational paradigm should undergird cultural policy in the year 2000 and beyond. Today, more than ever, we must calibrate two competing tensions in our national character: the tension between a single incorporating narrative of what America is versus the vision of a multiplistic, kaleidoscopic America continually reinventing itself. In the second version, a major fault-line is that between the local and the global.

Globalization and Localization Combine in “the Glocal”

At the cusp of the millennium, it is difficult to conceive of the United States as hermetically sealed, territorially contained, or internally undifferentiated. In the places where we live and work, we are conscious of evolving translocal economic, social, and cultural processes. Worldwide circular immigration patterns are a fact of daily life. In New York City, for example, expanding enclaves of indigenous workers (documented and undocumented) from the Mexican states of Oaxaca, Guerrero, and Puebla are establishing themselves in many Manhattan boroughs, especially in areas historically occupied by Puerto Ricans and Dominicans. As these immigrant families settle in, their youngsters enroll in local schools, start learning English, and begin their immersion into “the American way of life.” Concurrently, they move from being *indio* to being *gringo* without passing through a stage of being *Mexicanos*. What will be the core ethnic identity of this growing population? What space will anchor their cultural allegiance? What does *la patria* (the nation) mean to them?

This newer sense of deterritorialization in

“Latino” communities is countered by an older, anchored sense of place and pride in regional cultures. For Mexican Americans, identity and place are irrevocably interwoven. The places where we are born and grow up mark us with their accent, temperament, and world view. The histories and stories of a site inscribe us with its reality and invention. Places give us our memories and our values.

Chicanos make a clear distinction between *la patria* (the nation) and *la patria chica* (the regional base). Loyalties and allegiance flow outward from your root base—the *barrio* (community)—to your region and finally to the nation. A place-based consciousness has been essential to the maintenance of vigorous and distinct vernacular regional cultures in Texas, New Mexico, California, and other states with large, Spanish-speaking enclaves.

Many Chicano artists have proposed an art of cultural representation in which ordinary people can recognize themselves in the work, gaining cultural confidence and pride in their heritage. In a catalog entry for an exhibition at the Mexican Museum in San Francisco, I described how one artist transforms the “ordinary” through her art:

Carmen Lomas Garza presents in her work enchanting evocations of remembered experience, fusing internal, psychological vision with outward, social expression in luminous tableaux. Memory is her guiding impulse for transforming everyday episodes into poetic recollections. Her eloquent etchings, lithographs, and gouache paintings depict primal images of the rural environment and communal cultural experience of Mexican-descended people in the U.S. In an introspective and personal language, she describes the customs, traditions, and way of life of her Tejano (Texan-Mexican) heritage. Oral tradition is a mainstay of Chicano culture. In both urban and rural communities, a rich and var-

ied repertoire of ballads, tales, and poetic forms is preserved in memory and passed from generation to generation. Lomas Garza’s *monitos* (little figurines) function as an oral tradition in visual form.⁵

The search for the profound cultural meanings of a place is linked to multiple aesthetic strategies. The Texas sculptor Jesus Bautista Moroles makes the viewer encounter primordial shapes—the pyramid, the circle, the zig-zagurat. Moroles tries to recreate the ancient sense of place within the materials of nature. He suggests that the bedrock of a culture is to be found literally in its geology. Using Texas sandstone, Moroles reconnects us to the resonance and wonder of the natural world. The potent imaginations of Carmen Lomas Garza and Jesus Bautista Moroles exemplify two very different expressions of locality. With different formats and materials, they register the persistent stronghold of emplacement—how place constitutes and provides meaning to our sense of selfhood.

Today, the reassertion of place and local culture is clearly linked to the pervasive globalization of culture, variation, and difference. Particular places are zones of refuge that weave bonds of community, shared experience, and collective memories. But places are not self-contained; they are porous sites of exchange and transformation. In our “glocal” culture, everything is local and global simultaneously, yet the encounter is different at every site. This continual tension between localization and globalization has diverse implications for cultural policy. American minority groups and their cultural expressions are both highly localized and increasingly globalized.

A Transnational Imagination

The West forms an integral part of *la linea*, the imaginary line of longing and belonging that articulates the U.S.-Mexico border. This mercurial zone of charges and discharges functions as a threshold of despair and hope. The “in-between” space of the border is where many of the key social scenarios of our time—circular migration, deterritorialization, and cultural hybridity—are being articulated in emergent transnational formations.

Within this process of circular migration, Nestor Garcia Canclini has identified what he calls *corredores culturales* (cultural corridors) that link sending communities in Mexico with receiving communities in the United States. Within these *corredores culturales*, social networks between the two countries are being established, maintained, and reinforced by the constant circulation of people, goods, and capital among the linked points in the migratory process.

The processes of deterritorialization bypass any salvage paradigm lamenting the loss of a sedimented “national” identity and in its stead create nascent circuits for new forms of community. These fresh and intertwined economies that intersect social systems and negotiable identities open vistas for diasporic cultural production, circular exchange of traditions, and the possibility of more flexible forms of citizenship. The turn of the century brings a total reconfiguration, remapping, and reimagining of contemporary culture in the U.S. In this process, some rejoice in the horizon of hope that permeates international events. It is a hope for a common language of comparison, connection, collaboration, and

communication. It is a hope for the possibility of a kind of simultaneous translation of cultural traditions, aesthetic strategies, and political traditions.

Other groups are leery of a premature attempt at synthesis before the full flowing of diversity and difference is articulated. Social structures and cultural spaces must yet fully register the more problematic, more subliminal sense of a shifting, multivalent borderline between and within national communities. In the United States, at the start of the millennium, a new social contract is being negotiated. This contract deals with basic human concerns: work, education, opportunity, responsibility, and community. The social contract enunciates codes of value and respect among and between groups.

“Artists and cultural workers are active promoters of the debate and inquiry necessary to reenvision a new social contract for the global age.”

