ENGAGING THE NOW:



Arguments, Research, and New Environments for the Arts

The 2009 Symposium of the Western States Arts Federation The Aspen Institute Aspen, Colorado October 15-17, 2009



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For permission requests, please contact the Western States Arts Federation (WESTAF) at the address below.

Western States Arts Federation (WESTAF) 1743 Wazee Street, Suite 300 Denver, CO 80202

Phone: toll free: (888)-562-7232

(303)-629-1166

Fax:

(303)-629-9717

staff@westaf.org

Additional copies of this publication are available from:

Curran Associates, Inc. 57 Morehouse Lane Red Hook, NY 12571 USA Phone: 845-758-0400

Fax: 845-758-2634

Email: curran@proceedings.com Web: www.proceedings.com

ENGAGING

Arguments, Research, and New Environments for the Arts

Symposium Proceedings

The 2009 Symposium of the Western States Arts Federation October 15 - 16, 2009 The Aspen Institute, Aspen, Colorado Sponsored by the Western States Arts Federation

WESTAF

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Arguments, Research, and New Environments for the Arts

SYMPOSIUM PROCEEDINGS

SYMPOSIUM DIRECTOR

Anthony Radich

PROCEEDINGS EDITOR

Erin Bassity

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS

Sonja K. Foss

Anthony Radich

Laurel Sherman

GRAPHIC DESIGN

David Baker

The Western States Arts Federation 1743 Wazee St., Suite 300 Denver, Colorado 80202 Telephone: 303-629-1166

TTY: 303-607-9019 Fax: 303-629-9717 www.westaf.org

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FILM INCENTIVES IN THE STATES

Douglas McLennan

Presenters: Ned Rightor, Jon Hendry

Ned Rightor presents the work he and co-author Susan Christopherson completed regarding the efficacy of film incentives. In addition to providing a critique of current incentive programs, Rightor suggests ways film incentives can be made more effective. Jon Hendry presents a view of the value of film incentives from a state perspective. He discusses how incentives function in New Mexico and provides an overview of the short- and long-term benefits of such incentives to a state.

ARTS EDUCATION: ADVOCACY AND RESEARCH

Presenters: Lynn Waldorf, Laurie Schell

Arts education advocates have long cited research that demonstrates the contribution of arts education to the learning process. Unfortunately, some of the traditionally cited findings have emerged from research that does not stand up to rigorous scrutiny. Lynn Waldorf and Laurie Schell present an overview of research commonly used in arts education advocacy work and note its strengths and weaknesses. They also discuss current trends in arts education advocacy research.

BEYOND ECONOMIC IMPACT STUDIES: ECONOMIC ARGUMENTS FOR THE ARTS

Presenter: Larry Meeker

Respondents: André Pettigrew, Ann Markusen

Larry Meeker presents analysis and critique on measuring economic activity in the arts, including a review of economic development efforts currently underway that focus on creativity as their central element. André Pettigrew and Ann Markusen respond.

MESSAGING PART I: CONSTRUCTING THE ARGUMENT

Presenter: Danielle Endres

Respondent: Douglas McLennan

Advocates for the arts—especially advocates for public funding of the arts—have employed a wide array of arguments to promote their beliefs. Danielle Endres presents the latest research in the area of argumentation theory and practice and proposes a framework for the design of an effective argument for the arts. She also demonstrates the use of argumentation theory in her work with American Indian tribes who advocate to policy makers and others for the preservation and protection of sacred lands. Douglas McLennan responds.

MESSAGING PART II: ARTS AND CULTURE REDEFINED

Presenters: Jennifer Hahn, Jennifer Mello, Joaquín Herranz, Jr.

Respondent: Ann Markusen

For many state arts agencies and their constituents, providing compelling reasons for states to fund the arts is increasingly difficult, and the arguments are often ineffective. Building on the previous symposium session on the effective design of an argument, Jennifer Hahn, Jennifer Mello, and Joaquín Herranz, Jr. further explore strategies for making the case for public art funding to policy makers. Ann Markusen responds.

WHERE ARE THE YOUNG PEOPLE (IF THEY'RE NOT AT THE SYMPHONY)?: SHIFTING GEARS IN A NEW ERA OF AUDIENCE PARTICIPATION AND ENGAGEMENT

Presenters: Steven Tepper, Jennifer Novak-Leonard, and Kwende Kefentse

Audience participation and engagement continue to be critical topics in the arts. Although some studies indicate that fewer young people are attending traditional arts events, their attendance at rock and indie music concerts continues to be strong. In addition, young people in great numbers purchase the latest iPod and other technology, attend guerrilla knitting circles and other DIY activities, and spend a great deal of time on Facebook. Some blame weakened arts and music education in K-12 school years for the lack of young faces in the audiences of traditional arts and classical music events. Others contend the movement away from traditional art forms is a natural evolution of shifting interests. In this session, Kwende Kefentse, Steven Tepper, and Jennifer Novak-Leonard discuss these and other issues related to the participation of young people in the arts and creative activities.

CULTURAL POLICY IN THE UNITED STATES AND EUROPE

Presenters: Ilona Kish, John Holden

As the cultural policy establishment of the United States is consumed by events within the country's borders, our colleagues in Europe and beyond face different cultural policy challenges. Ilona Kish and John Holden present an overview of current thinking and cultural policy trends in Europe and link those trends to current cultural concerns in the United States.

RETHINKING THE STRUCTURE AND SCOPE OF STATE ARTS AGENCIES

Presenter: Julia Lowell

State arts agencies have enjoyed over 40 years of success. Due to their creative work, the arts have been made available to even the most remote areas of the country. Today, some argue that in order to assist in the next stage of arts development, the agencies need to be restructured and revitalized. Led by Julia Lowell, this session features a discussion about how agencies might transform and redevelop over the next 10 years in order to position themselves for the future.

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ABOUT THE SYMPOSIUM SPONSOR

The Western States Arts Federation

The Western States Arts Federation (WESTAF) is a regional non-profit arts service organization dedicated to the creative advancement and preservation of the arts. WESTAF fulfills its mission to strengthen the financial, organizational, and policy infrastructure of the arts in the West by engaging in arts policy research and state arts agency development; developing innovative programs, services, and technology solutions; and supporting programming for artists and arts organizations. WESTAF regularly convenes experts and leaders around critical issues affecting the arts and cultural policy.

Located in Denver, Colorado, WESTAF is governed by a 22-member board of trustees that largely comprises arts leaders in the West. Founded in 1974, the organization serves the largest geographical area and number of states of the six U.S. regional arts organizations. WESTAF's constituents include the state arts agencies, artists, and arts organizations of Alaska, Arizona, California, Colorado, Hawai'i, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Oregon, Utah, Washington, and Wyoming.

WESTAF is an experienced developer of technology systems that benefit the arts and culture field. These systems include GO:GrantsOnline™, a fully customizable, robust, and flexible online grants management system; the Public Art Archive, a national online database of public art; CallforEntry.org™ (CaFÉ™), an online application and adjudication management system used by public art programs, galleries, museums, and educational institutions to manage public art commissions, exhibitions, fellowships, and visual art competitions; ArtJob.org, an online arts job bank that lists national opportunities for arts administrators and others as well as internships, grants, public art projects, and residencies; ArtistsRegister.com, an online gallery that allows visual artists to showcase their work and connect with private collectors, gallery owners, interior designers, corporate art buyers, public art administrators, and general art enthusiasts; and ZAPPlication.org®, an online application and adjudication management system used by more than 400 art fairs, festivals, and shows. WESTAF is also the creator and purveyor of the research-based Creative Vitality™ Index (CVI™), a sophisticated creative economy report that measures and provides highly reliable and comparable data about the health and vitality of an area's creative sector, including for-profit and non-profit endeavors, businesses, and organizations.

As a progressive and evolving organization, WESTAF initiates new programs and projects regularly and is proud to have artists and arts administrators on staff. WESTAF is funded in part by the National Endowment for the Arts. WESTAF remains committed to the improvement of the the capacity and quality of public funding of the arts by the state arts agencies of the West. Position papers, advisory research, and professional development services are regularly provided to these agencies.

Symposium Participants

DANIELLE ENDRES

Professor of Communication, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah

JENNIFER HAHN

Principal, Douglas Gould & Co., New York, New York

FRANK HAMSHER

Public Policy Consultant; former Senior Vice President and Partner of the civic policy and public affairs firm Fleishman-Hillard, St. Louis, Missouri

JOAQUÍN HERRANZ, JR.

Public Policy Professor, Evans School of Public Policy, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington

JOHN HOLDEN

Visiting Professor, School of Arts, City University, London, England; Associate at Demos, a think tank focused on power and politics, London, England

KWENDE KEFENTSE

DJ, Journalist, and Scholar, Ottawa, Canada

ILONA KISH

Secretary General of Culture Action Europe, Brussels, Belgium

JULIA LOWELL

Economist and Consultant, Santa Barbara, California

ANN MARKUSEN

Economist; Professor and Director of the Project on Regional and Industrial Economics, Hubert H. Humphrey Institute of Public Affairs, University of Minnesota

DOUGLAS MCLENNAN

Editor, Arts/ournal.com, Seattle, Washington

LARRY MEEKER

Professor of Economics, Western New Mexico University; former Vice President of the Federal Reserve Bank, Kansas City, Missouri

JENNIFER MELLO

State Legislative Lobbyist, Denver, Colorado

JENNIFER NOVAK-LEONARD

Senior Consultant, WolfBrown, Chicago, Illinois

ANDRÉ PETTIGREW

Executive Director, Denver Office of Economic Development

NED RIGHTOR

Researcher, Writer, and President of New Economy Dynamics, Boston, Massachusetts

LAURIE SCHELL

Former Executive Director of the California Alliance for Arts Education, Los Angeles, California

STEVEN J. TEPPER

Professor of Sociology and Associate Director, Curb Center for Art, Enterprise, and Public Policy, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee

LYNN WALDORF

Executive Director, Griffin Center for Inspired Instruction, Denver, Colorado

JON HENDRY

Film Technicians of New Mexico (Representing Eric Witt, Senior Policy Advisor to New Mexico Governor Bill Richardson), Santa Fe, New Mexico

LAURA ZUCKER

Executive Director, Los Angeles County Arts Commission; Director, Arts Management Program, Claremont Graduate School, Los Angeles, California

Keynote Presentation

DOUGLAS MCLENNAN I run a website called ArtsJournal.com. We just celebrated our 10th anniversary. Of course, I mentioned this in San Francisco two weeks ago during a presentation, and three other people in the room had websites that were older than mine. Online, 10

years seems like an accomplishment. ArtsJournal, for those of you who are not familiar with it, is essentially an aggregated look at the arts worldwide. My staff and I look at publications all over the world and try to choose the most interesting stories to place on our site. If I had to define ArtsJournal's core goal, I would say we strive to create conversations. I put up stories with which I disagree and some that I want to promote, but the whole idea is to create conversation.

This presentation is based on a few ideas I have been thinking about for a while. What happens when you look at 1,500 articles about art every single day for 10 years? I have learned all kinds of things about how people deal with cultural issues all over the world. The issues, interestingly enough, are not all that different from one another, but the way people handle them is different.

We are in the middle of a really profound restricting of our culture. We have been, in my opinion, in a 50-year bubble of mass culture, in which the definition of success is not excellence; it has more to do with how much attention you can generate to something. How great can you grow your audience? The current climate represents a different environment than in times past, and the strategies used in the past to support the mass-culture model are exactly the strategies that work against you in the niche-culture model.

This, obviously, is frightening because it means we have to reinvent our business models. The idea of mass culture has been quite compelling; the fact that you can get tens of millions of people to pay attention to the same thing is a really remarkable idea. What we have seen in the last 10 years, however, is that the mass culture is dissolving into a lot of niches. Whether you are talking about film, radio, television, or the music industry, the most successful products in those categories have lost 30, 40, 50, and 60 percent of their audiences, respectively. This illustrates the catastrophic collapse of what the business model had to be to support these industries. The top television show of all time was M.A.S.H. back in 1978. The finale of M.A.S.H. attracted 104 million viewers. The closest comparison came several years ago when the finale of Friends, an NBC sitcom, managed to at-

tract 52 million viewers. I could continue, but there are numerous statistics that show how mass culture has dissolved into niches.

At the same time, we have also witnessed the decline—some would say failure—of the journalism model. We have lost 50 percent of all of the arts critics in America in the last two years, and they will not return. Newspaper after newspaper is eliminating arts coverage. We expect sometime in the next year that at least one or two major American cities will be without newspapers. I spend a lot of time talking to journalists about the need to reinvent and change the business model in journalism. Interestingly enough, I think that many of those issues are absolutely applicable to the cultural model.

The current digital media universe is estimated at 233 million users, which is interesting considering the United States has a population of approximately 300 million. We can probably assume that approximately two thirds of people are online. That means that at least one third of people are not actively online. I bring this up to point out that we cannot consider only Internet users, although, clearly, that is the future.

We have seen an astonishing growth in the arts, however, despite declines and changes in other areas. In the 1990s, we spent approximately \$25 billion on new museums, concert halls, and theaters. This profoundly changed the infrastructure around which the non-profit arts had been built. The New Yorker magazine doubled its audience to one million over the last 10 years. National Public Radio doubled its audience to 14 million; Morning Edition is now the second most-listened-to radio show in the nation, while All Things Considered sits at number three. Rush Limbaugh's radio show is number one, but it is only at 14.5 million listeners, so the gap is small. In the top 20 markets around the United States, the public radio station is the number one station in eight of those markets.

As mass culture dissolves into niches, the arts receive more attention. I am not suggesting that the arts are on equal footing, though, and the non-profit model is also changing. We made a delineation in this country between what are not-for-profit and for-profit entities. Because we have tended to think that non-profit efforts and entities are important, but not necessarily commercially viable, we support them. However, many non-profit organizations are shifting to operate more like for-profit organizations. You now see and hear commercials on public broadcasting stations and on National Public Radio. The commercials are tailored to the audience and often advertise worthy organizations or

business that support public broadcasting and radio, but they are still commercials.

Many now feel that the non-profit model-which was designed to create capital to fund the arts-no longer meets the need of non-profits in the way it once did. Now, we are beginning to see all kinds of hybrid models. Last year, the Metropolitan Museum of Art had 4.8 million visitors at \$20 each. That is something like \$90 million in addition to total gift-shop revenues. That looks like a business. Add in the museum's tax break and other funding that reduces its operating expenses, for example, and you realize what a huge business the museum is. The Museum of Modern Art, the Metropolitan Opera, and many other institutions now have more in common with Disney than they do with your local museum. Thus, to think about the non-profit sector as a sector is increasingly problematic, especially when you consider what I talked about earlier—these sitcom television shows that can no longer support the structures by which they work. We support film, although, increasingly, film cannot support itself.

The United States used to be a manufacturing economy. In the 1990s, we became more of a service economy. In the 2000s, we became more of an experience economy. Take Starbucks, for example. When you go into Starbucks and purchase a \$5 cup of coffee, you are paying for the experience. However, we are not in the experience economy anymore; we are now in the attention economy, and let me tell you why. Say you are a maker of crackers. You make the very best crackers. Everyone loves your crackers—they are very, very good. When a consumer goes into a grocery store and looks at the shelves that hold crackers, however, she is looking at approximately 35 different boxes of crackers. How she chooses a box of crackers now becomes more complicated, and you, as a cracker maker, face a marketing challenge.

As the number of cultural activities increased, audience members began making choices differently. Sociologist Barry Schwartz (2004) calls this the *tyranny of choice*. The tyranny of choice describes the concept of increased anxiety when choices increase. For instance, when employees are offered 10 different 401K plans, enrollment is quite low, even when it is to the employees' advantage to enroll. When employees have three different 401K plans from which to choose, enrollment is much higher. People are already somewhat naturally anxious about choices, so when presented with even more choices, anxiety increases. Their sense of expectation about the experience associated with their choices also increases. When it comes to cultural activities, when faced with so many great options, you may have difficulty

choosing and then, after you finally choose, you wonder if you might have had more fun if you had selected another activity. That is naturally how we tend to think. This puts significant stress on anything cultural—such activities have to clear the choice/anxiety hurdle. I would submit that if your business is built on the idea of the consumer relationship—I produce the place, you buy the ticket—then you are finished because that model is no longer sustainable. There are now too many other choices for a cultural consumer to make. They are increasingly going to all of the other options available now. Plus, approximately half of them are now free. Traditional organizations working from the old model have to come up with new ways to operate to remain relevant to the cultural consumer, the transaction, and the intention.

If we can no longer talk in terms of consumer choice because there are too many choices, you have to create another reason for people to choose you. In other words, you have to create a community around what you do-whether we are talking about mega-churches or Mary Kay or Harley Davidson, if you create a culture, if you create a community, if you create a brand that stands for something in which people can feel that they have some control, the relationship between you and the cultural consumer or your audience completely changes. For example, Nike created Nike Connect, which allows people to track how far they run through a sensor in the Nike running shoe and the runner's iPod; it provides motivation and allows users to go online and share things. Nike has six million people participating now, which creates a very structured brand. Many people may not even think about buying another shoe.