Artists and cultural workers are active promoters of the debate and inquiry necessary to reenvision a new social contract for the global age. Noted anthropologist Clifford Geertz articulates the challenge:

The next necessary thing (so it seems to me) is neither the construction of a universal Esperanto-like culture, the culture of airports and motor hotels, nor the invention of some vast technology of human management; it is to enlarge the possibility of intelligible discourse between people quite different from one another in interest, outlook, wealth, and power, and yet contained in a world where, tumbled as they are into endless connection, it is

increasingly difficult to get out of each other's way.⁶

This dialogic imperative, “enlarging the possibility of intelligent discourse” among diverse stakeholders, is the dominant challenge for contemporary cultural policy in the West. The task remains open to us all.

¹ Patricia Nelson Limerick, *The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1987), 349.

² Nicolás Kanellos, “A Socio-Historic Study of Hispanic Newspapers in the United States,” in *Recovering the U.S. Hispanic Literary Heritage* (Houston: Arte Publico Press, 1993), 107-128.

³ Mireya Navarro, “Latinos Gain Visibility In Cultural Life of U.S.,” *The New York Times National Report*, 19 September 1999, sec. 1, 24.

⁴ Charles Taylor, *Multiculturalism and The Politics of Recognition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 25-73.

⁵ Tomás Ybarra-Frausto and Terecita Romo, *Carmen Lomas Garza Lo Real Maravilloso: The Marvelous/The Real* (San Francisco: The Mexican Museum, 1987), 7.

⁶ Clifford Geertz, *Works and Lives: The Anthropologist as Author* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988), 147.

POST-YBARRA-FRAUSTO DISCUSSION

Goldbard: We need to create openings for artists as makers of culture in society, openings that are not controlled by cultural gatekeepers. When I was an artist with the San Francisco Neighborhood Arts program in 1972-73, Rupert Garcia and other artists around the Galeria were getting support through CETA as well as other programs and resources that were not controlled by people who saw themselves as gatekeepers. These artists were enterprising individuals who found a way to use resources to achieve their ends. I am not saying that Rupert Garcia would not have become Rupert Garcia if these programs had not been in place. However, we never really know when artists give up in discouragement because they cannot find that little bit of help. I am concerned about what will happen without these resources.

Ybarra-Frausto: It is an even more complicated and tougher issue. The Mexican government is interested in what happens to this whole group of people, and they are concerned about the cultural dimensions of the Mexican American communities. For example, right now I know of at least 115 Chicano artist exhibitions, and all of them are being courted by two sides. The Mexican government may say, "Look, the U.S. has never paid attention to you. Come to the Palace of Fine Arts, and we will do everything that we can do for you." The artists are being put in a position of choosing their cultural allegiances.

In other words, cultural politics is not just an issue for discussion. It is about governments,

about nations, about meanings, and about identities. If younger artists do not find this kind of support in the United States, they can turn elsewhere for support. But how will it play out? You can just see the headlines: American artists, born in the United States

"...cultural politics is not just an issue for discussion. It is about governments, about nations, about meanings, and about identities. If younger artists do not find this kind of support in the United States, they can turn elsewhere for support."

and trained in American art schools, cannot find support and are orphans in their own land.

Hodsoll: This is a broader issue that affects all artists. There are many white male artists and others working in the arena of experimental art who feel that they are neglected in this country and end up going to Germany or other places.

Zucker: We talked about the culture war as it refers to funding, but another kind of culture

"The gatekeepers want to keep some culture in and some culture out, but it is not about culture and expression, it has to do with power and control."

happening in this country, a culture war we are more hesitant to talk about. The gatekeepers want to keep some culture in and some culture out, but it is not about culture and expression, it has to do with power and control. The need for that power and control comes from a fear that by letting in other cultural expressions, one might lose one's own cultural heritage and history, that it might be diluted in some way, that it might be overwhelmed.

Ybarra-Frausto: In order to move from the paradigms of separation to more openness and integration, we must recognize how we are related. There are multiple visions of America, and one is that America is still open, still in the making. The more we understand how we are related and historically document that relationship in a positive way, the closer we will be to a broader notion of a national culture.

THE ROLE OF RELIGION IN CULTURAL POLICY IN UTAH

by William Wilson

I have been asked to talk about the interplay of art and religion in making cultural policy in the West, a topic that has received little mention in this policy discussion. Because the connection between art and religion is far too broad a subject, I will focus on that interplay as it occurs in my state—Utah—and speak from the perspective of someone who has spent much of his life in arts reviewing and programming and is also a practicing member of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints—the LDS, or Mormon, Church.

While artistic and religious impulses seem to be fundamental forces in the lives of most people, it is obvious that these forces are sometimes mutually supportive and sometimes end up at cross-purposes (or at least the people who put them into action end up at cross-purposes). This has been my experience in Utah. I want to focus on three specific issues: the LDS Church's support of the arts, the tension between the LDS Church and LDS artists, and the tension between the LDS Church and non-LDS artists in the state of Utah.

LDS Support of the Arts

In Utah, it is difficult to separate church and non-church into two artistic camps—there is too much exchange back and forth. Many people think that all Mormons live in Utah, but in fact, 80% of them live outside Utah,



and more than half live outside the United States. It is true, nonetheless, that Utah is a Mormon state; approximately 76% of the state is Mormon. For Salt Lake City, that figure drops to 50%, which means that the great

majority of residents in rural areas are LDS. These demographics have important implications for the arts. Since most members of the Utah Legislature are Mormon (and almost all Republican), LDS values will guide them as they make decisions regarding arts funding. This is so not because the LDS Church forces these values upon them but simply because they have absorbed a Mormon point of view in the process of growing up.

I would like to offer a brief example of how the lines between Mormon and non-Mormon cross. The church-owned *Deseret News* recently published an article about Salt Lake City's magnificent symphony hall, the home of the Utah Symphony Orchestra.¹ For the first 40 years of its 60-year existence, the Utah Symphony had no home. In its first few years, the symphony played in whatever venue was available, in whatever high school auditorium could be rented for the night. In 1947, maestro Maurice Abravanel became the symphony's music director. He was not a Mormon, but he had a good relationship with the Mormon Church and worked out an agreement in which the symphony could present its programs in the Mormon Tabernacle without paying any rent. This relationship lasted for 32 years, with the symphony using the tabernacle and the church providing support by waiving rental fees.

During the 1970s, when folks were planning the nation's bicentennial and looking for a bicentennial project in Utah, it was decided that the symphony needed its own hall. The U.S. Congress had initially promised to appropriate funds for such projects throughout the United States but then backed off and did not come up with the money. About this same time, leaders of the Mormon Church issued this statement: "We are pleased that plans are being considered to construct a concert hall. . . .Our city and state have long needed such a facility. Its construction and use will coincide with the policy of the church followed from earliest days of our history of encouraging and supporting projects which improve the cultural and artistic life of our community."² The Utah legislature (our good Republican legislators) appropriated \$6.5 million for the construction of the hall, and the symphony had to come up only with matching funds and private donations. Because the symphony had trouble raising this money, the Salt Lake County

"Examples abound of the church encouraging and supporting the arts, from the time Mormons arrived in Salt Lake Valley in 1847 to the present."

Commission ordered a bond election; the bond passed, additional money was appropriated, and the symphony got its hall. This would

not have happened without the support of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

Examples abound of the church encouraging and supporting the arts, from the time

Mormons arrived in Salt Lake Valley in 1847 to the present. Brigham Young shrugged off the prevailing asceticism of his day, teaching that God had given music, dancing, and theater for the pleasure of His children. Young frowned on the reading of novels, especially by young women, because he believed these fictional works might corrupt their morals. But from the outset church support for music, dance, theater, and the visual arts has been strong.

Tensions Between the LDS Church and LDS Artists

Most of that art, I must concede, has been didactic. Church leaders have seldom supported "art for art's sake." Rather they have viewed artistic creation as a means of promoting spirituality and building faith in the church. Joseph F. Smith, president of the LDS Church at the beginning of the twentieth century, told church members: "I wish to say to the Latter-day Saints that I hope they will distinguish themselves by avoiding the necessity of being classed with people who prefer the vulgar to the chaste, the obscene to the pure, the evil to the good, and the sensual to the intellectual."³ What is to be regarded obscene remains always open to interpretation, but Smith's view has become the policy Mormon artists have been expected to follow.

In spite of this stricture, during the Mormons' first century in Utah good results were achieved in all artistic fields except one, literature, where the results were pretty dismal. To counter the "corrupting" influence Brigham Young had attributed to novels, the church in 1888 began a home literature movement. The result was a series of senti-

mental, non-realistic, didactic works that are still being produced and read in the church today. Not for almost a century later, when in 1977 church president Spencer W. Kimball made the following statement, was new terrain opened for literary exploration. Said Kimball:

For years I have been waiting for someone to do justice in recording in song and story and painting and sculpture the story of the Restoration, the reestablishment of the kingdom of God on earth, the struggles and frustrations; the apostasies and inner revolutions and counter-revolutions of those first decades; of the exodus, of the counter-reactions; of the transitions; of the persecution days; of the miracle man, Joseph Smith.⁴

For many Mormon writers, Kimball's statement meant that they could now focus not just on the smiling aspects of Mormon life, but also on the conflicts, struggles, and frustrations. From that time to the present, there has been a flowering of Mormon short stories, novels, and personal essays written by faithful church members. In the 1930s and 1940s, an earlier generation of Mormon writers called "The Lost Generation" had produced quite good literature; but the authors, though coming out of the Mormon pioneer tradition, for the most part rejected the church and moved away from it.⁵ Those writing since 1977 have in the main stayed within the church and have argued for what they have called "faithful realism," a realistic view of the problems encountered in this world but a view motivated by faith.⁶

There have been counter views, however, expressed mainly by Boyd K. Packer, one of the most influential members of the church hierarchy in the last 25 years. In 1976, a year before Kimball made his statement, Packer

delivered a major address that has been widely republished. In "The Arts and the Spirit of the Lord," he criticized Mormon writers for aping the style and techniques of non-Mormon artists and for not using their work to build faith and promote Mormon values.⁷ Despite President Kimball's statement advocating fuller artistic expression, the opposing view tends to have prevailed at the church's Brigham Young University, where I taught for many years. This view has not fully thwarted the creation and expression of Mormon literary arts, but it has at times had a chilling effect. As the English Department chair at BYU, I frequently had to answer letters from angry mothers upset over their children's reading assignments in their English classes, assignments they were convinced did not meet uplifting church standards. During those years we had a fine creative writing program—we still have a pretty good one—but we lost two of our best creative writers, both of them nationally recognized award-winners. One of them was forced out; the other left of his own accord, feeling stifled by the prevailing atmosphere. The Theater Department has some excellent playwrights, but they too have sometimes been confronted with the choice of rewriting parts of their work or of not seeing it produced.

Although I am not particularly sympathetic to the view that Mormon literature must always reflect church positions, I should say in defense of those who hold this view that the church has the right to establish whatever policy it wants for its people. What's more, during my last years at BYU, I learned that the issue is more complex than I have presented it here, as I ran head on myself into

the conflict between individual and institutional freedom. After stepping down as chair of the English Department, I directed the Charles Redd Center for Western Studies. At that time, the center began moving away from promoting primarily historical interpretations of the West and began publishing serious creative works as well. We were considering publishing a fine collection of poetry by a friend of mine. Two of the poems were sexually explicit—not in a prurient way, but I knew they would present problems. I went to my friend and said, “Henry, I can’t publish these two poems. If I were the publisher myself and if the decision to publish would draw negative attention only to me, there

“...though I certainly did not relish the role, I was forced to become a censor myself, balancing precariously between the tensions of faith-promotion and faithful realism.”

would be no problem. But the University is the publisher, and I can’t afford to jeopardize the Redd Center by offending the powers-that-be.” Of course,

I could have been heroic and said, “I’m going to publish these poems no matter what anyone thinks.” But that could have spelled the end of the center. I couldn’t bring myself to undermine what former directors had worked so hard to establish. And so, though I certainly did not relish the role, I was forced to become a censor myself, balancing precariously between the tensions of faith-promotion and faithful realism.