How can we do this in the arts? We have to create brands to which people feel connected because they feel they are in control of what the brand actually means to them. Communities can be empowered in this way. For example, consider Netflix. One of the basic aspects of Netflix's business model is an algorithm that, as a user begins to select movies, begins to suggest movies the user may also like based on previous choices. Of course, the algorithm has to continually improve, and the engineers at Netflix found that they were having difficulty beating their own algorithms. Netflix then decided it would create something called the Netflix Prize. Anyone who could beat and improve the Netflix algorithm by 10 percent would receive a million dollars. Within a few months, approximately 40,000 programmers from all over the world were engaged in the contest to beat the Netflix algorithm. Most were close to four or five percent, and the contest finally stalled out at around eight-and-a-half percent. Then, one group finally beat the algorithm by a little over 10 percent. The rules of the contest indicated, however, that once a winner is declared, everyone else has 30 days to try

to beat them. One group, on the 29th day after the declaration, beat the original score by 1/100th of a percent. My point is that you cannot simply declare that your organization, business, or supporter base is a community and expect people to interact with you. You have to give people something to do and associate a reward with their interactions with you. Whether you want them to click on a link, leave a comment on a website, or some other action, you have to reward them every single time.

In the case of Netflix, its strategy was brilliant. Not only was a significant reward associated with its contest, but it reinforced the Netflix brand in a big way. All but a few of the programmers—the best in the world—who entered the contest were unable to beat Netflix's algorithm. Not only that, we now know that open-source projects always beat proprietary projects. The new open-source model involves opening up something to a community for free, allowing them to change it, and improve it. The community collectively invests in the shared program or service to improve it—together. This works whether you are talking about Netflix or Drupal or any host of other companies applying the open-source model to their work.

Applying the open-source concept to a cultural organization represents a very different way of thinking. For example, if you are producer of something that has a traditionally fixed audience that you must attract again and again each time there is a performance, moving to an open-source model means you would build a community and provide all kinds of reasons for interaction with your offering as well as with other community members. In other words, you would go from being a producer to being an infrastructure that enables a community to communicate among members. This is a much more powerful idea that will always beat being just a producer.

Of course, there are many issues to work through if considering this idea. Most arts organizations and institutions are very uncomfortable with the idea of giving up control over what they produce or offer. However, in the traditional model, if someone comes to your show and hates it, they will go home and tell all of their friends, and suddenly your box office is dead. What if you provided them a place to complain? I call it cultivating a culture of complaint. If you can get people to complain to you, you then have the possibility of a relationship with that person or group. Any good business person understands that some of your most loyal customers will be the people who first came to complain to you.

I would like to talk about communication and the pace at which it is moving and changing. First, I would like to talk about Twitter. A few days after the elections in Iran, when Iran prohibited news organizations from coming into the country to cover the elections, thousands of people in Iran started taking video and photographs and also started tweeting. The tweets were coming in so rapidly and so many people were participating that people started organizing the tweets. People started interpreting what they meant. This event was significant. Many in the media and elsewhere realized that the role and importance of television—the most compelling vehicle for communicating a story for the last 50 years—was shifting. The old model—seeing a story unfold on television and then going to print to find out what it means with all of the additional information about the story-has flipped with the advent of Twitter. It allows a user to scan text very quickly, understand what is happening, see video and pictures posted by other users, and determine what kind of coverage she seeks based on all of the filters and what other users are saying. Twitter provides a much more comprehensive way to consume news. News agencies cannot keep up with people on the ground. In Iran, for example, people were tweeting about what was happening right that minute. News agencies have to adhere to publication schedules and other protocols.

When using Twitter, the goal is not to be the first to report something; rather, it is to interpret something. It changes the role of the journalist. We are approaching a concept called *augmented reality*, which means the information that one person needs is different from the information another person needs. Now, in many cities, you can walk down the street and point your iPhone at something, like a business, and get information about the business such as reviews, business hours, and so forth. In Seattle, I can access an application on my smartphone that tells me how far the next bus is from where I am standing. When I get on the bus, my news needs change—I may need to know how traffic is so I can anticipate any delays to my next destination. Defining news, information, and individual needs continues to change.

Huffington Post displays two versions of a headline and a story online, putting them each on equal pages for five minutes to see how many people click on each. The more popular headline stays on the website; the less popular headline is removed. They have also started asking readers to suggest headlines and, if those get better traction, Huffington Post chooses them over their own. Google does the same thing in many ways; they constantly refine search metrics based on the results they get or track from users.

What does this mean for arts entertainers? What if you are Whitney Houston and you worry that if, on the first stop of your big come-back tour in Central Park, you crack a note on stage and it is immediately tweeted everywhere? Ticket sales may instantly plunge, and you have a huge problem now that the tour has started. That very thing happened with the film Inglourious Basterds. There was incredible buzz on Twitter after the opening of the film, and box-office revenues exceeded all expectations. Conversely, with the film Bruno, the industry had never seen a bigger fall-off, and it was driven by negative buzz on Twitter. This concept crosses over into other areas, too, like politics. If Olympia Snow says she will vote the healthcare bill out of committee, and people start tweeting about it and calling to push her out of Congress in the next election, what does that mean to our political process? If everyone can weigh in on anything about which they have an opinion, what does this mean to our cultural process?

Finally, I would like to talk about what I call the excellence problem. Symphony orchestras have spent the last 50 years making perfect recordings—so perfect, in fact, that people who attend a live performance start counting the mistakes. This essentially puts a glass wall between the performer and the audience. Orchestras and other cultural organizations sell themselves on being the best, which no longer carries the same currency. The Atlanta Opera surveyed its subscribers last year to find out what attracted them to performances and found that the big-name performers like Renee Fleming were not the main reason for attendance; people surveyed cited all kinds of other reasons outside of the excellence factor for attending opera performances.

The most unhappy people in the world at this moment are videographers who make perfect videos-for PBS, for example, when amateurs are making videos that cost all of 50 cents and are viewed by 5,455,000 people. Even grainy, poorquality videos receive this kind of attention. Some people are calling it the good-enough revolution. When I was a kid, the phone always worked, but my current smartphone always drops calls and I somehow prefer that. The essence is that it is not the best or most reliable phone, but it has a whole other host of great benefits. Remember Betamax? Betamax was superior to VHS, but VHS was cheaper and served the purpose. To a musician or audiophile, MP3 files sound poor in quality, but they work for the great majority of music lovers. How does this argument apply to the arts? If we are trying to sell our product on the basis of excellence, we become less relevant to the community. To provide an example, I would like to share a story about my friend who conducts two orchestras in Seattle. One is a community orchestra made up of doctors. The other is a professional

chamber orchestra—a very good one, one of the best in the Northwest. The music played by the professional orchestra is at a very high level, and the program is always very good. I prefer going to the community orchestra, however, because when I go, the place is absolutely packed and everyone is talking to one another and having a good time. There is an animation and a spirit in the room that is not present at the professional orchestra's performances because no one talks to each other, everyone plays perfectly, and it is largely just a consumer transaction. Over time, this starts to take its toll.

What is the essence of the experience that we are trying to sell in the arts? I would propose that what we need to do is think about not only where the revenue and earned income for all these models will come from but about new methods for engagement. Seth Godin, a well-known marketer and author, wanted to write a book and then make it available for free on the Internet. His publisher said no. So, he bought a low-end piece of software, and he published the book himself. In the first month, 3,000 people downloaded it. Three months later, 20,000 people had downloaded the book, and two years later, two million people had downloaded it. It was completely free. Now, in the meantime, he also published it conventionally, and it shot to the top of the New York Times best-seller list. Godin asserts that this happens because the reason people are not reading your book is not because they do not like what you have to say. It is because they do not know what you have to say until you have a relationship with them; then they might be ready to hear what you say. The relationship leads to the value they place on what you have to say; it makes them willing to buy the premium service. That is how the attention economy works—how you start to earn revenue. You have to create the constituency with as few barriers as you can and often that is free access to something or no barriers whatsoever.

The free-access model did not work for newspapers, though, because newspapers essentially took something that they had been doing for years, and they just put it online. They did not innovate. Every innovation in the news business that we now take for granted came from a source other than the news industry itself. These innovations came from the porn industry, from Craigslist, or elsewhere. These are real business models, and people are making a lot of money online. Newspapers could have had that, too, but they did not.

If you think about a cultural organization as an open-source organization, you should think about Drupal. Drupal is the most powerful content management system right now because everyone contributes to it, and there are thousands of modules. Some of the most robust sites run on it, and it is all free. You hire the developer to tune it for you and make it

do what you want it to do, but you never buy the software. Drupal, one of many open-source programs, is constantly updated, and it beats every other system out there. Or, you think about the App Store, where you can buy Apple applications or apps online. The idea is to create a free app, people like it and download it a million times. Now you have a relationship with them because you have given them something new in what your app does. They now trust you, so you will sell a million more apps. This is how the software industry works. This is how things work online. They call it the freemium model. This does not mean that everything you do has to be free. Arts/ournal, for example, is a for-profit entity. It is not funded by anyone. I have about 10 different revenue streams to support Arts/ournal. We have approximately 35,000 free newsletter subscribers, yet there are 1,000 subscribers who pay \$28 each year to get the premium version. The dirty secret is that there is nothing in the premium version that you cannot get for free by visiting the website. Why do they pay? Because, like in public radio, there are enough people who believe in what you are doing that they will show their support in dollars if you give them the opportunity to do so. It is not all about money; however, it is about what they can do for you to show their support. The most powerful thing that you can do is to activate your audience. They will do amazing things for you that you cannot possibly do for yourself, though that involves giving up some control.

How would you implement these ideas as an arts council or an arts commission? Think about the history of arts commissions for a moment. Back in 1965, there were probably around three of them, though now there are thousands of commissions and councils. The money has not kept up with that growth. The influence that arts commissions have now compared to 10 or 20 years ago has diminished. How can a modern arts organization reinvent itself in a way that activates the community it serves to accomplish things that are not related to money and funding? We see many arts organizations today engaging in long and expensive processes to build their own software platforms. The organizations would be much better served if they gathered together, created a collective platform or model that people can use, and used it to serve the broad needs of all arts organizations.

All service organizations are experiencing existential crises right now, as you know. I spent a few days recently with the League of American Orchestras. There are half a dozen major orchestras on the verge of going out of business right now. They are all wondering what they can do to stay relevant. The issue is with their business model, which is based on something that does not exist any more. This is the same problem we saw with the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA). In conversations with Bill Ivey, a former NEA chair-

man, I learned that he spent all of this time at the NEA trying to fight for a paltry sum of money for the arts while important discussions about the future of copyright and trade and other things that are vitally important to artists were happening just down the hall—and the cultural community had no voice in those discussions whatsoever. That is shocking. Thus, we really need to reinvent the cultural organization—not what it is but how a service organization or arts council serves a community.

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FILM INCENTIVES IN THE STATES

Presenters: Ned Rightor, Jon Hendry

Ned Rightor presents the work he and co-author Susan Christopherson completed regarding the efficacy of film incentives. In addition to providing a critique of current incentive programs, Rightor suggests ways film incentives can be made more effective. Jon Hendry presents a view of the value of film incentives from a state perspective. He discusses how incentives function in New Mexico and provides an overview of the short-and long-term benefits of such incentives to a state.



For the last 15 years, I have been collaborating on various economic development research projects with Susan Christopherson, whose knowledge of the film business far exceeds my own. Some of our projects have focused on

the broader dynamics within the media industries, both old and new. One prominent dynamic in the film industry during the last 10 years has been the dramatic rise of tax-funded financing for films, television shows, and commercials. Two years ago, tax-funded financing was around \$500 million nationwide. Last year, it was a billion dollars. Information on the film incentives offered by 43 states is available through the websites of two organizations. Entertainment Partners, based in Los Angeles, keeps an updated list of what incentives are offered in various states online. The Incentives Office, based in Santa Monica, publishes the same information in a quarterly guide.

Film-incentive programs are dramatically affecting state budgets around the country. For example, New Mexico has given out \$80 million in the last year as part of its film-incentive program. Compare that to your own organizational budgets.

A distinction should be made here between the film business as art and the film business as business. Unlike most other areas of the arts, the film business is run by publicly traded companies working on an international scale. The film business has always thrived on other people's money. Now it is thriving on the money of everyone who

pays taxes in 43 states. However, taxpayers do not have a choice about whether or not to invest in films, so there is an especially intense need for stewardship on the part of people in government. Film incentives use taxpayer dollars, which means those dollars are not being used for other purposes that taxpayers might consider important, including the arts. The states need to consider whether this is a wise investment to make.

I would like to raise some questions.

First, why has the need for film incentives only arisen in the last decade when it has been possible to make movies and television shows without them for roughly 100 years? What changed in the industry? Whose money is not going into the production of films and television shows now that taxpayers' money is?

My other question involves looking at motives. All the states in this game fancy that they will become Hollywood East, but why does Hollywood need a Hollywood East? Why does Hollywood need to spread beyond the traditional media centers in New York and Los Angeles when being located in those cities is clearly an advantage? Moving film or TV production into other states is not the same thing as moving Hollywood, and if the primary reason for doing so has become how much taxpayer money producers can get, then the hold other states have on the industry is very fragile.

Having reviewed many evaluations of these incentive programs around the country, I want to tell you that these programs are not engaged in the arts in the sense of producing products that reflect the experience of an artist or the character of a region. This is a business deal. The 43 states participating in film-incentive programs are bankrolling the product of one industry with taxpayer dollars. A state seeking to establish a film industry through tax subsidies is now vying with 43 other states that are doing the same. The product differentiation is relatively slight, and everyone is going after the same kinds of productions: those that pay relatively high wages, employ a lot of people, and spend a lot of money at local businesses. All of the states with film incentives are doing the same thing, and they are doing it in the same way.

If this is a competition among states, then it should be possible to win something, but the end goal of these film incentives has not been articulated. If the rationale for offering these incentives is to create jobs and build an industry that can sustain itself without taxpayer support, we should ask whether film incentives are a good way to

accomplish those things. If states are using the justification that one must invest money to make money, they ought to clearly define the standards they want to meet.

I am primarily focused on economic development and answering the question of whether or not various measures enacted by governments or industries will be successful in building what they do not already have.

My message is primarily that if states are going to use taxpayer dollars to fund a single industry, they ought to have full information upon which to base their decisions regarding what they can expect to gain from that funding and what is the actual benefit in terms of taxes recovered, jobs created, and economic impact on the citizens of the state. Economic development should be about the greatest good for the greatest number of citizens, and that should be the measure applied here.

Currently, what is perhaps the most important difficulty of all when evaluating state film incentives is the unavailability of critical management information.

Unlike other arenas in the arts, it is possible to get hard data about a film or television production that is supported by a tax incentive. Productions need to file budgets with states in order to receive subsidies, and they usually have to reconcile what they actually spent against the budgets they submitted. As a result, there is detailed information about film productions, such as what businesses were employed and where, what vendors were involved and where they purchased the goods used in the production, who the production employed, and how much the employees were paid. Therefore, there is enough information to find out the most important factors regarding economic development including the number of jobs the productions created.

Now, in evaluating the number of jobs created by film productions, it is important to carefully define what a job is. Most people working in film are not employed on a full-time, long-term basis. They work from project to project. A film job lasts only the length of a production, so the income film-production employees receive to support themselves and their families depends on how many projects are available to them. That is why they lobby hard for production subsidies; they believe more subsidies equal more projects for them.

How many full-time residents can make their living from media production alone? To answer that question, both the number of people working in film and the number of days annually they are employed by film productions in each state that offers incentives should be reported by the film offices of those states for the benefit of whomever wants to analyze that information. It is impossible to accurately evaluate the effectiveness of incentive programs without this information because different assumptions about job numbers lead to very different estimations about the return to the tax coffers. If the real job numbers were available for analysis, one could accurately determine whether or not the incentives ultimately pay for themselves.

Yet, as far as I know, this information is not currently available in any state. The information is known by the film offices, but they keep it private on the basis that it is proprietary.

That justification for secrecy might make sense if a film were being financed by a bank or a venture capital firm. Those organizations would get all the information they need in order to decide if they want to make an investment, but the production company could reasonably argue that the information not be disclosed to the public.

However, in the case of states offering film incentives, the bank or venture capitalist is the public, so it is entitled to all the same information that any other lender would need to determine exactly what it is getting for its money. To figure that out, the public needs to know how much of the subsidy money was spent in its state, how much was spent on residents, and how much was spent on purchases made in the state.

When we make assumptions about the economic impact of these incentives, we may falsely assume that these effects are going to be enjoyed by people in the state. Many of these incentive programs have cloudy definitions of spending. For example, there are contracts for personal services that pay out-of-state actors through an in-state entity. Film offices are not as vigilant as they should be in determining whether in-state vendors are making purchases in state or out of state. Further, it is generally difficult to get good financial information in the film business because its accounting can be very murky. And, each production is typically its own legal entity. Because that entity dissolves itself after the product is created, if a film production has not generated the economic or jobs benefits that it promised, it is doubtful that the state could recoup its subsidy.