Tensions Between the LDS Church and Non-LDS Artists

I served for eight years on the Utah Arts Council. The demographic makeup of the council was quite different from that of the rest of the state. Membership varied, of course, as some members retired and new appointees took their place. However, at any one time the council would be comprised of participating Mormons, lapsed (or non-practicing) Mormons, and non-Mormons. One thing was clear: council decisions were not governed by the church position on the arts. The council wanted to make sure that Mormon voices were not the only voices heard in the state, that minority religious and ethnic groups would have their time in the sun, and that the values and interests of the 14% of Utah residents who were not Mormon would be protected and promoted. The council was successful in achieving this laudable goal, especially in folk arts and in community outreach programs; but the problem with this focus was that in making sure minority groups and programs were not smothered and overwhelmed by the Mormon majority, Mormon artistic programs were often ignored or denied funding.

For example, the council wished to provide supporting funds for literary magazines at all of the universities in the state—with the exception of BYU’s magazine, even though it had won national awards for artistic excellence. Because I was English Department chair at BYU at the time, I could not participate in the discussion of BYU’s grant proposal. I was permitted to stay in the room, but I couldn’t speak or vote on the matter. I had to listen as council members argued that the church had lots of money and that BYU really did not need the funds. I knew exactly how

much university money was available and that it was not sufficient to publish the kind of magazine we wanted. In the end, the council voted not to grant BYU's proposal and then began discussing similar proposals from the other universities. I was free to speak now. I said, "Well, I had planned to vote for these magazines and I would very much like to, but in turning down BYU's proposal, the council has established criteria that will make it impossible to fund these other proposals. If we are to be consistent, we must adhere to the criteria you have just set." The council backed off; it funded both the magazines at the other universities and BYU's magazine as well.

In another instance, the 1999 Madeleine Festival, focusing primarily on an excellent series of musical programs and sponsored by Salt Lake City's Cathedral of the Madeleine, received partial funding from the Utah Arts Council. The 1999 Mormon Arts Festival—also a very good program featuring first-rate artists—received financial support from the Mormon Arts Foundation and the BYU College of Fine Arts, but none from the Utah Arts Council. I suspect, though I do not know, that Mormon Arts Festival directors did not even ask for Utah Arts Council money because they assumed they would not get any. Again the problem has been lack of consistency. The Utah Arts Council can give money to religious groups, so it has been argued, not to promote any particular religion, but to support artistic components of religious programming. That approach has worked fine for Catholics, Baptists, and Lutherans, but not very well for Mormons. Whenever the issue of funding Mormon arts

programming has arisen, the sometimes hostile sentiment against promoting the dominant religion has often come to the fore, and the funding has not been forthcoming.

Several decades ago, a group of the Mormon faithful wrote and produced a musical called *Saturday's Warrior*—a sentimental production that was disliked by professionals in theater and music groups both in the church and out but was almost universally acclaimed by Mormon popular audiences. The musical is still very popular and is still produced. Some years following the debut of *Saturday's Warrior*, a group in Salt Lake City put together a very salacious parody called *Saturday's Voyeur* and asked the Utah Arts Council for funding.

I still remember that discussion very well. The council had always been very careful not to offend different ethnic and religious minority groups in the state. Now, however, when we were dealing with a work directed against the majority religion, some threw that caution to the wind and argued that we should make our decision on this particular grant proposal on the artistic merits of the production only, a criterion that seldom came fully into play in making other awards. Just as publishing my friend's poetry might have brought about the demise of the Charles Redd Center, so too funding *Saturday's Voyeur* in a state 76% Mormon could have spelled disaster for the Utah Arts Council.

This issue also brought up the thorny question the National Endowment for the Arts has had to struggle with in recent years: How much should those who pay the taxes supporting the arts have to say about arts pro-

gramming? Further, in a state in which three quarters of the citizens belong to a particular religion and pay the bulk of the taxes, is it all right to filter very little tax money through the state arts council to support art in harmony with the values and beliefs these taxpayers cherish?

As we have seen, religion can inspire and nourish artistic production, can suppress artistic expression, and can turn people from different religious persuasions against each other. So long as both religion and art continue to play significant roles in the lives of our citizens, questions like those raised above will continue to plague those who must develop and carry out public cultural policy.

¹ Edward Reichel, "Spectacular Abravanel Hall," *Deseret News*, 16 September 1999, sec. Focus.

² Edward Reichel, "Spectacular Abravanel Hall," *Deseret News*, 16 September 1999, sec. Focus.

³ Joseph Fielding Smith, *Life of Joseph F. Smith: Sixth President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1938). NP.

⁴ Spencer W. Kimball, quoted in "The Gospel Vision of the Arts," *Ensign* 7 (July 1977): 5.

⁵ Edward A. Geary, "Mormondom's Lost Generation: The Novelists of the 1940s," *BYU Studies* 18 (Fall 1977): 89-98.

⁶ Eugene England, "Introduction: One View of the Garden," in *Tending the Garden: Essays on Mormon Literature*, ed. Eugene England and Lavina Fielding Anderson (Salt Lake City: Signature Books), xiii.

⁷ Boyd K. Packer, quoted in "The Arts and the Spirit of the Lord," *1976 Devotional*

Speeches of the Year (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1977). NP.

POST-WILSON DISCUSSION

Woodward: Bert spoke about the long history of the Mormon church's support of the arts and seemed somewhat defensive that most of the art supported by the Mormon church is didactic. But if we look at virtually all of the art produced in Europe between the fourth century and the 14th century, we could say the same thing of the Christian church. Even today, I think the Catholic faith, as it is expressed in most Latin American cultures, is a major source of inspiration for Latin American artists today. As we grapple with these issues, maybe we need to ask ourselves not what is the role of religion in the arts but what is the role of government and public policy *vis-à-vis* religion in the arts, and how can we embrace the ongoing influence of all of our spiritual leanings, without choking off avenues of expression for others.