At the very least, the information we do have should be available for public scrutiny to determine how much benefit states retain from their film-incentive programs and where their programs can be fine tuned.

Finally, I want to point out that the distribution of films and television productions is now narrowly controlled by

a few very large companies. Back when Hollywood studios financed and distributed films and television shows, they were against any production outside of California. Now that they are owned by huge media conglomerates, the studios are in favor of runaway production. This is because they can reduce the risk to their asset base (and their stock price) by using taxpayer money.

Their argument for that reward is that they are bringing a lot of money into your state. However, the decisions about which productions are distributed—those that have the ability to make money and may be the basis for a sustained industry—are made by the leaders of just six companies. Last year, only 524 films were distributed in the United States. I urge states to give attention to productions that are distributed outside of the Hollywood distribution channel. These include shows for public television, municipal television, and cable. States should focus on distribution channels where they can have more control of the elements that will determine whether film or television production will be a sustainable industry and whether it will sustain employment on a long-term basis.

JON HENDRY

In New Mexico, we don't have a choice between doing film production and doing something else. Our choice is between film production in New Mexico and film production outside of our state. There are no other opportunities.

Please don't separate film from the arts. Film is an art form. The fact that workers put on boots and start work at 5:00 a.m. does not mean they are not creating art. There are artists who design great sets. There are great painters, prop makers, and cinematographers. The guy who moves the dolly can create a great shot. The person who cleans up afterwards is an artist, too, because that person is a part of creating art. There is an implication that if taxpayer money were not spent on film incentives, it would be spent on the arts, but film is an art. Film is an art that generates \$13 billion a year and is created by two million people. If the United States exported more films, perhaps we would export fewer arms, our number-one export. Even a film as banal as Transformers generates a couple hundred million dollars and another billion views of bootleg copies. Film is clearly an art. The New Mexico Department of Cultural Affairs even has a state-supported film museum. To be in a museum, you have to be an art, right?

Many people have come to the conclusion that films make money—not necessarily with regard to taxes but in terms

of economic development. Wisconsin found it was making \$1.50 for each dollar it handed out, and it did away with film incentives for all practical purposes. A recent study in New Mexico found that film-incentive programs are costing the state 50 cents per dollar, but the previous study estimated a cost of 86 cents per dollar. The state is gradually increasing its estimation of what it is getting back, and I think it will eventually find that these film productions are making money for New Mexico.

I am here to address the question of whether the money spent on New Mexico's film-incentive program would be better spent on something else. I have a unique perspective on this question because I have spent some time in state government, so I have been through the state budget process. I realize there are finite resources, but the money generated from film incentives is not going to Hollywood. It is going to people in New Mexico, many of whom have not even graduated from high school. We have a 50 percent dropout rate in New Mexico. In the last five years, we have used the film incentives to give opportunities to 12,000 New Mexico residents.

There is a young woman currently working on films in New Mexico who, until she was 35, worked at a credit union but had always wanted to work in film. We have concentrated our efforts on that type of person—someone who will not stay in New Mexico if it does not provide him or her with a high-paying job. The state is losing its talent. New Mexico spent 60 percent of its budget on education due to its peculiar but fair way of funding education—every school district receives exactly the same amount of money per pupil, regardless of the economic status of the district.

The film-incentive program is not the only program offering a 25-percent rebate in New Mexico. The state started investing in green industries before they became popular. That is why we have companies such as Shot Solar and Advantage Solar, which receive rebates from the state to create high-paying jobs. New Mexico has many economic development incentives because our most important task is to educate our young people and give them an opportunity to stay in New Mexico. My daughter is in Buenos Aires, Argentina, right now. I want her to have the opportunity to come back and work in New Mexico, and that is the purpose of the film-incentive program. We are creating career paths where people can start out sweeping floors in Albuquerque studios and eventually move up to become production designers.

When New Mexico created the first working film-incentive program in the state, its mission was to incentivize New Mexicans, New Mexico companies, and people who want

to work in the film business to stay in the state. We started our training programs before we started giving rebates. Our one-year program is in six community colleges around the state. We created the national curriculum for high-school certification in motion-picture production. We wrote the book on how to get into the movie business and how to make movies. We spent the money necessary to create the workforce before the work was there.

I agree that film-incentive programs need to be transparent. There should be something that clearly shows the return on investment to the state, and states need to have goals for their participation in film-incentive programs. Our goal is to create jobs for New Mexicans and to bring people to New Mexico. Our state barely registered on the national charts, but now we can say, "Do you know where Indiana Jones was shot? Do you know where Transformers was shot? Do you know where No Country for Old Men was shot?" A movie that will be taught in film schools for the next 30 years exists because the people who put their boots on and go to work at 5:00 a.m. made that movie for the Coen brothers. New Mexican artists made it.

I would like to give you an analogy. A football team has 55 people on its roster between the team and the practice squad. Are we building billion-dollar stadiums for 55 people? Are we therefore giving the film incentives to the 3,000 people who work directly on the sets? Of course not. Those 3,000 people create 9,000 jobs for everyone who regularly works on a set, and that's not counting the service businesses that service those jobs. The \$80 million we spent is spreading out to create a ripple effect. We are throwing a rock in a pool. Before the movie business came along, it was a pool of stagnant water.

In New Mexico, our only other alternative was to die on the vine. The train is coming down the track of digital media, and we are now pulling it. But if we were not on it, we would be left behind. We would turn into Appalachia in the 1930s, and you would have to come up with another TVA to come and rescue us. Instead, we rescued ourselves.

I urge those of you in the arts to pay attention to the distribution argument. In New Mexico, we just created Encanta TV, which is a statewide arts and entertainment television channel from the artists who create the art.

If you are not going to use film incentives, what else are you going to do? We are Americans. Are you going to leave us behind? Help us continue to support the arts-based economy in New Mexico, where we are proud, making money, and putting people to work.



LAURA ZUCKER

Our country has a system for distinguishing between non-profit and for-profit businesses. We have decided that non-profits are going to get certain breaks, but not too many. They are not exempt from sales tax, for example.

I have a question for Jon Hendry What sets the film industry apart from other for-profit arts industries, such as the recording industry and art galleries, none of which has a history of subsidy in this country?

And I have another question for Ned Rightor. Do you think the movement around film incentives is analogous to the movement around stadium subsidies? We got on the bandwagon, we built sports stadiums, and we thought they had to be publicly subsidized. But the bubble eventually burst, and everyone realized that those subsidies were not creating enough economic impact to justify the subsidizing of a particular for-profit business. Do you think the film-incentive bubble will burst? If it did burst, what would be the time frame?

JON HENDRY

It would be great if a certain portion of every state budget was set up for the arts. If the arts bring a return to the state, as we have conclusively proven they do in New Mexico, then we should subsidize them. In New Mexico, the arts are so important that we have a cabinet-level Department of Cultural Affairs. Our third largest business in the state is tourism, and I believe the tourists come for our art. This argument is about jobs versus no jobs. The motion picture business creates jobs in the arts, and New Mexico is as shovel ready as is possible. Our state did not need to build any infrastructure to support its work in the film industry. New Mexico citizens are ready to go work in the middle of a field, and we often do. The film industry in our state is as high paying as possible. The argument that film incentives do not create full-time jobs is spurious. The film industry in New Mexico has people working five or six days a week and at least 12 to 13 hours a day. These are more than full-time jobs with full healthcare and benefits.

NED RIGHTOR

The question of whether an industry can support itself depends on a wide range of elements beyond what goes into producing the product. The assembling of those elements took 100 years in the places where you find sustainable film production in this country, such as California and New York. Why is it necessary to move film production to anywhere else? How long will it take to do that, and will you provide subsidies the whole time? Can you successfully manage it?

The analogy I would draw is that states participating in film-incentive programs are like Southern cotton farmers saying, "Look how much more cotton we're growing. Surely we must be getting a hold on the English textile industry." In this case, the textile industry is based in California, the textiles are designed in California, the thread is spun in California, the cloth is woven in California, and the cloth is sold out of California. That is unlikely to change. We will expend a great deal of public money for naught if we continue to provide film incentives for the next 10 years unless states can establish a niche in which they have a logical and permanent hold on a certain segment of production. A more likely outcome is that the business will still be predominantly based in California, somewhat in New York, and everyone else will be fighting over scraps.

Jon Hendry did mention one of the wild cards here. We are speaking as if the media-entertainment business will continue to work in the same media as it always has. But if anyone can figure out how to make money from entertainment products on the Internet, they win the golden fleece. There are a variety of channels that are not currently controlled by the Hollywood distribution system, and there are other digital art forms, such as video games, where the same or analogous skills lead to more long-lasting job prospects.

FRANK HAMSHER

The existing film industry has been a no-growth industry for quite some time. When states lure film production within their borders, they are taking it from someplace else. They are not producing net new growth. This practice began when film producers realized that making films in Canada was cheaper for a variety of reasons, and they began to get subsidies from Canada. Now we have a rob-Peter-to-pay-Paul business model on a national scale. The two largest production centers are California and New York. Both states have adopted tax incentives but not because they thought they needed them in order to generate an industry. California and New York are trying to protect an industry they already have.

Earlier, Ned Rightor made an important point about how the film industry can only flourish in certain states. For example, New Mexico is well suited to produce films because it has enough personnel as well as other critical elements, including interesting scenery. My home state of Missouri would have a harder time. How many states can grow a film industry with the help of film incentives?

STEVEN TEPPER

I have a question about the cultural impact of these film productions separate from the economic impact. To what extent do film productions happen behind a closed door, away from public view? Or are they really public projects, where citizens are exposed to the art via local newspaper stories and other forms of contact? What is the nature of the relationship between citizens and film projects in their states?

JON HENDRY

In New Mexico, we have decided we need both the cultural and the economic impacts of the film industry. We spent \$80 million in the rebate program last year and generated \$120 million, but we also ran and funded a number of our own programs. For example, the Sundance Institute has set up its Native American and Hispanic film program in the town of Española in New Mexico. New Mexico gave the Sundance Institute a \$2.5-million ranch to house its Native American and Hispanic filmmaking program.

New Mexico has a Native American outreach program that gives out almost \$1 million per year. The New Visions program is a competition where the state will buy or subsidize your film at whatever level you need. The New Mexico Filmmakers program gives out half a million dollars and helps filmmakers distribute their films throughout the state and in Los Angeles as well.

It would be a mistake to operate in silos with tax dollars. We would lose the strong support we have from taxpayers. Currently, between 80 and 70 percent of New Mexico's taxpayers support film-incentive programs. They would take the money away if we operated in silos. But we have created a series of training programs from high school up through postgraduate studies. We have made digital technology available across the board. We have launched filmmaking programs to allow New Mexicans to get into film productions and become part of the movies.

ANN MARKUSEN

I addressed the Association of Film Commissioners International on the topic of film incentives a couple years ago. As an economist, I want to place this issue in the context of the larger fight over tax incentives at the state level. For a long time, rather than giving grants or making budgetary expenditures, states have used these tax incentives to obscure

the opportunity cost of giving away such large amounts of money. I published a book on this topic called *Reigning in the Competition for Capital* (2007).

Peter Fisher, an economist in lowa, showed that the share of state budgets paid by citizen taxes has gone up as the business share has fallen. This redistribution of money from businesses to people is occurring because businesses have figured out that they can get away with it. These film incentives have clearly created jobs in Los Angeles, where film companies are hiring people to go out and manage these deals.

I have seen the study on film incentives done by New Mexico. It is a consultant's study and does not have the same evidence as the studies from other states that Ned Rightor summarized earlier. Those studies were done by fiscal budget offices of state legislatures, and that is where the burden is falling and where the real evidence is. Some legislatures-and even some governors-have pointed out that the money for incentives must come out of something else, such as school budgets. And if the money is coming out of school budgets, maybe states could use it to train its own filmmakers instead of giving it to outside companies who come and hire whomever they want. I agree with Ned Rightor's opinion that other constituencies in state government are fighting against film incentives. Rather than paying Hollywood companies to make films in our states, we should link ourselves up with the broader industry.

Fiscal analysts are concerned by film incentives because conventions and festivals are going to start pitting communities against one another by demanding tax breaks. Some events are already doing this.

Part of the original purpose of film incentives was to showcase your state through the films. Many films do not show states and their residents in a positive light, and some states are beginning to demand that they do.

LARRY MEEKER

The finance industry probably trumps the film industry when it comes to using other people's money, creative accounting, and tax subsidies. Remember that the arts are not the only field to use those questionable tactics.

The film industry is somewhat like free trade when it comes to the press. When a factory moves to Mexico or China, the press report on it because that is a reportable occurrence. However, the press do not report when the owner of a large plant hires one more factory worker or one person to do marketing in Mexico, so reporting on out-of-state film

productions is often skewed.

Film incentives are gratifying because there are instant results. Once the incentives are dispensed, people come to make the films. In traditional economic development, it takes a lot longer to get results.

As Jon Hendry pointed out earlier, film incentives create jobs, just as the recent bailout of the auto industry preserved jobs. The bailout did not make sense economically, but people argued that the loss of that many jobs would create a ripple effect through other industries. That argument is not sound footing, to my mind. Whether or not the incentives are worthwhile comes down to a cost-benefit analysis, but it is hard to measure what we get back. As Jon Hendry and Ann Markusen both mentioned earlier, states can capitalize on public relations opportunities within the films they help fund. And perhaps film workers learn skills that help them go on to do other things. It is difficult to measure the full array of benefits, so an accurate cost-benefit analysis is impossible to do. I am very skeptical of these subsidies.

NED RIGHTOR

Aside from the film industry simply being cool, one reason film incentives are popular is that we are desperate to figure out how to create more jobs for people in our states. The incentives are especially tempting because of the jobs we lost—sent elsewhere by companies on the same scale as the ones with which we are engaged in the film industry.

There is an internal economy in the film industry. If the tax-payers' money is not going to be at risk, then there will have to be a reallocation of risk among the other players in the industry. Part of the reason producers are under such a squeeze is that talent is so expensive. Set workers do not cost very much compared to the writers, directors, and actors, who are necessary to the marketing of films.

Whether or not there is a benefit to your state's image when a film is produced, there is a question of whether the audience watching the film realizes it is looking at your state on the screen. If a story is set in New York but the incentives are better in Toronto, they will make Toronto look like New York. No Country for Old Men is set in West Texas, so you have to wait until the end credits to know that most of the film was shot in New Mexico. And, as Ann Markusen mentioned earlier, there is a question as to whether a film will show your state in a light that attracts tourists.

FRANK HAMSHER

To follow up to Ned Rightor's earlier comment about the film industry being cool, we had an example of that in St.

Louis this spring. George Clooney came to town to film *Up in the Air.* He was in town for about three of the six weeks the production was there, but he probably got more play in the newspaper than every leading politician in the state. The newspaper reported that the public was ga-ga over George Clooney. It is important to think about this in the context of the \$4.5 million Missouri spent on tax incentives to bring that production to St. Louis, supposedly to create jobs. But that amount of money is 50 percent more than our regional arts commission spends on all arts organization and activity support over the course of any given year. There is some benefit to having people go ga-ga, but whether it's worth \$4.5 million is questionable.

JOAQUIN HERRANZ, JR.

How different is giving out film incentives from smokestack chasing in the 20th century? Laura Zucker mentioned subsidies for sports stadiums earlier. There is a good amount of research showing that those investments have been a net loss for taxpayers. There will be, of course, places where the film incentives work, such as New Mexico, but on the whole, I think we know how the story ends. The desire to create jobs immediately is understandable, but is there a way to make deals that build long-term opportunities rather than these one-offs?

ILONA KISH

I think my question relates a bit to what Steven Tepper asked; I am not sure if his question has been answered. I am really struck by the economic weight on this conversation. I understand the state funding context is different in Europe and in the United States, but I wonder if there are reasons for a state to invest in an art form other than for economic return? You seem to expect the state to behave in exactly the same way as a private investor with the same expectations, and my perception of the state's role is different.

JON HENDRY

If you do not like the film incentives, can anyone give me a better way to keep these kids in school? To continue the education track? To do something about our 50-percent-high-school dropout rate?

KWENDE KEFENTSE

I find it interesting that film incentives are working in New Mexico and not in other places. From what Jon Hendry has told us, the reason for this seems to be that it is investing in the ground so that things can grow out of it, as opposed to parachuting money in and creating jobs in an ad hoc way. Jon Hendry places emphasis on the importance of reducing the dropout rate, and that really speaks to the benefits of

film incentives in that state. They are investing in the next generation of leaders. The people there may or may not pursue film, although there is community-development activity happening because of these dollars and that seems to be the result of the wise way they are spending them.

JOHN HOLDEN

I have been struck by the concentration on the economic arguments as well. The cultural content argument keeps surfacing and then being put back in its box. The United States talks about film on an international level, and there is always mention of both the economic and the cultural importance. In this conversation, there seems to be a focus on the producer rather than the consumer. You are putting all of the money into the production end. Is the utility of the economic discourse simply that it puts the lid on cultural questions?

NED RIGHTOR

I would be much more enthusiastic about these film-incentive programs if their goal was to produce content that reflected the places in which the productions are shot. Before we got into this potlatch contest of who can give away the most, states did try to attract on-location film production. Now states are all playing the same game, and they are playing it with the taxpayer's dollar. States should channel more of their programs toward supporting local filmmakers and developing the skills of residents who are going to spend their money in the state. I would like to see a more differentiated film industry with regional pockets all over the country. That would require a change in the federal regulation of the industry so that distribution and production are separated by federal regulation as they have been in the past. Those times tend to be viewed as the Golden Age of the industry—the time when really good movies got made, and more creative people got into the business.

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ARTS EDUCATION: ADVOCACY AND RESEARCH

Presenters: Lynn Waldorf, Laurie Schell

Advocates for arts education have long cited research that demonstrates the contribution of arts education to the learning process. Unfortunately, some of the traditionally cited findings have emerged from research that does not stand up to rigorous scrutiny. Lynn Waldorf and Laurie Schell offer their thoughts about arts education advocacy and research. They also discuss current trends in arts education advocacy research.



When I first became involved in arts education 10 years ago, I found that education researchers, whom we tend to perceive as being unbiased, are actually quite opinionated. People choose research as a career path not because they want to

provide unbiased representations but often because they care deeply about specific topics related to their own experiences. By conducting research in those areas, they can position themselves as effective advocates for specific policies and practices. The specter of personal bias is especially present in situations where a researcher is hired to evaluate a program that may lose funding and, subsequently, staff jobs if negative findings are reported. Early in my training as an evaluator and researcher, I was actually advised not to include negative findings in written reports because neither the people running the programs nor the funders want to see them. One time, I ran into serious problems with a client when my project report exposed the pitfalls in the theory and student outcomes of the program.

Given the amount of political tension in the arts education field today caused by funding shortages and the difficulties posed in writing unbiased program reports, how can we discern which are quality research reports and which are not? If we want to use data to inform our decisions or to advocate for certain positions, how can we state our case using research that may later be re-analyzed and exposed as ineffectual?

It may be helpful to recall that the basic purpose of research is to inform decision making rather than to persuade people to change a belief or take a particular action, although it certainly is employed for those purposes as well. When a research report is used for arts education advocacy, there will be detractors on the other side who will look for weaknesses in the study. Unfortunately, there is no such thing as a perfect research study. There are some fairly good studies that show cause and effect and some not-so-good studies that claim to show the same but do not. The better studies tend to be very expensive, which places another limit on the number that can be conducted at any given time.

In recent years, program evaluation has been used as a more cost-effective process for analyzing trends in classroom activity and making educated guesses about how best to fund, implement, and support quality arts education programs. Evaluation can be considered a research short cut, though there are ramifications regarding the power of claims that can be made. In the last few years, some organizations have pushed the boundaries of ethical research by making public claims that do not stand up well under rigorous re-analysis. As a result, the arts education field has been charged with raising its research standards, which has been fairly effective to date.

There are three questions one should ask when evaluating the validity of a research study. The first question is: Who is doing the study and with what organization or institution are they affiliated? Talented researchers tend to be attracted to high-profile projects. Those studies are often successful because the researchers work hard to obtain reliable data, and the resulting press releases attract money, which further positions the projects to produce good findings. Research studies conducted through research-oriented universities or private research organizations with good reputations are likely to be valuable for advocacy.

It is helpful to ask around in the field about the academic reputation of the researchers, and it is also important to look at their background training. Graduate students can acquire a master's degree and start conducting evaluation studies to make money. However, they may not have substantial knowledge about evaluation practices, such as how to do statistical analysis correctly, conduct an informative focus-group interview, or develop relevant and unbiased survey items. As a result, the quality and validity of their findings suffer, and the field suffers in turn. As professionals, we need to consider implementing a certification process for researchers and evaluators because, currently, anyone can call themselves such and start working in the field.

The second question to ask about a research study is: How independent is the research that is being conducted? Are the researchers being paid by a client, or have a group of people pursued a study grant together? It is also important to know if the agenda for a study was set by researchers or perhaps by a foundation or public agency that required a specific program of study be followed. Valid and reliable research can be pursued in any of these scenarios, but understanding the initial context can help in determining the strength of validity.

The third question to ask is: How is the research study designed? Meta evaluations of multiple studies can be strong designs. The research volumes *Champions of Change* and *Critical Links* are not technically meta evaluations, but they are collections of some of the best available research in the field. Those reports were published by the Arts Education Partnership, which tends to fund rigorous studies. It is also worth knowing the sample size of the study you are considering as well as whether the people involved were randomly selected or volunteers. These factors all affect the legitimacy of claims.

And finally, those who wish to use research reports for advocacy need to fully read and digest the reports to understand them. The best way to get more information about a study you have just read is to call the author and ask about the study's strengths and weaknesses. If the author is willing to talk about the weaknesses of the study, the evaluator will have a better understanding of how to use the strengths without overstating claims.



When Proposition 13 was passed in the late 1970s in California, schools lost money as a result of a cap on property taxes. One of the first things to be moved to the margins in schools was the arts. In response, arts organizations argued that

they had the knowledge and expertise to bring the arts back into schools. Funders were the only real audience for this argument. Advocates, at that time, had to convince funders to fund partnerships with schools so that state and local arts councils could fix the problem by putting visiting artists in schools. Arts organizations followed that strategy until the end of the 1980s.

Since the 1990s, the conversation has shifted to a broader stage. Now we are trying to increase knowledge and awareness among multiple target audiences. The first audience is the public. The second audience is decision makers, which include legislators, state elected leaders, and local decision makers. The third audience is advocates, which include par-

ents, business leaders, grassroots advocates, arts teachers, artists, arts organizations, and others. The fourth audience is the education establishment, including superintendents, principals, and teachers' unions. Lastly, it is important to convince the media—the opinion makers—that the arts are a necessary component of education.

One of the first strategies most of us tried was the hero story. We found kids who persevered through adversity and grew up to become artists and model citizens. We said that those stories prove that participation in the arts increases the ability of children to succeed. We also gave awards to arts leaders, businesses, legislative leaders, and school-district leaders, hoping to increase the visibility and value of the arts.

Since the 1990s, we have been moving toward accountability and data-driven decision-making coupled with values-based public opinion. We began to see public opinion surveys about the arts and legislative hearings based on research data. We then began to use research as an advocacy tool. Over the last 15 years, some claims were based on good, solid research. Some gave rise to skepticism. Here is a sample of some of the headlines: "The Arts Ensure Higher Scores on the SAT;" "The Arts Keep Disenfranchised Youth in School and Ensure College Acceptance;" "The Arts Foster Self-Discipline, Teamwork, Self-Confidence, Motivation, and Empathy;" "Mozart Makes Babies Smarter;" and "The Arts Create Better Communities." As advocates, we have to look at the vast research and decide what we believe, who else might believe what we believe, and what will stick with our audiences.

We frequently argue among ourselves in the arts field. Some of us believe the benefits of the arts are intrinsic; others believe they are extrinsic. Because each artistic discipline has its distinct advocates, we are not always as unified as we should be as a field. This internal tension occasionally prevents us from presenting effective arguments to the decision makers.

In 2006, we passed a \$100-million budget item for arts education. This was accomplished largely because Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger was our champion and put it on the agenda. Things have changed since then, but that was an uplifting time. Our job was to find the argument that would help him convince the other policy makers and the public that arts education is important. The California Alliance for Arts Education had recently published a briefing paper with a message of quality, equity, and access, and that was the message that worked. The research arguments had certainly laid a foundation, but what convinced policy makers was the

argument that rich communities had arts education, while communities without private funds did not.

Now the landscape has changed again. California no longer has money, and the arts budget has been cut once again as it is in any economic recession. Arts education has been pushed to the margins in many schools. Although the \$109-million allocation we received is still on the books, schools are now free to raid it to pay whatever expenses they deem more important. What argument works now? The argument that has caught the attention of the public and policy makers is about creativity and innovation and not just in relation to preparing workforces for the future. In A Whole New Mind, Daniel Pink (2005) writes that manufacturing jobs can be done anywhere in the world, but the United States has creativity and innovation to offer.

The popularity of that argument has brought the business community into the fray. After 15 years of absence from the arts education conversation, it is suddenly leading the charge for creativity and innovation. However, the business community is having difficulty creating a firm link to the K-12 community. One advancing trend is in career technical education, which presents some opportunities for intersections with the arts but also some threats to overrun the careful framework and standards that have been set. Another alternative is charter schools, which are becoming popular in California. Another option is to move arts education to out-of-school time. But how do we ensure the charter schools have the same opportunities as public schools? How do we advance out-of-school arts education for all students? These questions are part of a new conversation that will require research and a new messaging campaign. I think the strongest arguments we can make now are to link quality K-12 education to healthy communities and to the development of 21st-century skills. How do we link a quality education to a better workforce, better and more informed citizens, and engaged colleagues who can recreate the cycle for the next generation?



ANDRÉ PETTIGREW

The global economic crisis is creating an opportunity for us. The uncertainty of our economy and abstract nature of the economic events of the last 20 months call for a more creative and innovative way of thinking and problem solving. Most routine tasks have been automated using technology, so businesses see real value in the ability to think creatively and solve problems with imagination. If we can combine the creative arts, including music, we will have something quite powerful to offer the business community.

The business community often struggles to see the direct link between K-12 education and business. K-12 education is a bureaucracy. The business model around education is changing, which creates room for entrepreneurial schools to spring up all over the country. These changes are an opportunity for us to help figure out how to rebuild our economy and workforce, and it is also a good time to send people a message about the value of a multidisciplinary approach that allows the arts to be a key ingredient in bringing together communities.

The arts and creativity have always been important in our country. In Detroit, Michigan, where I grew up, the automobile industry took off with Henry Ford's innovation of the assembly line. In my neighborhood, Berry Gordy, an autoworker, founded Motown by creating an assembly line of musical talent. That opportunity for innovation existed 40 years ago, and it exists today. In order to seize it, we need to connect the arts to economic development.

JULIA LOWELL

Arts education has different meanings for different people. It can mean music, visual arts, dance, and theatre. What are we trying to achieve in those different areas? There is also a lot of disagreement about the goals of arts education. Are we educating for performance? Are we educating for arts appreciation? This ambiguity makes advocacy difficult. Research studies are scattered among very different arts education programs with very different goals, and it is hard to make convincing connections with such unfocused data.

LYNN WALDORF

I would like to respond to what Julia Lowell said about the wide breadth of what is valued in arts education. The con-

tent-standards movement in the arts, which is fairly new, is attempting to organize those values. Other core subject areas have had standards since 1893, but the arts were not given standards when the federally appointed education committee created the secondary curriculum. The committee thought the arts were important to teach, but the specifics of what was taught should be dictated by local values and needs. As a result, we did not have a comprehensive and uniform set of standards for the next 100 years. We now have national standards in all the art forms, and most states are adopting their own related set of standards as well. This gives us a framework for pulling together those scattered values.

Steve Seidel (2009) published a report at Harvard University recently called *The Qualities of Quality*. He and his team interviewed 400 people and reviewed I,000 research studies on the topic of defining quality arts education. Seidel found that there is some general agreement on the purposes of arts education, but, more important, he wrote that the purposes of arts education have to be grounded in the needs of the community. For example, when I recently facilitated a discussion about arts education and local needs in Los Angeles, local education leaders perceived that while arts education should focus on the visual and performing arts standards, it could also be used to address economic inequities, racial tensions, and regional workforce preparation, particularly involving film and digital technologies.

LAURIE SCHELL

We frame our advocacy in California around state law, which says the arts shall be taught in California public schools. To the law, the arts means dance, music, theatre, and visual arts, although there is a current movement to add new media. These arts education standards were adopted in California in 2001, and they describe what all children should know and be able to do by the time they graduate high school. That includes artistic perception, creative expression, historical and cultural context, aesthetic valuing, and understanding connections and relationships with other areas as well. Those five strands form the foundation for the state standards.

KWENDE KEFENTSE

I think Larry Rothfield's (2007) research around how people create scenes by symbolizing their consumption in their locality is relevant here. Each municipality has local arts activity. If we can connect arts education to that local art, we will create a deeper ecosystem of education and feedback.

LAURA ZUCKER

People seem to be moving away from the model that Laurie Schell mentioned earlier, in which arts organizations would simply provide the educational experience. We now view the delivery system as a three-legged stool. The arts organizations are important for connecting education to the local community and for bringing artists into the classroom; however, in order for an arts education program to be effective, it also needs trained generalist teachers as well as trained specialist teachers.

JENNIFER HAHN

As Julia Lowell said earlier, it is difficult to use data as a tool for advocacy because they are so scattered. However, I would argue that mobilization is the main obstacle to effective advocacy. We do fight among ourselves about how the arts should be taught, and this conversation should be internal only. Every time we expose that internal argument to the public and the powers that be, we undercut what we are trying to achieve as advocates. Similarly, every time we talk about arts education being at the bottom of the totem pole, we ensure that we will be treated that way. Perhaps I have lower standards as someone who simply creates advocacy campaigns and pushes to make them work, but I believe that we already know more than we need to know in order to mobilize people for this cause. We simply are not mobilizing people as well as we could.

JOAQUÍN HERRANZ, JR.

When I worked with the Urban Institute, it seemed to me that there is substantial research demonstrating the positive effects of integrating the arts with education. If we have so many reports we can use to build our argument for arts education, why does the argument have no traction?

JENNIFER NOVAK-LEONARD

I am intrigued by the notion of basing a new messaging campaign on creativity and innovation, and I think that argument has traction because it is coming not just from the arts field but from many stakeholders in our society and our economy who want creative workforces and a creative, civically engaged citizenry. Many arts organizations are focused on survival and utilizing arts education as a way of ensuring future appreciators of art, but that doesn't tend to resonate with the general public. I am wondering how arts organizations could collaboratively team with other efforts underway to build a campaign based on creativity and innovation. To respond to Joaquín Herranz's comment about research-based arguments having no traction, I believe that happens because the arguments are often coming from the arts community itself—as in many fields—and distinguishing between research and advocacy can be difficult.

LAURIE SCHELL

To respond to Jennifer Novak-Leonard's comment about why arts organizations want arts education, it is true that we want an audience for the arts in the future. However, the arts community also agrees that we need citizens who understand and are engaged in culture. We need citizens who are engaged in the political process. We need engagement. The argument for arts education is not as self-referential as it used to be.

ILONA KISH

I recently attended the world summit on arts and culture in Johannesburg, and the closing plenary session was called something like *Can Art Save the World?* The majority of the arts advocates there even argued that the millennium development goals are failing because there was no cultural component. This argument carries little weight, but what arguments are credible? Regarding arts education, I recommend the PISA (Programme for International Student Assessment) study of the Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development (OECD, 2004). One last thing I want to mention is that the European Union has thematic promotional years, and this year is the year of creativity and innovation. These years often become empty buzz words, and they have not done the arts community any good so far.

LAURA ZUCKER

I would like to add to Joaquín Herranz's question about why we have no traction even though we have more than enough research data. I think that the messenger is a critical component in making these arguments. We have not addressed this yet, but we should think about who is delivering the message and how.

DANIELLE ENDRES

I agree with Lynn Waldorf's earlier point that research is not an inherently persuasive argument to the public, and we do have a lot of work to do in messaging and advocacy. She also mentioned that the quality of university research is important in gathering data. To what extent are universities collaborating with local or state arts agencies to create useful research? I ask because I am an argumentation scholar, and we frequently do community-based research to help communities make the arguments they need to make.

LYNN WALDORF

Universities are often criticized for being myopic in their vision and refusing to create partnerships with others, although sometimes that is because of how the university fiscal model is set up. Other times, it is due to restrictive intellectual property policies. My organization, the Griffin

Center for Inspired Instruction, is working to change that model by creating partnerships among universities, local school districts, arts organizations, and state agencies. I can think of a few other highly visible non-profits that make a point of doing this well. Hopefully, more will follow suit.

STEVEN TEPPER

I agree with Jennifer Novak-Leonard's suggestion that there is value in the argument about creativity and innovation. There are core creative competencies, and the arts are not the only disciplines that contribute to them. Also, as Julia Lowell pointed out, the arts are not all one thing.

Even though it is not good for advocacy, as we move forward with a research agenda, we should be clear that we are not claiming that every type of art and arts training produces those core creative competencies. There are plenty of arts that are not taught in a creative way, do not inspire kids creatively, and are essentially no different from learning the rote skills of lab work in a science class. We need to articulate which outcomes we are claiming are caused by which activities in the arts.

What should we focus our research on, and what is the scope? There are 970,000 instructional guitar videos on You-Tube. Outside of school, kids have unbelievable access to information about how to produce art. If we are claiming that type of instruction is not as good as in-school arts education, we should at least do some research to figure out if that is true. We should also recognize that, in making that claim, we are discounting the vast majority of ways in which young people learn their craft. Our research should take into account the entire broad arena of how people learn to be creative, including new technologies and partners we do not usually think about. For example, the guitar shops that teach guitar lessons in every city are our partners.