Wilson: My defensiveness was mostly in regard to the Mormon church and literature. I cannot escape my own training that tells me that literature has to grapple with problems and complexities, strengths and weaknesses. In Utah, the literature movement simply did not do that, and some argue that the further literature moved towards didacticism, the less artistic it became, and the further it moved away from didacticism, the more artistic it became.

Fishbaugh: I want to share my observation that we should never give up hope that things can change. It has been my experience that through education and through communication, people can change their opinions. Some Montanans have been prone to a single mind-

set—far-right, Christian coalition, anti-public funding of the arts. Through communication and education, we have been able to open up their minds on certain issues and find them much more accepting of unfamiliar views.

Hodsoll: It seems to me that, in different ways, both religion and art are about spirituality as a part of the human condition. Certainly, any given artist will have a slant, just as any given church will have a slant. Back in the Middle Ages, the *Everyman* plays were performed in communities all over Europe as a way of promulgating the dogmas of the Christian faith. At the first meeting convened by the Luce Foundation on the subject of religion and art, there was a gathering of academics and clergy and whatnot. At the end of the discussion, the participants concluded that religion and the arts were totally antithetical. At a second gathering of academics and religious representatives, we came to the conclusion that the arts and religion worked in tandem with the tensions that Bert noted. Just as there are religious folks who are offended by certain things, there are ethnic groups who are offended by certain things. We need to respect these feelings, whether they are about religion or anything else.

Goldbard: This discussion highlights another element of cultural policy, which I think is important for us to frame. As Frank noted, the dynamics here relate not only to religion but to other points of potential offense. Censorship is the only element of public policy in America that is completely decentralized in the form of self-censorship. What we do in this country is apply self-censorship; we are

afraid of crossing the line into saying something that might offend or bother someone. When you have that level of self-censorship operating, then you may as well have censors at the helm with their big sticks and their punishments. In terms of a future cultural policy development, I would look to some relief for the epidemic of self-censorship that plagues us.

Ybarra-Frausto: The question of religion and the arts will take on even more significance with the demographic transitions now taking place, as the Hispanic population becomes the dominant minority group in the United States. We should think about the notion of liberal and conservative not in the political

“We should think about the notion of liberal and conservative not in the political ideological way, but in a cultural way.”

ideological way, but in a cultural way. If you think of conservative in terms of preservation of culture, then

many people are very conservative because that is the way they preserve culture. If you are more open about what culture is, you may draw the line further out.

Hodsoll: At the second of these meetings on religion and the arts that I attended, one of the agenda items was entitled “Blasphemy.” Needless to say, most of the participants discussed blasphemy as it was perceived by people of different churches and different congregations and so on. At the end of that discussion, I raised the point that there was another kind of blasphemy. Some individuals who are

agnostic and not religious take deep offense if anybody raises a religious concept. As we look at what offends people—blasphemy or any word you want to use—we need to consider not only what offends specific religious groups, but also at what offends those who have no particular credo.

CLOSING REMARKS

Brooks: It is impossible to summarize a central compelling point from the diversity of presentations shaping the conversation we have had today. But some of the recurring threads of discussion have centered on cultural identity, inclusiveness, and a desire for more holistic and full-bodied representation within cultural policy of our individual histories, values, and identities. This final discussion has made me more aware that my spiritual beliefs have to do with intellectual responsibility, and explicating concepts and values that are difficult to express. I cannot separate my religious beliefs from a commitment to try to communicate my truth and the need to restate it in as many different ways as possible. The critical link between human beings is effective communication and a commitment to try to understand one another; this is central to what cultural expression is all about.

Izumi: To me, one of the great aspects of this conference has been the tremendous range of views expressed. We have not just had slight variations of viewpoints; we have had 180-degree differences on some issues. I think this is beneficial because it helps delineate the issues. The fact that people were not hesitant about disagreeing with each other (even about fairly basic concepts) is extremely helpful, because it opens up the discussion. The last thing we need is people all nodding in agreement.

Lyles: As a coda to this final brainstorming session, I want to say that I am an unapologetic advocate of democracy in cultural poli-

cy. I respect cultural diversity and encourage active participation on the part of everyone in cultural life. I also advocate decentralization of decision-making authority to where we can all participate in decisions that affect the quality of our own cultural life. I hope that through the issues that have been laid out here and the viewpoints that have been expressed, we can continue this discussion of cultural policy in a way that opens it up to voices not included here, not just people in the arts or education but people in neighborhoods, parents, community members, legislators. We and they must recognize that they play a part in this cultural democracy and need to be attuned to cultural policy issues.

There has been some discussion today about Hollywood and American television, but I do not feel I have anything to apologize for the business I am in. When you say “Hollywood,” that encompasses many talented and artistic people. I have not made one picture in my life that you could not show to your family, your grandparents, your mother and father-in-law. In my 72 years at Paramount, I have known and worked with many wonderful people. It is true that in our business (as in all businesses), there are people who are not reputable, and they make bad pictures that even I am embarrassed about. As a whole, however, we do what we can. We had a picture recently that has not done too badly—*Titanic*. People are going to see movies, so evidently we are doing something right.

Ybarra-Frausto: Coming from New York where the dominant modality is irony, I have found it refreshing to come into a place and meet people for whom the dominant modali-

ty is sincerity. There was a time during this discussion when we could have drawn a line between purity and contamination, but we managed to negotiate between those lines, whether it meant across sectors or across ethnicities, and I am glad to have been a part of that negotiation. As to what must be done next, I feel that information-gathering is still important. We need to find and learn from projects where some of the questions asked today have actually been resolved.

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PARTICIPANTS & ATTENDEES

PRESENTERS

Suzanne Benally

Suzanne Benally is a consultant in the areas of multicultural education, research, and policy development. She has worked with agencies such as the Association of American Colleges and Universities, the Ford Foundation, and the Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education. She also has served as Director of Education Programs at the American Indian Science and Engineering Society, a national organization dedicated to increasing the advancement of American Indians and Native Alaskans in the science and engineering fields.