We have two problems. We are too narrow in our focus, and we are too expansive in our claim that all arts produce the creative outcomes we seek. We have to find a more balanced position as we move forward.

ANN MARKUSEN

Larry Gross (1995) argues that art teachers, unlike teachers of other disciplines, instruct students that art is only for certain people. Gross calls the result the artist's reservation. He suggests that people in this society do not think the arts are important because art classes emphasize quality, and only a few students rise to the top. In other words, learning about art is not important because it is just for the specially talented. Is anyone addressing the issue of how art is taught? Is

it possible to transform the arts curriculum so that students would not only learn who the great artists are but would also feel like artists themselves?

LYNN WALDORF

No one knows what is going on in art classes, and no one is holding the teachers accountable to anything related to the quality or even the content of instruction. That is one area in which research is lacking, although some newer studies are beginning to explore it. We need to look at how teachers are evaluated, professional development and who delivers it, and the content that is taught.

LARRY MEEKER

We are really talking about two things: advocacy and research. When we go out and advocate as arts enthusiasts, our audience perceives us as just coming from the arts community. We could use interdisciplinary research to create relationships that would in turn create other advocates for the arts. For example, does the film industry bring economic development benefits? Does arts education result in better employees or students? If we use research to link to other disciplines, we may be able to align their agendas with our own.

LAURA ZUCKER

One barrier to conducting effective research, as I understand it, is that it is nearly impossible to isolate the effects of arts education—in order to substantiate them—from everything else that is happening in a child's environment.

JOHN HOLDEN

In my paper "Cultural Learning," I addressed the question of what barriers are preventing arts education arguments from getting traction (Holden, 2008). One barrier is the difficulty of using research to prove cause and effect. Another barrier is confusion. I found 20 different ways of defining cultural learning, for example. Another limitation is the capacity of the arts sector. What happens if we succeed? Our lack of coordination with other efforts is a problem as well. But the two biggest issues were the structures in education and the receptivity of teachers.

Not long ago, there was an administerial announcement that every child in the U.K. would be taught five hours of arts and culture. The teaching unions complained about having to teach yet another subject. There was no imagination about how to integrate the arts with the rest of the curriculum or how to teach the arts outside school hours with other parts of the community. We need to work on the teaching profession and not just arts teachers. When theatre practitioners go into schools, teachers often feel threatened because the kids have fun for a day, but when the teachers come back, they are

disappointed. We are not getting traction because we need to work on teachers not on the arts.

LAURA ZUCKER

Laurie Schell mentioned earlier that we are now having conversations with people on as many different leverage points as possible. That is certainly what is happening in Los Angeles County. We are talking to the public, teachers, superintendents, principals, and others. You never know who can effectively carry the message. Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger surprised us by putting \$100 million into the budget for arts education, and he did that, as I understand it, because his wife's sister-in-law, a member of the California Arts Council, suggested he do it over Thanksgiving dinner.

FRANK HAMSHER

Engaging those who are not arts educators in this conversation is important. You need to create a cohesive message that speaks to the outside as well as the inside. Figure out what you want people to understand, and use the best data you have to back up your message. Laurie Schell read a long list of all the arguments that have been made for arts education at one time or another, and almost all of them are true. But hearing the entire list at once left me with an amorphous feeling. If you want people to advocate for continued funding at school boards and the state legislature, you need to stop changing the theme of the message every year. Instead, find some cohesion, explain the basis for your argument, and be persistent.

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BEYOND ECONOMIC IMPACT STUDIES: ECONOMIC ARGUMENTS FOR THE ARTS

Presenter: Larry Meeker

Respondents: André Pettigrew, Ann Markusen

Larry Meeker presents analysis and critique on measuring economic activity in the arts, including a review of economic development efforts currently underway that focus on creativity as their central element. André Pettigrew and Ann Markusen respond.



The arts have historic ties to economic development goals. For example, the arts have revitalized neighborhoods. In New York City, the arts community has moved from one place to another, revitalizing neighborhoods and getting priced out of

them along the way. Similarly, Denver has its LoDo, and Kansas City has its Crossroads Arts District. These are a few of the many examples of the arts community improving neighborhoods and supporting economic development goals.

The arts also draw tourists, another economic development goal. Cultural tourism is becoming more and more popular. If it were not for the Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao, Spain, few people would know about that city's existence.

A more recent argument connecting the arts to economic development is the idea that the arts attract and retain talented people.

Traditional economic development follows similar rationales to justify access to public resources. Excluding incentives to export products abroad, most of these resources are premised on their helping achieve one of three broad goals: The first is to create and retain jobs. For example, communities frequently offer tax-increment financing incentives to entice businesses to relocate to their community. Communities may even offer tax incentives to help an existing business expand. Still other incentives provide opportunities for women and people of color to develop businesses.

A second premise for economic development incentives is to provide housing for low- to moderate-income people. Even wealthy communities such as Aspen, Colorado, have to work toward this goal. Where do the snowplow drivers and schoolteachers live? People engaged in those professions are necessary to make the community whole.

The third goal for economic development is, again, to revitalize neighborhoods. A frequent focus is the revitalization of both downtown and rundown areas of communities.

The key to accessing any of these resources is through individual projects that have strong business prospects. In the economic development field, businesses do not get subsidized simply because they are liked. They get subsidized when they present an economically sound proposition that a marginal amount of public assistance can help them translate into a viable business.

Further, almost all economic development subsidies require an outside market-based participant—usually a lender—to participate in the deal. Adding such a participant to a deal further assures the financial worthiness of the proposition. Put another way, economic development is not about taking bad deals and trying to make them good; it is about starting with marginal—but fundamentally sound—deals and making them work with a subsidy. The phrase "If it were not for" is often used. For example, "if it were not for the subsidy entering the equation, the project would not be completed." It helps to understand that there are a few fundamental reasons that the market itself refuses to fund deals. The first is a lack of cash flow. This is a traditional problem with low- to moderate-income housing. If we want to put people into housing that is bigger and better than they can afford, the cash flows are obviously not going to work. Housing assistance is the only arena in which we do deals that do not make sense on a cash-flow basis at the outset.

The second reason deals get refused by the market is that the cash flow is too risky. This is why bankers are often unwilling to finance new businesses. A third reason is that the people involved in the project are not skilled enough or lack relevant experience to make it work.

Many programs exist to overcome these skill-based problems. For example, homebuyer-education programs help train people with poor credit histories to become responsible homebuyers. Similarly, numerous programs exist to help potential entrepreneurs write business plans.

Opportunities appear to abound for the arts community as well. For example, we can offer programs that train studio artists to become public artists. Public art requires special skills because it involves complex contracting, construction, and engineering issues.

The arts community should also consider what arts projects might qualify for various traditional incentives, such as tax credits, tax abatements, loan guarantees, and others. For example, a housing project that renovates a historic building and turns it into a live/work space for artists offers many possibilities when it helps renovate an area, preserves a historic building, provides affordable housing, and helps create jobs.

In another arena, small-business incubators have helped budding entrepreneurs gain access to affordable space, share common office support facilities (conference rooms, copiers, secretarial assistance, etc.) and be with other entrepreneurs where they can learn from one another. Some communities, such as Kansas City, now do this for artists with arts incubators.

Main-street revitalization programs may also be a way to obtain resources in the form of support for art galleries. In Silver City, New Mexico, a main-street revitalization program has helped turn the city into an arts community replete with many art galleries.

Specific, localized projects such as these are much more likely to gain traction for the arts than general arguments that tie the arts to broad economic development goals. While it is relatively easy to argue and prove that the arts attract tourists, it is more difficult to prove that they actually get people to move to a new place.

In recent years, the arts community has given deference to economic development arguments by employing economic impact studies. Such studies demonstrate the economic impact of the arts on a community vis-à-vis such measures as jobs and tax revenues generated. Every community wants jobs, and every government entity is enticed by the prospects of further tax revenues.

The next step taken by the arts community is to link these numbers to measures of government support for the arts. That is, every dollar of government support correlates with X number of jobs and Y dollars of tax revenue. The implication is that more government support would create more jobs and more tax revenue in the same proportions.

Such broad correlations, however, lack cause-and-effect relevancy and are not very helpful to those who must make political decisions about the allocation of scarce public funds. Would another dollar spent on education or health care produce even more jobs and create even more tax revenue? Would leaving the dollars in the private sector's hands be even more productive in terms of jobs and future tax revenues?

Looking back, most programs providing public funding for the arts got their support because the arts were on the cusp of failure, not because they produced jobs or tax revenues. Communities were acting to prevent things like the loss of a symphony or the scaling back of museum hours. Hence, creating a sense of loss appears to have been more effective in garnering public support of the arts than economic impact arguments.

Looking forward, the most helpful research must delve into specifics. In some instances, this may mean making a case for the arts vis-à-vis the cases others are making for their funding, such as research showing that cultural tourists stay longer and spend more than sports tourists. As noted earlier, political leaders are more likely to base decisions about where to spend scarce public resources on the comparative advantages of projects, not on how many tax dollars an individual project might bring in.

On a broader front, however, Richard Florida's work suggests that people are attracted to cultural environments, a notion that may also be helpful in guiding future research efforts. I mention this partly as a result of recent experience having led a pastoral nominating committee for my church. The first thing I did after meeting each candidate at the airport was give them a tour of Kansas City's cultural amenities. I wanted to sell the region first. Only after a few hours of touring would I take them to the neighborhood where they would ultimately be working.

I suspect many corporate leaders and HR departments are using similar strategies to attract people to their communities, especially as increasing numbers of people look for a place to live even before seeking a job. What if we surveyed corporations that hire people from out of town and asked how much of their pitch is spent selling candidates on the company versus the community and its cultural environment? It would be interesting to ask questions about what specific amenities attract people to a community. Is it the school system or the libraries? The parks? The arts? Low taxes? Exactly what is it that gets people to move? And, for those who make the move, it would be interesting to know how much weight was placed on all factors involved, including the job they accepted.

Answers to these questions would be useful to many parties, including those of us in the arts. Further, the participation of corporations in such studies could help us form partnerships with them later.



My work involves developing and managing the city of Denver's strategy to grow jobs and revitalize communities. Given the current economy, economic development has gotten much more competitive, and that has implications for the arts.

Incentives are now a very limited resource. The Colorado legislature plans to reevaluate all incentives in the upcoming legislative session. That is because we have over a \$400-million deficit. Forty-six states and tens of thousands of cities are cutting budgets. They are also looking to increase their revenue. For the first time in 20 years, federal and local government has to make critical decisions about where to invest these scarce resources.

In 1991, I moved from San Francisco to Denver. At the time, Denver had a chip on its shoulder about being a cow town. It was simply not as sophisticated as many other places, especially compared to San Francisco. In the time since then, Denver has invested in culture by creating infrastructure to support the arts, which has allowed us to compete for limited resources. We cannot win with arguments that are based on price in dollars, so our strategy has been to sell the idea that cultural amenities and the arts will differentiate our community from others, and that argument has worked well for Denver.

During the 1990s, there was an influx of just under a million people who moved to Colorado, which began the decade with a population of three million. The influx benefitted Colorado because that new quarter of the population had an appreciation for public investments in culture.

I was living in California during Prop 13. Although our community was very fiscally conservative, its members were willing to tax themselves to invest in cultural amenities. In Denver, we have the Scientific and Cultural Facilities District, which is a seven-county metropolitan region that taxes itself and redistributes the money throughout the region. The political will of our community is important. Political leadership is extremely important as well. My boss, John Hickenlooper, has been an incredible advocate for the arts. He participates in the arts, he believes in them, and they are part of his quality of life.

We have a locally based program in the Office of Economic Development. Using community-development block grant monies, we have invested in 87 creative arts programs in the last 20 years. We have consistently invested in the small arts district along Santa Fe Drive in an attempt to differentiate it. In some ways, the community has not taken off yet,

but we have faith that it will. Place-based strategies are not about importing artists and creative people; they are about maintaining and sustaining our local artistic community. We believe if we are able to retain them, others will come and benefit.



I have been teaching economic development in urban and regional planning departments for 30 years. I think the concept of the creative city is where a lot of the action is right now, and I think the arts advocacy community is largely missing in action.

Tourism is not a good first target for local arts efforts. We should pitch the arts to our own citizens instead. If we can offer arts and cultural options for local people, they will be less apt to spend at the local Mall of America—full of imports and low-wage retail labor—and instead patronize their own artists and organizations. In other words, we can capture more of their discretionary income. That creates jobs. Many cities, however, do not even put information about local arts events beyond the major institutions and festivals on their easily accessible websites.

Many places are using arts districts to attempt to revitalize various communities. Mark Stern and Susan Seifert (2002, 2007, 2008, 2009) have completed several detailed studies over the years showing that natural, organically evolved arts districts in Philadelphia have had a positive effect on jobs, quality of housing, and public safety. Because Philadelphia is not a big-growth city, like New York, the positive effects have not caused gentrification. I recommend this approach over putting energy and policy time into imposed or artificial arts districts.

There is a growing body of research in economic development that suggests that making large investments in physical infrastructure in the arts does not generally pay off in either public sector revenues or job creation.

I recently collaborated on a project with the Center for Cultural Innovation for the city of San Jose, California. Our project, The Creative Entrepreneur Project, was grounded in the goal of making San Jose a better place for artists so they would come and animate the city. The city had built several art palaces downtown, but the area was dead at night. We found that the city actually had an under-representation of artists in its workforce (employed and self-employed).

Why are artists important and how do they play special roles? Artists export a lot of their work. Forty-eight percent

of people who work mainly in the arts are self-employed, and many others create and sell art on the side. These people do not show up in our arts-impact or creative-industry statistics, but we should not forget about them. There are many ways to invest in human capital in economic development. For example, there are workforce development programs in nearly all cities and states, but they currently do nothing for artists. Those programs could do something similar to what the Center for Cultural Innovation has done in Los Angeles, where they work with atomized artists to help them become better business people.

Some cities have realized where their strengths lie, and they have devoted energy to showcasing those areas. For example, Seattle has decided that it has an important music industry. The city hired Bill Beyers of the University of Washington to study its music industry, including instrument makers and repairers, music teachers, venues, recording studios, retailers, and so forth. The mayor was so enthused that he launched a "Seattle City of Music" initiative, honoring and showcasing all forms of music and music creation in the Seattle.



LARRY MEEKER

The arts have to justify themselves only when they argue that all the arts should be subsidized. If you want to do an individual project with economic development resources, you only need to justify it as a business deal, not as an arts deal. And there are a lot of funds available for those business deals, so we do not need to make the big case for the arts in the economic development arena. That is not to say we should not make the big case, but we should remember that we do not need to.

As Ann Markusen mentioned earlier, government cannot play an effective role in the process of place making. How can we decide which neighborhoods will be the best places to go? How can we assign a specific identity to an area of town? Most arts districts that have evolved over time are grassroots driven and were formed organically. The artists went to the area first because it was rundown and rents were cheap. The galleries followed the artists, and the bars and restaurants followed the gallery patrons. I doubt government can identify the same place-making opportunities. To respond to Ann Markusen's earlier comment about getting people to spend money at arts venues rather than the Mall of America, while that is a good idea, we should recognize that shifting dollars around within our community is not the best form of economic development. The best form of economic development is to bring dollars in from elsewhere. That is why a NASCAR track trumps every other sports arena you could build in any city. The large majority of NASCAR tickets are sold to people from out of town who then rent rooms, buy meals, and generally support local businesses when they come for the races. If I go to a Rockies game in Denver and I live in Denver, the city sees little if any benefit because I am probably going to the game instead of a museum, a restaurant or some other entertainment venue. From an economic development perspective, the most powerful projects are ones that export things and bring in outside dollars, not reshuffle local dollars.

JOHN HOLDEN

Why are economic development arguments not sufficient tools for advocacy? Economic development arguments are principally made to funders and politicians. But is that the right audience for advocacy, or should we focus more on the public—the people who ultimately matter in the politi-

cal equation? Nobody sits in a darkened auditorium thinking, "I am so glad the price of my ticket is helping with the economic regeneration and redevelopment of central Denver." They are there to have a good time. It is possible to do research and estimate an economic valuation of that public appreciation of the arts, but that is not an economic development argument. It is a willingness-to-pay argument.

What is the point of funding? If it is to supplement business deals that fail in the market, that is a difficult argument to make. It seems strange to fund a project for an economic return when the market itself says there is no economic return. A better argument for public funding would be for an investment in cultural success rather than commercial success.

We are left with two choices for making these arguments. Either we can combine economic development arguments with other arguments for public and cultural benefit, or we can accept that economics is the hegemonic discourse and make our arguments by putting monetary value on things like spirituality, emotional value, cultural value, and social value. But it is inadequate to talk about economic development on its own.