Benally teaches American Indian Studies at the University of Denver and is an adjunct faculty member at the Center for the Study of Ethnicity and Race in America at the University of Colorado at Boulder. She is also a visual artist and the co-producer of *Grandfather Sky*, a documentary that explores the roles of cultural identity and traditional ways as a means to heal troubled youth. She has a B.A. and an M.A. from the University of Colorado at Boulder and is a member of the Navajo Nation and the Santa Clara Tewa.

Karen Christensen

Karen Christensen was named Deputy Chairman for Grants and Awards at the National Endowment for the Arts in 1998. She joined the Endowment as General Counsel in 1993 and served in that capacity until 1998.

Prior to her work at the National Endowment for the Arts, Christensen was Assistant General Counsel at National Public Radio, a position she held for eight years. She has worked as a trial lawyer at the Public Defender Service in Washington, D.C., and has also served as a legislative counsel for the American Civil Liberties Union and as a trial lawyer in the Civil Rights Division of the U.S. Department of Justice. Christensen served as the Chair of the District of Columbia Board of Professional Responsibility, part of the lawyer disciplinary system, from 1996 until 1998. A native of Michigan, Christensen received a B.S. degree in special education from the University of Michigan and a J.D. degree from the University of Denver. She is a member of the bar in Colorado, the District of Columbia, and the U.S. Supreme Court and is a Fellow at the American Bar Foundation.

Peter Donnelly

Peter Donnelly is President of Corporate Council for the Arts, a Northwest-based funding agency that benefits arts organizations in western Washington State.

For over 20 years, Donnelly served as General Manager and Producing Director of the Seattle Repertory Theatre. He then served as Executive Managing Director of the Dallas Theatre Center. He has won numerous awards for service in the arts, including the President's Award for Individual Achievement in Theater.

Donnelly has served on the National Endowment for the Arts' Challenge Grant panel and has chaired the NEA Theatre Challenge Grant Panel. He also has served as

a consultant to the Foundation for the Extension and Development of the American Professional Theatre, Chair of the national advisory panel of the National Corporate Theatre Fund, Chair of the National Coalition of United Arts Funds, and member of the board of trustees of the American Arts Alliance.

Donnelly is a graduate of Boston University's School of Fine Arts and is a member of the University's National Council. Currently, he serves on the board of the Theatre Communications Group, is Vice President of Americans for the Arts, and President of Classic KING-FM Radio.

John Fisher

John Fisher is a Professor of Philosophy and former Department Chair at the University of Colorado at Boulder. He writes extensively in the fields of aesthetics, music, art, and the environment. His publications include *Reflecting on Art* and numerous articles and chapters in philosophy journals and books, including *Review of Metaphysics*, *Philosophical Investigations*, and the *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*. His article, "Is There a Problem of Indiscernible Counterparts?", which appeared in the *Journal of Philosophy*, was selected for reprinting as one of the 10 best philosophy articles to appear in print in 1995.

Fisher is the President and Program Chair of the Pacific Division of the American Society for Aesthetics. He serves as a referee for the *Journal of Aesthetics* and *Art Criticism* and *Environmental Ethics*. Fisher holds a bachelor's degree in physics and a Ph.D. from the University of Minnesota.

Arlene Goldbard

Arlene Goldbard is a writer and arts consultant. With her partner, Don Adams, she established the consulting firm of Adams & Goldbard, working in the areas of cultural policy, artistic production and distribution, and cultural development and evaluation. Her work with Adams & Goldbard integrates research, planning, program and financial development, group dynamics, organizational structure, and cooperative problem-solving. Over the last 21 years, Adams and Goldbard have worked with organizations throughout the United States and abroad to carry out programs that stretch the envelope of inclusiveness in cultural life.

Since 1995, Goldbard has served as a consultant for Webster's World of Cultural Democracy (www.wgcd.org), the Web site of the Institute for Cultural Democracy, an information center and think tank on cultural policies and cultural politics. Goldbard and Adams' articles have appeared in numerous journals and periodicals including *High Performance* and *The Independent*; their book *Crossroads: Reflections on the Politics of Culture*, a collection of their speeches and writings, was published in 1990. Goldbard is the former director of the Cultural News Service in Sacramento and a professional visual artist.

Frank Hodsoll

Frank Hodsoll was Chairman of the National Endowment for the Arts from 1981 to 1989 and was the first Deputy Director for Management of the U.S. Office of Management and Budget and Chief Financial Officer of the U.S. Government (1989-93). In 1997, Hodsoll co-chaired the 92nd

American Assembly, “The Arts and the Public Purpose,” with Alberta Arthurs. Before his work in the Reagan and Bush administrations, Hodson was a career foreign service officer, a lawyer, and the principal of a trading company in the Philippines. He has received numerous management and arts awards, including an Oscar for the Arts Endowment, an Emmy Special Award, and two honorary doctorates.

Hodson is currently a commissioner of Ouray County in Colorado, a consultant to government and private interests on federal management and policy, and a speaker and advisor on arts policy and arts education. He is a member of the Center for Arts and Culture’s Board of Directors.

Patricia Nelson Limerick

Patricia Nelson Limerick is Chair of the Board of the Center of the American West, an organization established to bring people together from Western cultural traditions and to foster dialogue on topics ranging from public lands to community development. She is a Professor of History at the University of Colorado at Boulder and is the author of *The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West*, an examination of the West that crystallized what scholars now call the *new western history*.

Limerick holds a Ph.D. in American Studies from Yale University and has taught both at Yale and Harvard Universities. She is a MacArthur Fellow. Her work has appeared in the *Journal of American History*, *Trails: Toward a New Western History*, *American Historical Review*, and *Under an Open Sky: Rethinking America’s Western Past*. She served as an advisor

on the Ken Burns/Stephen Ives documentary *The West*. Limerick was named State Humanist of the Year in 1992 by the Colorado Endowment for the Humanities.

William Wilson

William “Bert” Wilson is Humanities Professor Emeritus of Literature and Folklore at Brigham Young University (BYU). At BYU, he served as Chair of the English Department from 1985-1991 and as Director of the BYU Folklore Archives. He is also an Adjunct Professor of English at Utah State University, where he served as the Director of the Folklore program and developed the annual Fife Folklore Conference and the Fife Folklore Archive.