ANDRÉ PETTIGREW

Public amenities are a cultural investment, and in Colorado, the people have voted to tax themselves in order to have them. Earlier, Larry Meeker asked how important a role public amenities play in attracting and retaining companies. As a leader on a team that works to do just that, I can tell you that public amenities and quality of life have helped us convince both international and Fortune 500 companies to move to Denver.

Because Colorado gives out relatively little in terms of incentives, our public amenities are critical to us because they allow us to remain competitive. There is a statewide incentive we could try to get, but in order to qualify, you have to create jobs that pay 10 percent more than the median income of your community. In Denver, where the median income is \$58,000, one would have to create an average wage of \$63,000 to receive the incentive. Because most companies cannot meet that barrier, we have to rely on other means to attract them.

FRANK HAMSHER

Earlier, Ann Markusen and André Pettigrew both talked about place, but they used the word to mean different things. André Pettigrew was talking about Denver turning its entire metropolitan community into a place that will attract people

with its public amenities. And Denver has successfully put to rest the notion that someone from a sophisticated city such as New York, Chicago, or Boston would not be interested in living there.

Ann Markusen talked about public investments in revitalizing specific places within a community, such as neighborhoods and street corners, which will likely be less successful than broader efforts to create vitality.

KWENDE KEFENTSE

I was surprised by Larry Meeker's earlier comment about NASCAR not being a cultural event. In Canada, we see NASCAR as being totally cultural, so it may be a form of cultural investment even though it is parachuted into cities.

I work for the Canadian Housing Renewal Association. I have been writing about how some cities, such as Cairo and Vancouver, are having debates about whether they ought to spend their money on sustainable housing or make investments in amenities that will turn their communities into cultural destinations. When communities focus on trying to bring money in from outside, local priorities get compromised. Because it is hosting the Olympics, Vancouver has just passed a law that allows homeless people to be jailed. Policy decisions that are designed to improve a community's image can severely affect the local quality of life.

ILONA KISH

The last time I visited Colorado, my cab driver told me that Denver International Airport had been the catalyst for a major influx of money. It is interesting to think about the corporate logic used to attract people to places. The European Union is a large employer. It attracts people by paying extremely high salaries, and the employees who are required to live in Brussels go there every weekend. The cultural community in Brussels is desperate to get the massive expat community there to participate in the local culture, and I am wondering what cultural incentives they could use to accomplish that.

There will be a discussion in Aspen, Colorado, about a possible Capitol of Culture project in the United States. The European Union originally had the idea to nominate a European city each year as the European Capitol of Culture. The economics of the project are interesting because the European Union gives each winner between 500,000 and a million euros, but the typical budget of a Capitol of Culture project is anything from €50 million to €100 million. The Capital of Culture label has become highly fought over, and it is perceived as a massive driver of status building and eco-

nomic growth and development; even countries that don't win find the bid-making process to be a driver for development and investment.

The United Kingdom is now considering a national Capitol of Culture project for cities. There is a global design capitol project coming up. Earlier, Ann Markusen said that the top-down approach of creating cultural districts either succeeds, like in Glasgow and Liverpool, or it fails and generates no income at all. The United States may feel differently, but the European Union loves this approach because it gets a lot of money back for what it puts in, and it gets to call it European. I am curious about what researchers think of this type of economic driver.

JOAQUÍN HERRANZ, JR.

There is very little that we know about causation, and this is especially true in economics. Economics is a theory, and economists do statistical models. Economists are careful not to talk about causation. At best, they can talk about correlation. When you think about standards for evidence in the political arena, remember that economic arguments are theoretical at one level, even among economists.

There is currently a debate among economic development practitioners and policy makers around using a 20th-century model of industrial versus occupational. I have my economic development classes read Ann Markusen's work, in which she suggests using an occupation-based approach to economic development. The examples she gives in the article are all about artists, and she very succinctly argues that we are at a pivot point in history, where creativity and innovation are all about people, and the tools that may have worked in an old economy do not necessarily work in an information-based economy. That argument creates a space for arts advocates and researchers to say, "Your old approaches do not necessarily work."

There is a lot of opportunity in new ways of understanding what the current economic transformation is. Perhaps arts and culture, rather than lagging, can be leading.

JON HENDRY

Part of the problem is that the arts community is not connecting with the voters. In Santa Fe, New Mexico, many people do not go downtown anymore. That is not where they buy their shoes; that is where rich people buy art. If you want voters to support art, you have to take art into the workplace and convince the voters that art is going to work for them. You are all discussing how to use economic development tools to get the money, but, ultimately, the

only way to get the money is to convince the people who have the money to spend it.

Although 10 percent of the population may be out of work, 90 percent are still working and providing tax dollars. You need to make the argument that art has a value to the teachers, the government workers, the plumbers, the electricians, and everyone else. You have done it in Denver. How can you do it across the country?

The union movement laughs when you talk about the money that propped up the automobile-manufacturing business. We deserved that money. We are not the bankers. We did not lose that \$700 billion. People stopped buying cars because they could not afford to buy cars, so we made the economic argument and Congress cut the check. Now the arts community needs to make the economic argument to the people who can then go to their elected representatives and say, "We deserve that money."

LARRY MEEKER

We need to move away from the old industrial model of economic development, but it will linger for a long time because it is simple and entrenched in terms of public resources. If I buy a piece of real estate for a small manufacturing plant, the bank gets a down payment, it knows what the interest rate is, it has collateral, and it can look at your balance sheet and your cash-flow statements to determine whether the loan makes sense. If a bank finances intellectual capital, even in the form of patents, it faces greater challenges in recovering its loan if the business fails than if the collateral were property and equipment.

Every summer, Art News publishes a list of the world's top 200 art collectors. More of them seem to have residences in Aspen, Colorado, than anywhere else in the world. But are people moving to Aspen because of the arts and the cultural environment? Or are they moving here because of the snow and the mountains? If we can't answer these questions, we can't make a strong case for support for the arts.

I agree with Ann Markusen's earlier comment about how, when places get revitalized, it is usually an organic, grass-roots process. Even if we had strong relationships with citizens and politicians, would we really have better answers than the market place? The minute we give out a tax incentive or subsidy, somebody else is paying higher taxes. Some would argue that if the taxpayers were paying slightly lower taxes, they could create a new kind of job we never considered, and it might have a larger impact on the community. Figuring out how to weave our way through these policy issues is the fundamental challenge.

LAURA ZUCKER

We in the arts community spend too much time talking to ourselves. I am interested in Ann Markusen's and Larry Meeker's comments about incubator programs that are used to spur industries. Ann Markusen pointed out that we have an opportunity to integrate the arts into those programs. My questions to the economics experts are: How do we effectively integrate the development of local arts resources into the structures we use to grow other industries? How can we best use arts policy agencies? Do we educate artists and arts organizations about how to avail themselves of these resources?

LARRY MEEKER

If you want to set up a lithography shop or a film studio, there are many potential resources available to you. A good banker can plug you into some of those; your local economic development experts are another resource.

ANDRÉ PETTIGREW

I have a formal partnership with Erin Trapp, who directs the Denver Office of Cultural Affairs. There is a program called *Create Denver*. The Office of Economic Development has set aside monies to lend to arts programs. We are focusing on education and outreach. This is not a grand plan. Our program is a response to Denver's organic marketplace. We put it together to respond to the creative talent in Denver. They are now being followed into the low-rent areas by architects and engineers. Our program is organic, local, and provides education and resources to support our businesses. The loans are small, ranging between \$15,000 and \$30,000, but that can get people started.

FRANK HAMSHER

Laura Zucker asked a central question earlier. What is the distinction, if any, between arts and economic development? And what is the connection, if any, between arts and economic development? The basic premise of all these governmental programs for economic development is that if the government makes some kind of investment in an enterprise, then it will grow over time to become a commercial, self-supporting venture that generates more jobs, tax revenue, and activity in its region. Does it make sense to talk about arts in that context since most arts activities are heavily subsidized by the government, private donors, or both?

JULIA LOWELL

Earlier, John Holden asked why we are looking at economic arguments for the arts instead of only making cultural arguments. One answer is that economic arguments are easier to manage. There is much more quantitative evidence, such

as returns on investments. Another answer is that there is a fundamental belief among economists that it is better to give people money and let them decide how they spend it than it is to give people actual products. Food stamps are an exception to that rule because food is a basic need. But art is seen as a choice and not a basic need. If you can make a case for art that will put money in the pockets of people who are not going to participate in the arts, then you can please both the participants and non-participants.

Cultural arguments work with a population that for hundreds of years has been persuaded of the value of cultural things or with a place like Denver, where the voters want the arts. But if you are going to take taxpayers' money and spend it on something, you had better make sure those taxpayers are in agreement. Ensuring that is a big education process.

ANN MARKUSEN

We have a huge public subsidy for arts in this country—the non-profit tax exemption. However, it is problematic because non-profit arts organizations are not accountable to taxpayers. Cities create cultural policy in different ways. One way is to have a champion, like city council member Joel Wax in Los Angeles, who single-handedly spearheaded the adoption of a hotel occupancy tax in the 1980s that permanently allocated funds to the city's Department of Cultural Affairs. You also need a good argument. Artists and arts organizations are really important to making the case. In Minnesota, our arts advocacy group partnered with the wildlife people and the environmental people to convince voters to pass a constitutional amendment that would raise an extra 0.5 percent of the sales tax for 25 years. However, they actually had to suppress the word arts in the final amendment and instead use the word legacy. In my view, this did nothing for the arts except get money for the large arts organizations. And large arts organizations are very focused on just getting money, which is a problem.

Organizations like the Center for Cultural Innovation see their roles as advocating for artists. The San Jose Project was started because somebody in economic development got together with somebody in cultural affairs. Different formulas and structures work in different cities.

To respond to Ilona Kish's question about the economic effects of big-money competitions, there is a lot of evidence showing that they are simply impoverishing, from Olympics cases, to sports, to everything else. Austin did not use competitions. Places can develop their own sensibilities and their own communities.

The iron hand of export-base theory is a huge mistake for us in the arts community. From very small towns to very big cities, if you can engage your citizens in arts and cultural activity and they spend their discretionary income locally instead of going somewhere else, that is just as good as bringing money into your community. Austin, for example, started locally.

NED RIGHTOR

I have been a recruiter for 27 years. First, you talk to the candidate about the job and the career arc. Then you talk to the spouse about her or his career opportunities and the larger community. Then you talk to both of them about housing and their kids, which is where the arts-education link fits into the conversation. Finally, and only at the end, you talk to them about the cultural opportunities for themselves. However, the employers I work with are very ill equipped to hold that last conversation. They never have the opportunity to bring in somebody to talk to their recruiters, and recruiters are crucial to businesses' ability to grow.

One final comment I want to make is: If you want to get attention and marshal a lot of different people's interest in something, you need to hold a competition of some kind.

KWENDE KEFENTSE

In Toronto, there is a group called *The Grassroots Youth Collaborative*. They are a group of young movers and shakers who put on various initiatives in their local communities. Because they are all practitioners who are active in the scene, they reach the people on the street who do art in a casual way and connect them to government funding streams and more structured arts activities. There is no barrier of entry that often exists when people do not know anything about getting a grant or working with the city. The group speaks to artists in their language, but they also know how to work with the city and get grants, so they function as mediators to connect the grassroots people to the city.

LARRY MEEKER

I agree with Ann Markusen's earlier comment that keeping money from leaking out of your community is as good as bringing in outside dollars.

In response to Ned Rightor's earlier comment about recruiters talking about arts and culture, we need to do additional research to know how that affects candidates' decisions. How many of us know young people who chose a place to live before they chose a job? That is an increasingly common phenomenon, and we need to understand it better. If employers believed that people choose a place before

they choose a job, we would start to get their buy-in. We need to do research that pulls people in from other arenas so we can legitimately join hands with them and make our case.

LAURA ZUCKER

The economic arguments are going to work best for the people in economic development, so those are the people we should be targeting with the economic arguments and no one else. As a local arts facilitator, it is my job to make those conversations happen and to disseminate the information about opportunities to the field.

LARRY MEEKER

It is easy to talk to our own. It is difficult to get out and talk to people who speak a different language and have a different agenda. But if we truly want to broaden the base of support for the arts, we have to get out of our cocoon. We are not going to convince too many more people over the next 10 years to go to the symphony, the ballet, or the opera. We must get to the point where we can convincingly say to business people, "I don't care if you don't like the arts, if you never want to see a play, or if you don't want to go to a museum. It is in your economic interest to support the arts." That will give us the broader base of support we need in order to promote a stronger arts agenda.

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MESSAGING PART I: CONSTRUCTING THE ARGUMENT

Presenter: Danielle Endres Respondent: Douglas McLennan

Advocates for the arts—especially advocates for public funding of the arts—have employed a wide array of arguments to promote their beliefs. Danielle Endres presents the latest research in the area of argumentation theory and practice and proposes a framework for the design of an effective argument for the arts. She also demonstrates the use of argumentation theory in her work with American Indian tribes that advocate to policy makers and others for the preservation and protection of sacred lands. Douglas McLennan responds.

DANIELLE ENDRES My expertise lies in argument and rhetorical theory, not the arts. Rather than focus on arguments about the arts and cultural policy, I will focus on how to construct good arguments in any situation. I would like to begin by talking about what argu-

mentation is and why it is useful. Then I will give a short case study that outlines my research on cross-cultural argumentation in the context of American Indian activism.

From an academic perspective, argumentation is the process of making arguments intended to justify beliefs, attitudes, and values in order to influence others. Arguments are the building blocks of persuasion, and they follow a basic structure. In this context, argumentation obviously does not refer to the kind of argument you might have with your partner or your child.

To illustrate, assume you want to persuade others to create a community arts center. Your argument will contain three parts: a claim, support, and reasoning. The claim is what you would like to persuade others to believe. In this case, you would claim that there should be a community arts center. The next piece of your argument is the support, which is the evidence or research that substantiates your claim. You could have many different forms of support. For instance, you could present examples of successful community art

centers, statistical data, or evidence of existing support for an arts center in the community.

The research and data you present as support will not be accepted automatically by an audience. Reasoning is the component of the argument that connects the claim and the support in a way that makes sense to the audience. For example, if you supported your claim by providing examples of other successful community arts centers, you would then provide reasoning by illustrating similarities between your community and other communities with successful arts centers for your audience.

Reasoning also allows us to cross what is known as the *level* of dispute. When you begin the argument, the assumption is that you have a claim that is disputed by your audience. The best way to begin reasoning is by applying evidence the audience already accepts. Using this method, you can use an existing agreement to persuade the audience to agree with your claim. The structure of an argument—a claim, support, and reasoning—may seem obvious; however, argumentation becomes more complicated when considering the audience and the context.

The rhetorical approach to argumentation includes a few main characteristics. The first characteristic is known as phronesis or practical wisdom, which is the notion that we still make decisions even if there is more than one correct answer. For example, there is no universal answer to questions about arts policy or health care. There is no single truth. Phronesis is the ability to enter a situation and see the available arguments, weigh the options, and then make the best decision for that situation.

The second characteristic of argumentation is that it is contextual and situational. Last night, Doug McLennan explained how the broad context for arts policy is changing. We have new media, new audiences, and new situations that are changing the arena in which we create arts policy. On a more specific level, the policies we create exist within their own contexts. These different situations may require that we make different arguments.

Argumentation is audience based, which is a third characteristic. While engaged in persuasion, you are most likely dealing with an audience. Arguments for economic development are more likely to persuade an audience of legislators or business people than an audience of other constituencies. There are many different audiences. Your audience could be a legislature that cuts funding for the arts, or it could be an undecided public. Perhaps your audience already supports the arts, but you want to persuade it to take a particular

action. The key is that you construct arguments to fit each particular audience.

There are many arguments to choose from in any given context, which is a fourth characteristic of argumentation. Although there is never a single silver-bullet argument that will persuade everyone, the best strategy is to analyze the potential arguments and choose the ones that work best for that situation.

Argumentation usually takes place across the private sphere, the public sphere, and the technical sphere. The private sphere is interpersonal argumentation. The technical sphere is expert argumentation, with its own audience and standards for how arguments are evaluated. The conversations taking place during this symposium lie in the technical sphere of argument. Grant writing is another technical sphere of argument with its own specific guidelines for how arguments must be made.

However, most policy is created and discussed in the public sphere, where the standards for good arguments are less clear. This ambiguity makes it difficult to argue in the public sphere. The public is also very diverse. One misconception is that we can generate one argument to persuade all of the public, but, of course, the public is made up of multiple constituencies, so there are multiple publics. Some of them are counter publics that are in resistance to the dominant public.

Ultimately, argumentation is an art form involving a particular context, a particular audience, and the appropriate arguments that will be persuasive to that group. The following guidelines for making arguments apply to most situations that require persuasion.

The first guideline may seem obvious: Decide what it is that you want. Determine what it is you are trying to persuade others to believe. This step is sometimes overlooked when we assume others know what we want.

Next, consider whether your argument lies in the context of the public sphere or a technical sphere. Making this determination will help you decide which arguments are useful. An important consideration is the audience: Who are you trying to persuade? The audience may be legislators, the public, voters, or other stakeholders.

Earlier, someone suggested that the arts and cultural policy field has strong data for illustrating the importance of the arts. In this case, those seeking to persuade decision makers and the public using such data should gather as much information about the audience as possible. There are many strategies for audience analysis, such as learning about demographics and interviewing audience members.

Once you determine the composition of your audience, you can select from the pool of possible arguments. For example, if you are advocating for an exhibit on Latina murals and your audience is completely unfamiliar with murals as an art form, you could begin by making arguments about the importance of murals. If your audience already accepts murals as an art form, you could make other appeals. You might emphasize the prestige of the artist or talk about the uniqueness of the particular murals or the experience of viewing the murals. That is an example of how you would select different arguments for different audiences.

Another strategy is to borrow ideas from other successful campaigns as long as they are comparable to your own campaign. An argument that appeals to an audience of urban youth might not appeal to an audience comprised of rural landowners. Another guideline is to acquire strong research in support of your argument. A final guideline is to employ multiple strategies. There is no single compelling argument that will persuade all audiences in all situations. Multiple argument strategies and campaigns for different audiences are often required.

I would now like to talk about my research as a way to illustrate some of the points I have made about argumentation. Generally, my research covers cross-cultural argumentation in environmental controversies. I follow a broad definition of culture: "A socially constructed system of symbols, meanings, premises, and rules" (Philipsen, 1997, p. 25). This definition is somewhat different from the idea of high culture or culture as activities, such as painting, opera, or theatre. The definition I use represents culture as a community that shares language, ways of knowing, and symbol systems.

My research is largely focused on the Yucca Mountain nuclear waste controversy. You might wonder why I am telling you about Yucca Mountain at an arts and cultural policy symposium. In the Yucca Mountain controversy, American Indians—particularly the Western Shoshone and Southern Paiute—had to argue for cultural preservation of their land. The land on which Yucca Mountain sits is traditionally American Indian sacred land. The land is actually covered in a treaty that the Western Shoshone made with the federal government, but the treaty has been violated.

The American Indians' opposition to the Yucca Mountain site was almost solely grounded in their arguments for preserving their culture and for preserving their ability to be in that land. Yucca Mountain would have destroyed their artifacts and excluded them from the land. Unfortunately, their arguments were not successful with their non-American Indian audience. I am going to use some of these unsuccessful appeals to demonstrate how to be more successful when making a cross-cultural argument.

One of the areas in which the American Indians did not argue successfully was the area of values. Argumentation does not only include facts and statistics, but values always enter at one stage or another. Values often serve as underlying support that connects with our reasoning or our claims. An example of competing values was demonstrated during the Mapplethorpe censorship controversies, in which the value of free expression competed with the value of protection from obscenities.

In the Yucca Mountain case, both the federal government and the American Indians actually valued the same thing—land. What should we do in a controversy where both sides claim to support the same value? This situation can happen in arts policy as well because art has so many meanings. The statement "I value the arts" can mean very different things to different people, which can cause problems in argumentation. Understanding the high-order assumptions that underlie these values is required.

Chaim Perelman and L. Olbrechts-Tyteca (1969) are two theorists who talked about loci, which are high-order abstractions that allow us to understand what supports the value being discussed. Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca argued about many loci, but I am going to talk about two—the locus of quality and the locus of quantity. The locus of quality is valuing things for their uniqueness. The locus of quantity is valuing something for utilitarian purposes—a numerical assessment of the greatest good for the greatest number of people. This contrast between values of quality and quantity is a common thing—it came up several times in yesterday's discussion.

In the case of Yucca Mountain, the American Indians focused on the locus of quality. They argued that the land was sacred and unique; the land was part of their being; and that if Yucca Mountain came, there would be irreparable damage to the land. The federal government saw the land as a sacrifice zone. Not many people lived there, and it could be used for the benefit of the entire nation because we need a place to store nuclear waste. Both sides purportedly agreed that land was the key value, but by analyzing their higher order assumptions, we can see that their perspectives were very different.

Contributing to the halt of argumentation in the case of Yucca Mountain were competing worldviews. A worldview is a set of beliefs, and values can be part of a worldview. In the Yucca Mountain controversy, the American Indians and dominant Western culture had very different perspectives on land. In the American Indian worldview—and particularly in the worldview of the Western Shoshone and Southern Paiute—land is a sacred gift of the creator. If you are a traditional American Indian, leaving the land is not an option. Of course, American Indians must leave the land for jobs and other obligations, but those tribes are fundamentally connected to that piece of land. However, the Western perspective is that land is a resource. We are also a very transient people, and although we do sometimes develop place-based connections to land, we are not as fundamentally connected. We are usually willing to move for a job, for example.

In the controversy over Yucca Mountain, the American Indians could not understand why the federal government would force them to move away from the land. The federal government could not understand why the American Indians were unwilling to move and recreate their cultural and spiritual experience elsewhere. This difference in worldviews caused a major point of stasis, and argumentation could not continue.

Finally, more problems arose due to institutional constraints that come into play any time a cross-cultural conflict exists. When I say institutional constraints, I am referring to large belief systems such as colonialism, racism, and hegemony. Because many dominant U.S. Americans do not understand sovereignty and the situation of American Indians, the American Indians' arguments did not have widespread acceptance.

This case study provides a key lesson for discussing art and cultural policy using argumentation strategy. Because argumentation should be constructed for specific audiences, it might be more fruitful to move research in the direction of audience analysis.



In political environments, a general understanding about framing exists: If you frame the question, you will win the argument because you are able to define it in your own terms. If there is a clash among cultures, the player setting the ground rules

will win the debate. In a broader context, we must more clearly define the goals for our arguments in order to frame them property. I found earlier discussions about making the economic case for arts education somewhat frustrating because I did not find the arguments for arts education very clear.

When the National Endowment for the Arts was created in 1965, its mandate was to bring great art to all parts of the United States. By that definition, it has succeeded spectacularly, given the growth of the arts. However, the cultural landscape is quickly changing in some interesting ways, and to discuss arguments for the arts in older, traditional terms is a construct that I find largely ineffective at this point.

When I created ArtsJournal.com, I had an initial theory about how people might use it. By compiling many stories about various art forms, I thought I could make it possible for people to stumble across things that they might not otherwise find. What I quickly discovered, however, is that people generally only want what they want. The people who are interested in music only go where music is—and I know this from when I was a music critic. Early on, people who went to rock concerts would not be caught dead going to the symphony. Despite this, we talk about the arts and the broader arts community as though commonality is a given. Given the diversity and fragmentation of culture, talking broadly about the arts and non-profit arts and even entertainment is not necessarily appropriate or applicable any longer.

I can offer a few thoughts from a journalistic standpoint. Journalism is in crisis right now—particularly journalism in the United States. One of the reasons for this, in my opinion, is that we have fallen into this trope of what we call *objectivity*. Objectivity in journalism does not truly exist when you come down to it, and yet every argument is framed as having two legitimate sides. This results in privileging even the most illegitimate argument by awarding credibility to it. Currently, in terms of policy in the United States, we are experiencing a rash of odd arguments that might not even exist without the obsession with perceived objectivity.

Public discourse about the arts has been largely absent from the journalistic sphere for the last 25 years. There once was a time when multiple voices talked publicly about art, but that was mostly not the case in the later part of the 20th century. Now we are entering a period in which, according to Technorati.com, there are 300,000 arts blogs in existence. That means 300,000 people are putting their opinions about art and the art community into blogs. Many of these blogs are not frequently updated and are poorly written; however, what is significant is that people care about the culture they care about, and they argue passionately to make the case for what is important to them within that culture. Naturally, you see a certain level of fragmentation in that kind of discourse.

In closing, I find it problematic to talk about constructing an argument for the arts that does not accommodate what is happening in a very dynamic culture. Of people under the

age of 21, some 85 percent are creating art online—which is a staggering number of people. They are creating videos and all kinds of art. In the public policy sphere of the arts, we do not have a way of capturing that kind of phenomenon. Yet, in a strange way, that may be where most of the art is happening these days. We must define our audience—especially if our audience is not who we normally expect it to be, determine our topic areas, and decide which questions we actually need to answer.



LYNN WALDORF

Earlier, someone mentioned that, as arts advocates, we have all that we need in terms of research to make the case for the arts. This might be true for making a broader, general argument in support of the arts. There are numerous arguments about why the arts are valuable, and the issue of those arguments being fractured is valid, watering down the whole case for advocacy. However, while we may have enough research, people do not make decisions based on data as much as on deeply held values and beliefs. In education, the underlying beliefs about the purposes of education play a central role in policy making, and that reflects back on Doug McLennan's comment that we need to define the underlying purposes of the arts in the local context. Before we even begin building an argument, we can use those underlying purposes as a basis for planning and identifying the targets for advocacy.

And I agree that this is what we are finding through the work of the California Alliance for Arts Education led by Laurie Schell. The Alliance is building a state-wide network of local advocacy coalitions, and the communities involved are faced with similar questions. What is our purpose? How can quality arts education address local needs and values? For example, if a community's needs are around workforce development, advocates will need data and arguments that show how studying the arts in school leads to career preparation in a variety of economic sectors. You can reframe arts education research as seeking answers to real life concerns in a community, which creates a relevancy for the arts that has not been there in the past for many people.

LARRY MEEKER

One person I wish I had met during his lifetime is Wendell Chino. He was chairman of the Mescalero Apache in Ruidoso, New Mexico, for over 30 years, which is extremely rare in American Indian country. He suggested that nuclear waste be buried under the reservation at Ruidoso, which is a beautiful ski area overlooking the White Sands Desert. After a lengthy debate, the tribal council finally agreed to Wendell Chino's plan.

Wendell Chino was later quoted making what I believe to be the most focused economic development statement I have ever heard—perhaps this is the kind of statement we need in the arts. Chino said, "The Zuni make jewelry, the Na-

vajo make blankets, and the Apache make money" (Selcraig, 2008). The government of New Mexico was very upset about the notion of nuclear waste being trucked through its state, so it negotiated with the Mescalero Apache. It turned out that what Wendell Chino really wanted was a casino, and he got it. And everybody else went home happy.

I agree with Doug McLennan's suggestion that we should articulate what we want before we construct arguments for the arts. We shouldn't scatter the broad support for the arts, but perhaps we can mimic the support structure of the sports industry. The sports industry has a triangle of support. At the peak of the triangle are the professional sports teams, something we would equate to top-tier symphonies and ballets. That support then trickles down through the players and ultimately all the way down to kids practicing sports.

Maybe we need to start thinking about the arts in a similar context and create focused messages for the arts in general. Doug McLennan has suggested that we not respond reactively to the mass media. Further, if people are uninformed in an area like the arts and are asked what they want, the answer they give is not necessarily what they really want because they do not know the options. Our experience, expertise, and relationships in the arts put us in a unique position to create broad but focused messages for the arts much like how Wendell Chino accomplished so much for his tribe. In general, if we do that well, each of our organizations can go out and do the things they are best situated to do.

ILONA KISH

Like the American Indians in the Yucca Mountain controversy, we in the arts are not in a strong position. Moreover, we do not perceive ourselves to be in a strong position. Much of our argumentation is defensive—we are small, we do not generate much money, we have little political weight. Our perception of ourselves as marginalized prevents us from moving beyond the first step, where we insist that we are important but not valued. Something must shift in terms of our power and our perceived power before we can get what we want.

DANIELLE ENDRES

American Indians have struggled consistently with issues of marginalization such as low self-esteem, alcoholism, and depression. They feel marginalized because they are not a valued community and are subjected to racism and colonialism.

Despite their marginalization, Native American movements have taken completely non-defensive positions. They believe that they are survivors and that they have value, and they try to make their points as consistently as possible. There are reasons for Native American movements to make some defensive arguments, but their starting point is not defensive. Their assertiveness turns their right to survive into a reality for them. This illustrates the concept of constitutive rhetoric, which suggests that language used to describe the self leads the self to actualize the description. If we in the arts begin with the assertion that we are survivors and that we are respected, then we can take a non-defensive posture.

JOHN HOLDEN

Culture has fundamentally changed over the last decade. The not-for-profit arts used to define themselves in contradistinction to the popular arts, but they had much in common. Both the not-for-profit arts and the popular arts had gatekeepers—the not-for-profit arts had a bureaucratic class, and the popular arts had a commercial mandarin class. Now, not only can everybody make their own culture, but they can collaborate and communicate with each other, so those gatekeepers are gone. What is quality in culture and who decides what is quality have changed. The not-for-profit arts can no longer say they are the best in contradistinction to the worse commercial world. They are swimming in a sea that has changed.

The non-profit world must decide if it will either live in the past and remain self-defining or if it will learn that people create their own culture now and help them to express themselves. As Danielle Endres said, in order for the not-for-profit arts to prosper, this argument has to move from the technical sphere to the public sphere.

ANDRÉ PETTIGREW

Crafting an argument in support of the arts seems to me a daunting task. First, we need to craft a cogent and sticky argument in order to pierce through the noise from other communications. The arts message must be widely heard. Second, we need to consider the importance of relationships. I find it a bit too academic to frame all arguments as two sides battling against one another until a decision is made. Foundational work in building and reinforcing relationships must be done in order to win arguments. Relationships are inherently important considerations.

The big argument for the arts must be broken into segments, and the segments need to be prioritized. For example, do we place an emphasis on funding? Education? Access? We cannot make all of the arguments with everyone at the same time; we must consider how our audiences vary.

JENNIFER NOVAK-LEONARD

John Kreidler and Philip J. Trounstine (2005) developed the idea of the cultural ecology. They represent the idea with a triangle, but rather than rank things in the triangle by importance, they rank them by the proportion of people involved. The bottom of the triangle represents the simple awareness of culture. The middle of the triangle represents participatory cultural practice. The top of the triangle represents professional cultural goods and services. Non-profit and professional arts only account for a sliver of the triangle. There is a movement toward valuing these activities in many traditional arts organizations, but how do we move people into our doors?

Before we can answer that question, we need to examine our values. Should we simply engage people and foster their creativity in whatever realm they may be expressing themselves? Or do we want to move people along a trajectory of activities toward one of the more traditional art forms? In order to set these priorities, we must define the ecology in which we function and clarify what we value.

STEVEN TEPPER

Social movements start off with a frame—a way of understanding an issue. Snow, Burke Rochford, Worden, and Benford (1986) talk about frame alignment, which is a question of whether or not the frame resonates. In order for a frame to resonate, it must align with the preoccupations and interests of the audience it targets. There are four ways the frame can become aligned.

The first part of frame alignment is called *frame bridging*. Imagine a frame that says the arts make people creative. Frame bridging is an attempt to make that frame relevant for people by tying it to something to which they are already ideologically sympathetic. If we say the arts make children creative, we create a bridge to parents who care about their children.

Another technique is called *frame amplification*, which makes the frame more relevant by connecting it to something extremely important within the frame's context—usually a problem. For example, if our frame says that art is about individualism and expression, we can amplify it by connecting it to the Cold War and our relationship with the Soviet Union (as the United States did in the 1960s and 1970s).

Another strategy for aligning a frame is called *frame extension*, which is stretching your frame to align with people who are not already in agreement with you but who might be sympathetic to your position. For example, if we talk about the value of art for localism, we can connect our frame to

the local media movement or the environmental movement and sustainability. Then we can build alliances with people who have different versions of the localism frame.

Sometimes, a frame cannot be bridged, amplified, or extended. This happens when the frame is too different from how the culture currently thinks about an issue.

The last strategy for aligning the frame is called *frame transformation*. An example would be to take the NEA's framing of the arts—"a great nation deserves great art"—and its ability to bring great art to citizens and change it to "we enable the creative capacities of our citizens." Part of argumentation and advocacy is identifying the current frames we use in the arts, but we also must decide which of these framing tools to use with various audiences.

DANIELLE ENDRES

The key to the framing strategies outlined by Steven Tepper is that they push the argument across the level of dispute from accepted ideas to unaccepted ideas. Each framing strategy persuades the audience by connecting the frame to an accepted idea.

When you make arguments across cultures, particularly to a more powerful audience, you should know what you are willing to sacrifice. One easy way to persuade a dominant audience is to tell it that you fit with its values, but sometimes that fundamentally undermines your own values and position.

An example of this situation is Indian gaming in California. In San Diego in the late 1990s, there was a campaign to expand the amount of gaming that could be done. The campaign ads said that American Indians needed more gaming in order to fulfill their American Dream. But by saying they are part of the American Dream, the American Indians undermined their ability to be recognized as a sovereign nation. As you construct your arguments for a dominant audience, think about what you are willing to sacrifice and what you are not.

ANN MARKUSEN

I am currently finishing a project on Native American artists in Minnesota. My draft is massive and is based on many interviews with artists and gatekeepers of casinos and museums. It begins with information about how the artists' careers developed and continues on to discuss Native American culture. I sent it to several highly placed people in the non-profit arts world—people whom I respect enormously. The non-profit arts people told me to only use the section on Native American culture and leave the rest out. They

were only interested in reading about the ways in which Native Americans are different from themselves. A Native American partner of mine was upset by this response. She told me that Native American artists want the study to show that they are like other artists—they need to eat, and they need access to space and resources. I am in a difficult situation because the project has multiple audiences. We are writing for Native Americans, we are writing for the gate-keepers, and we are writing for funders.