Wilson has served as Editor of *Western Folklore*, as President of the Utah Folklore Society and the Association for Mormon Letters, and as a member of the executive board of the American Folklore Society. He also has been a member of the board of the Utah Arts Council, Chair of the board of trustees of the Western Folklife Center, and Chair of the Folk Arts panel of the National Endowment for the Arts. Widely published, Wilson has received numerous awards, including Utah’s 1998 Governor’s Award in the Arts. He is a Fellow of the American Folklore Society, an Associate Member of Folklore Fellows International, and an Honorary Life Member of the Association for Mormon Letters. He holds a Ph.D. in folklore from Indiana University.

Tomás Ybarra-Frausto

Tomás Ybarra-Frausto is Associate Director for Arts and Humanities at the Rockefeller Foundation. His work with the division

includes the Humanities Residency Fellowship Program, Museum Program, U.S. Mexico Fund for Culture, and La Red Latino Americana de Productores Culturales.

Prior to his work at the Rockefeller Foundation, Ybarra-Frausto was a tenured professor at Stanford University in the Department of Spanish and Portuguese. Over a long period of active involvement in the effort to foster the work of Mexican-American artists, he formed an archive documenting the development of Chicano art in the United States. As a leading historian and theorist in the field of Chicano Studies, he has written extensively on the subject and has been instrumental in defining the canons of Chicano art. He is the co-author with Shifra M. Goldman of *Arte Chicano: A Comprehensive Annotated Bibliography of Chicano Art, 1965-1981*.

Ybarra-Frausto has served as chair of the Board of the Mexican Museum in San Francisco and chair of the Smithsonian Council. In 1999, Ybarra-Frausto was awarded the Henry Medal by the Smithsonian Institution.

Christopher Zinn

Christopher Zinn is the Executive Director of the Oregon Council for the Humanities. He is also an Assistant Professor at the Oregon College of Arts and Crafts, where he teaches a class on the origins of modernism. He also has taught Humanities and American Studies at Reed College in Portland. Since 1994, Zinn has served as an independent book critic for the *Oregonian*, writing reviews on works by Salman Rushdie, Peter Ackroyd, John Muir, and Thomas Pynchon, among others.

Zinn is currently writing a book on Native American literature, *To Raise a Nation: Native American Literature in a Sovereign Culture*. He serves as Co-Director of the Colloquium on Medicine and Humanities at the Oregon Health Sciences University and has co-chaired the American Studies Program at Reed College. A former Fulbright Senior Lecturer in American Studies in Turkey, he studied at Georgetown University and New York University, where he received his M.A. and Ph.D degrees.

RESPONDENTS

Christine D’Arcy

Christine D’Arcy is the Executive Director of the Oregon Arts Commission. In that position, she led the first planning effort to align statewide arts activities with economic development, cultural tourism, and other interests. In addition, she initiated a cultural planning process that led to the creation of the Oregon Governor’s Task Force and a statewide cultural planning process.

For 10 years prior to assuming her post in Oregon, she was the Executive Director of the Alaska State Council on the Arts, where she also had served as the Visual Arts Director. She implemented Alaska’s first capital grants program for arts organizations and served on many National Endowment for the Arts panels. Previously, D’Arcy worked as a historic preservation specialist, as an independent arts consultant, and for the World Crafts Council in New York City.

D’Arcy has a B.A. in art history from

Skidmore College and graduate experience in architecture at Columbia University and the University of London. She is currently a member of the board of trustees of the Western States Arts Federation.

Richard Gardner

Richard Gardner is the Executive Director of the Idaho Rural Partnership, an agency that joins diverse public and private resources in innovative collaborations to strengthen communities and improve life in rural Idaho. He serves as information broker, catalyst, and convenor for groups working together on a wide range of rural projects.

Previously, Gardner was a policy economist in the Idaho State Division of Financial Management, where he worked on agricultural, natural resource, rural development, and tax issues. In that capacity, he has testified on numerous occasions to committees of the Idaho legislature, staffed the National Governor's Association and Council of Governors' Policy Advisors for Idaho, and facilitated the development of Idaho's first strategic plan for telecommunications.

Gardner holds degrees in resource economics from Colorado State University, the University of Minnesota, and Michigan State University.

Barbara Pieper

Barbara Pieper is the Chief Executive Officer of the San Gabriel Valley Chapter of the American Red Cross. Prior to assuming that position, she served for six years as Executive Director of the California Arts Council until February of 2000. At the council Pieper focused much of her attention on the area of arts and technology, developing the Art and

Technology Initiative and *www.californiaculture.net*, a Web site devoted to arts education, arts resources, arts activities, and cultural issues. For her effort, she received the 1998 Award of Merit from the California Assembly of Local Arts Agencies and the 1998 Gold Crown Award for Arts in Government from the Pasadena Arts Council.

Previously, Pieper spent over 20 years teaching history at La Cañada High School, developing and teaching programs in advanced placement and alternative education; she also is a former Vice President of the Los Angeles County Board of Education. She has served on the boards of the La Cañada Flintridge Chamber of Commerce and Community Association and the Los Angeles County Music Center Education Council.

A former Fellow at the Kennedy School of Government at the Institute of Politics at Harvard University, Pieper served two terms as Mayor of the City of La Cañada Flintridge from 1982–1983 and 1985–1986. She holds a B.A. degree from UCLA and an M.S. in education from the University of Southern California.

Kes Woodward

Kes Woodward is a Professor of Art at the University of Alaska, Fairbanks. He received his B.A. in art from Davidson College in Davidson, North Carolina, and his M.F.A. in painting and printmaking from Idaho State University. He has been an Alaska resident since 1977, serving as Curator of Visual Arts of the Alaska State Museum and as Artistic Director of the Visual Art Center of Alaska.

Woodward's solo exhibition credits include

the University of Alaska Museum, the Alaska State Museum, and the Anchorage Museum of History and Art. In addition, his work has been shown at juried and invitational exhibitions in Brazil and Russia. Public, corporate, and private art collections on both coasts and all major public art collections in Alaska include Woodward's work in their permanent collections.

Laura Zucker

Laura Zucker is the Executive Director of the Los Angeles County Arts Commission. She is also an officer of the Ford Theatre Foundation board, which she helped found in 1994. She is a member of the United States Urban Arts Federation and the National Association of Counties' Arts and Culture Committee, and is on the advisory board of the Grammy Host Committee. She headed the California Cultural Tourism Initiative, which marketed the arts of California's three largest urban regions domestically and internationally, and authored the largest regional study of individual artists completed as part of the California Arts Council's economic impact study on the arts.

Zucker previously was the Executive Director of the Ventura Arts Council and has worked as an arts-management consultant for the NEA Advancement Grant Program and with ARTS, Inc., where she presented workshops in the areas of marketing and development. For 10 years, she was Producing Director of the Back Alley Theatre, which she co-founded in 1979.

Zucker received the Margaret Harford Award from the Los Angeles Drama Critic Circle in 1989 and the Women in Theatre Award for

Outstanding Achievement in 1988.

CO-FACILITATORS

Jan Brooks

Jan Brooks is the Executive Director of Northern New Mexico Grantmakers, a professional membership organization dedicated to increasing the effectiveness and impact of organized philanthropy in New Mexico. Prior to her appointment to that position, Brooks served as a cultural consultant where her work centered on research, publications, conferences, exhibitions, and fund development. Among her numerous projects, Brooks has served as Resource Director for Handmade in America, a cultural planning and economic development project in western North Carolina; Director of the Critical Journal Planning Project, a national arts and humanities program to design an interdisciplinary journal for crafts criticism; and Conference Coordinator for Public Art Dialogue, a meeting and publication project of the North Carolina Arts Council.

Formerly on the studio art faculties of Southern Illinois University and the University of North Carolina-Charlotte, Brooks' studio work has been presented in over 200 exhibitions, including venues in Mexico, Italy, Japan, and the United Kingdom. Brooks has served as Vice President and Trustee of the American Craft Council and recently completed a seven-year term as a founding board member of the National Campaign for Freedom of Expression. She holds a B.A. and an M.F.A. from Southern Illinois University.

Lance Izumi

Lance T. Izumi is a Senior Fellow in California Studies and Co-Director of the Center for Innovation in Education at the Pacific Research Institute for Public Policy, a San Francisco-based public policy think tank. Izumi is also a Senior Partner with the Capitol Group, a Sacramento research and speech writing firm whose clients have included Governor George Deukmejian, Governor Pete Wilson, Attorney General Dan Lungren, Hall of Fame baseball great Steve Carlton, and all-star baseman Steve Sax.

Prior to assuming his current positions, Izumi served as Director of the Claremont Institute's Golden State Center for Policy Studies. He also has served as a consultant on welfare reform to the state Department of Social Services and as a consultant on juvenile crime to the Governor's Office of Criminal Justice Planning. His articles have appeared in a number of publications, including the *Sacramento Union*, the *National Review*, the *Los Angeles Times*, the *San Francisco Chronicle*, the *Orange County Register*, and the *Los Angeles Daily News*. Izumi is a regular contributor to the "Perspectives" opinion series on National Public Radio.

Previously, Izumi served as Chief Speechwriter and Director of Writing and Research for Governor George Deukmejian and in the Reagan administration as Speechwriter to United States Attorney General Edwin Meese III.

Izumi received his master's degree in political science from the University of California at Davis and his J.D. from the University of Southern California Law Center.

SYMPOSIUM CONSULTANT

Don Adams

Don Adams has been active in the cultural policy and cultural development fields nationally and internationally since 1971. After directing community-based and statewide arts programs in South Dakota, Illinois, and Louisiana, he served as Deputy Director of the California Arts Council.

In 1978, Adams and Arlene Goldbard established the consulting firm Adams & Goldbard and since then have consulted with numerous organizations and agencies in the arts, independent media, and other cultural entities. Adams & Goldbard have specialized in helping clients plan and evaluate programs, solve organizational problems, and find ways to move forward in challenging environments. Adams & Goldbard also have provided research and guidance to resource providers in various cultural fields, including the Public Broadcasting System and the Rockefeller Foundation. They served from 1979-1983 as national coordinators of a network of progressive artists, the Alliance for Cultural Democracy. A collection of their speeches and writing was published in *Crossroads: Reflections on the Politics of Culture* (1990). In 1994, Adams established Webster's World of Cultural Democracy, an online information center about cultural policy (www.wvcd.org), and he participated as an NGO representative at UNESCO's World Conference on Cultural Policies for Development in Stockholm in 1998.

LIST OF ATTENDEES

John Barsness

Executive Director
Montana Arts

Rita Basom

Community Services Program Manager
Wyoming Arts Council

Anna Boulton

Community/State Partnership Coordinator
Utah Arts Council

Juan Carrillo

Chief of Grant Programs
California Arts Council

Shelley Cohn

Executive Director
Arizona Commission on the Arts

Len Edgerly

Poet
WESTAF Trustee

Maryo Ewell

Associate Director
Colorado Council on the Arts

Arlynn Fishbaugh

Executive Director
Montana Arts Council
WESTAF Trustee

Linda Gardner

Program Officer
The David & Lucile Packard Foundation

Fran Holden

Executive Director
Colorado Council on the Arts
WESTAF Trustee

Colleen Jennings-Roggensack

Executive Director
Arizona State University Public Events
WESTAF Trustee

A.C. Lyles

Vice Chair
California Arts Council

Dian Magie

Executive Director
Tucson-Pima Arts Council

Shana Meehan

Government Affairs Manager
Association of Performing Arts Presenters

Shannon Planchon

Associate Director
Alaska State Council on the Arts

Patsy Surh O'Connell

Asia Pacific Cultural Center
Visual Artist
WESTAF Trustee

Clark Strickland

Executive Director
Center for Arts & Public Policy
University of Colorado at Denver

Lynn Tuttle

School to Work and
Organization Development Director
Arizona Commission on the Arts

WESTAF