Addressing multiple audiences with one document is a struggle. We certainly won't cut the section about the artists' careers from our project because the main thing we want to say is that the non-profit arts community needs to listen more than it does.

JULIA LOWELL

One reason the arts are in a defensive position—at least in the public context—is because arts-policy makers are constantly supplicating without appearing to offer anything in return. A few years ago, the Texas Commission on the Arts was going through a difficult time. The executive director, Rick Hernandez, came to speak at a WESTAF session. He said he was tired of going to the governor and the legislature and begging for money, so instead he went to the governor and asked him what the Texas Commission on the Arts could do to help the state meet its goals. The governor was quite surprised and had a number of suggestions that helped anchor the agency more firmly within the state government structure. Perhaps it is better to say, "We have something to offer," rather than "Give it to us, give it to us."

ILONA KISH

As an advocate, you have to know whom you are representing. In the arts, we suffer from the corporatist approach. The question of whether I am advocating for the public benefit or the benefit of my arts community is a question that bothers me a lot. I advocate for my constituency to get something for them.

LARRY MEEKER

I would like to build on Jennifer Novak-Leonard's and Steven Tepper's comments. Regarding the notion of cultural ecology as a triangle that goes from simple awareness up to participants to professionals, perhaps we should add unaware people to the bottom. Our mission is to help people move up through the triangle so they can enrich their own lives through the arts. A companion to our research on argumentation could be research on how people decide to move up the triangle. There is a blossoming body of literature—books such as *Predictably Irrational* by Dan Ariely (2008), *The*

Black Swan by Nassim Nicholas Taleb (2007), and How We Decide by Jonah Lehrer (2009)—that brings together economics, neurology, and psychology. If we knew more about how people decided, then we might be able to construct better arguments for the arts.

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MESSAGING PART II: ARTS AND CULTURE REDEFINED

Presenters: Jennifer Hahn, Jennifer Mello, Joaquín Herranz, Jr. Respondent: Ann Markusen

For many state arts agencies and their constituents, providing compelling reasons for states to fund the arts is increasingly difficult, and the arguments are often ineffective. Building on the previous symposium session on the effective design of an argument, Jennifer Hahn, Jennifer Mello, and Joaquín Herranz, Jr., further explore strategies for making the case for public art funding to policy makers. Ann Markusen responds.



As Doug McLennan mentioned earlier, the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) and the state arts agencies have been spectacularly successful at accomplishing their intended goals. Great art has been brought to the far corners of the United

States, and President Barack Obama has signaled that he will increase funding for the NEA. One could argue that there is no problem. We are simply doing business as usual, which means going to the governor and trying to get a bigger piece of the pie. We all know how to do that very well.

There is a question, however, of whose interests we should serve. Whose interests were being served when the NEA and the state arts agencies were set up to privilege and share high art? Paying attention to how symbolic and political interests shape the frame around which arts agencies work is important.

As Doug McLennan said earlier, things change. This is not 1965. The political environment has changed; the economic environment has changed; and, most important, the cultural environment has changed. What is culture and creativity? It has all changed, and we need to rethink the purpose of the NEA and state arts agencies.

In the last 10 years, there have been two main political concerns at the federal level. The first is security—national security, individual security, health security, and food security.

The majority of our federal tax dollars go to defense. The second main political concern is economic security. If we want more federal resources, those two areas are where we can get them. How do we make reasoned arguments and create a frame that allows us to tap into those resources?



Why do we have no traction? I do advocacy work in the area of arts education, and from what I see, the problem is not relevance or value but urgency and priority. I have worked on many campaigns for social issues, and I have learned that

the arts are a popular product. There have been successful public advocacy campaigns for clean-needle exchanges and abortion rights, which are much harder things to sell. Set aside your concerns about whether people can define the arts, how they should be delivered, and what qualities people want. You are selling something the public likes. They want it, and they think it is good. We have seen this numerous times in research, so we should not dwell on the feeling that we are not on the side of good and people do not want what we have to sell.

I work with districts in cities and try to give tools to local advocates all around the country. I recommend www. keepartsinschools.org as a resource. It is an online community for advocates doing this work, and there is good information there.

Many arts education advocates do not have enough chutzpah. They are sympathetic to other arguments, and they back down too easily. They say, "The state legislature is broke. What would we have them do? How are they going to make these tough choices? Do we really want to take money away from physical education programs?" As an advocate, you should not be concerned with that. You do not need to make decisions for the legislature—they are elected to those offices for a reason. You need to make your case. Some people make their cases by using very bold messages. For example, there is an organization called Art is Education. In that framing, then, you need art. Otherwise, you are not educating your children, and the state constitution says you must.

The issue of relevancy has a history. In the 1970s, the legislature said it was taking the arts away because there was no money. In the 1990s, the problem was an issue of standards and testing, so there was no time. Now there is no money or time, but my arguments about arts education are focused on mobilizing parents. I have done the opinion research to find out how to get parents to fight for arts education.

Start with the parents who are art lovers because it is not hard to get them. Next, find the doers and the organized parents, which is a good place to start whenever you are trying to organize people. For example, if there is a group of parents who organized to get rid of the soda machine in the lunchroom because they thought it was bad, then educate them about why arts learning is good. Those are the people who are most likely to get involved. I recommend using arguments that are more on the education side than the arts side not because I do not believe in the intrinsic value of the arts, but because as long as the arts community is begging to be let in the door of the education establishment, we are never going to get to where we want to be. We want arts education as a core, integral part of a quality education for every child.

Instead of begging, we recommend that people mobilize the education establishment to value arts learning. This recommendation obviously exacerbated tensions within the arts community, and, in the very beginning, people did ask, "What are we doing for cultural providers and arts providers?" But I do not hear about people wishing to build audiences nearly as much now as I did when we started doing that work.

I encourage my clients to learn about and adopt strategies from successful education-reform movements in local communities. I ask people to focus on local communities for a reason. The vision and space taken up by the No Child Left Behind program has confused people about how things happen in schools. The truth is that school-board trustees decide what children do during the school day, not Congressional representatives, Arne Duncan, or anyone else. The NCLB law says that states must test students, but they do not tell states how to test—states come up with their own instruments. Decisions about seat time, teacher training, what to teach, which staff are retained and which are let go—these are local decisions. They are made at the district level and the school level, and nothing works like rabid parents who show up and make noise. That is advocacy.

Messages do not wag the dog, but you are not going to be an effective advocate if you do not have a good message. For example, the Obama campaign was a single-message campaign with as many as 250 surrogates out in the media at any given time. Every single person could tell you what the campaign was about. That type of clarity and saturation is very effective.

Is it possible that we could get our message out by creating a persona for parents? If there is a soccer mom and a NAS-CAR dad, why couldn't there also be a mom or dad for the arts? We could develop a set of tools, values, experiences, and language that comes with a persona.

One way in which we are very blessed in the arts community is that we have a lot of passion and a lot of people who can communicate passionately. Passion really matters.



I am a contract lobbyist with many clients. I not only represent Arts for Colorado, I also represent the Brain Injury Association and the American Cancer Society. My firm represents the city of Denver and our regional transportation district. That

breadth is important because it helps us understand what works and with whom. We often say to a client like Arts for Colorado, "We understand that you really feel passionate about this idea, but it is not going to work. Let's move on and talk about what actually is going to work."

I want to be clear that I am talking about legislators and the executive branch in Colorado because every state is different. We have 100 legislators in Colorado, and my job is to persuade them on behalf of my clients. One overused strategy is to talk about data. Unfortunately, research studies often do not matter to legislators. Research studies matter very much in other worlds but not at the state capitol. That is partly due to a limited ability to evaluate them. Legislators are teachers and attorneys and retired people. They are a cross section of society. If we went out and did a survey, how many people in Aspen would know what r squared or a margin of error means? They cannot evaluate research data, and in Colorado, we do not have a legislative staff that can do it for them. Some of the more blessed states actually invest in their public sector in a way that allows for that. We are not one of them. Of course, if the other side has a big stack of data, you need to come in with a stack of equal size. However, after each side spends five minutes presenting its data, the legislators will say, "Okay, it's a draw. Now let's move onto the things on which we are actually going to base our decision."

The second strategy that does not work is to make vague or theoretical requests. For example, some arts advocates come to the capitol and ask their legislator, "Do you support the arts?" or, even worse, "Do you support arts education?" That doesn't mean anything, and it is way too easy for the legislator to just say "yes." Then the advocate walks away thinking the legislator is going to do whatever the advocate wants, even though she or he has not committed to anything. It is much more effective to say, "I need you to vote yes on Senate Bill 123, which will ensure that the statute on art in public places applies to all capital construction projects in the state." That is a conversation you can have with legislators. Simply asking them if they support the arts does not work.

The final strategy that does not work is moralistic certitude and handwringing. I want to look at something Jennifer Hahn said earlier from another angle. In my experience working with arts advocates, I have seen a lot of self-righteousness. However, I think it is legitimate to debate whether or not the government should support the arts. I would argue that we can win that argument, but we often don't even consider whether we have committed the sin of not respecting our audience. In any legislative body, there are likely to be conservative legislators who simply do not believe that the government should support the arts. If we start by talking to them in a way that disrespects them, we are not going to get very far.

The messenger is just as important as the message. In fact, it can be more important. We have talked about about having a high-profile champion, as in the case of the governor's wife's sister-in-law in California. However, using a high-profile champion is a very high-risk, high-reward strategy. It is not something you can count on, and it will not last forever. Other important messengers are people in a legislator's district. It is popular to talk about all the problems in American politics and call politicians awful. However, in reality, elected officials respond to people in their districts.

I am going to talk about two kinds of people within a legislator's district. The first are called grasstops. Grasstops are not people who just vote. They are the people who run local arts agencies or who run organizations like the Arvada Center for the Arts and Humanities in Colorado. Grasstops people tend to know the legislators already because that is the kind of people they are. They are engaged. We are doing a series of meetings with legislators around the state on behalf of Arts for Colorado. When we go to the legislator's district, we bring people from the district in to help us argue that we need to continue funding for the state arts council. When we bring in grasstops people the legislator has known for 20 years, it is particularly powerful. They say to the legislator, "Oh, it's good to see you! How are your kids?" And then they say, "This is what I want you to do at the capitol." It makes a significant difference.

One idea of Jennifer Hahn's with which I completely agree is that the voters and the grassroots are also very important. That causes a prioritization problem for legislators and legislative candidates. When I was a candidate for the state senate a couple of years ago, I knocked on about 10,000 doors in a district in Denver, Colorado. This was not the suburbs but an urban core area. I only remember one person who brought up the arts. However, this one person was very adamant about determining my level of support for the arts. He

wanted to know what boards and performances I attended, and he even wanted me to write a whole essay about my support for the arts. Those are the two extremes—voters either say nothing about the arts, or they want a personalized five-page paper. Something in between would be more effective.

Every year, arts groups get together on one specific day for an advocacy event at the capitol. As the lobbyist, it is my job to connect people with their legislators. This is my problem every year: If 100 people come to the capitol, 84 of them are from two districts in Denver and two districts in Boulder, and those legislators already support us. The other 16 people are scattered throughout the state, so even though they are more valuable, there are not enough of them. We need people from Grand Junction and Colorado Springs, not just from the state's urban core. The messenger matters and, as a community, we need to do a better job with the broad population.

There are no isolated arguments in the legislature. Everything happens in context. The existence of term limits in Colorado has made a huge impact on that context. In 2008, we had 15 to 20 new legislators coming in, and I had to find out about them. What do they care about? Do they know anything about the arts? Do they hate the arts? Then we had five or six legislators resign during the legislative session, and there was a replacement process for those people. We had to do a lot of work to find out where those legislators are on the issue of the arts. The arts is not a partisan issue, but politics matter.

We have a new state senator, Pat Steadman, who was appointed through a vacancy committee. I met with him a couple weeks ago, and he said that the arts are going to be his issue. I said that was great and asked why. He said the reason is that the voters in his district care about the arts. He is right—he is from a downtown district. There are people who want to be your champions, and that is great, but remember that their interest is partly for political reasons. They believe in the arts, but, more important, they think their voters believe in it. The same is true of our enemies. Whenever the arts come up, many legislators stand up and say, "This is absolutely not a public function, and we should not be funding erotica at the library in Boulder." But they say those things in part because their voters want them to, so do not forget about politics.

School boards run school districts, so it is difficult to sell the legislature on arts education. Legislators consider 200 to 300 issues every single day of the session, and we have to present our argument with that context in mind. We cannot

ignore the fact that they have other issues to deal with. We have to be quick, we have to know what we want, and we have to give individualized messages.

It is healthy to debate about which message is better, but the economic development message is working on the ground now in Colorado. The education message works with the people whose votes I will get no matter what. But the economic development argument gets the swing votes.

You must remember that state budgeting is a zero-sum game. Every dollar you get is a dollar someone else does not. That is why our message has not been "Do not cut the budget for the Colorado Council on the Arts." Instead, we say, "Do not cut us disproportionately." Legislators thank us for not being another group begging not to be cut because the legislators have no other option right now. Everything will be cut. Our message is that we understand, and we want to be partners with the legislators. We are willing to share the pain with everyone else. What we are not willing to do is to disappear, which is what almost happened in 2002, and we are not willing to take a 50 percent cut while everyone else takes a 10 percent cut. And our message is working.



Before I became engaged with the arts, I worked in the military industrial complex, and I was the chair of the Committee on Science, Engineering, and Public Policy for the American Association for the Advancement of Science. We should look to

their advocacy model for elements missing from our approach. Science, engineering, and medicine have golden auras around them. I do not think our issues are any less important, but we do not just have a messaging problem—there is also a coalition-building problem.

The biggest part of the problem is our failure to organize beyond the non-profit arts world. We are in silos—the non-profit world, the cultural industry world, the arts faculty and presenters at universities, and the community-arts world. Even when the community-arts world gets organized as non-profits, which is uncommon, they do not get funding, and they are not considered to be high art. I would like to build on the work of Kreidler and Eng (2005) by talking about how we can broaden our notion of what arts and culture are in our economy. Earlier, Laura Zucker said that our role is to go and knock on the economic development door. Our role is also to knock on the cultural industry door.

In 2006, I published a study on Los Angeles and San Francisco Bay Area artists called How Artists Build Careers Across Commercial, Non-profit, and Community Work at the request

of the major arts foundations in California. The foundations receive no money when Hollywood uses the artists they train, so they wanted data that would show people that the art world and Hollywood are cross fertilizing. We looked at how common it is for artists to cross over into different spheres and what they gain from that. They frequently cross over to cultural industries—music venues, recording, publishing, commercial theatre, film, TV, video, media, and so on, and all communities have some variant of cultural industries.

Another area is the vast world of community arts and culture. Many immigrant communities do not call it arts, but they certainly call it culture. Thirty percent of all professional musicians work for religious groups, but the non-profit arts and cultural world has been very squeamish about embracing music and visual art in the religious sector.

A third important and untouched constituency is working-class people. Some legislators are hesitant to support the arts because white, working-class people do not think they have anything to gain by supporting the arts. The largest attendance ever at the Guggenheim in New York was for the motorcycle exhibit. The Guthrie Lab Theater in Minneapolis had its best ticket sales when it performed Barbara Ehrenreich's *Nickel and Dimed* (2001). The theater was filled with working-class people who wanted to see working-class people and problems depicted on a major stage. So why are white, working-class people so anti-art?

Another problem is the segmentation of arts constituencies in universities. Steven Tepper and Bill Ivey have done good groundwork on this issue, and they are going forward with some initiatives. At my university, there are five initiatives on my president's desk, and they are all about science, engineering, and medicine. Arts initiatives are missing because the visual arts, theatre and drama, media and journalism, architecture and design, and creative writing are all organized in separate departments. Furthermore, none of the people who do policy are in those schools.

I am in the public policy school, and I have been working to build those bridges on my campus. I advise people that we need to get together and increase our visibility on campus and in our communities. There are practically walls around university arts faculties—they relate to the rest of the arts academic world but not to their local communities. There are important performances at universities, and they serve important archival functions, but many universities get bad raps from their local non-profit arts organizations and artists. Fixing these relationships is part of redefining arts and culture.



FRANK HAMSHER

Jennifer Hahn made an important point earlier about how data relate to messaging. Messages are really not about facts; they are about value statements. The most effective ones are forward-moving value statements that you want to support.

LAURA ZUCKER

But legislators want to know you have the data. They do not want to actually see it. They just want to know it exists.

FRANK HAMSHER

Right. For each value statement you make, you need a couple of strong pieces of data. The data can be in the form of a research study, factual information, anecdotal information, hero stories, or however else you want to present it. Just be sure the data make your message more true than it would be on its own. If you have no data to support your message, perhaps the message needs to be rethought. Earlier, when Laurie Schell listed the parade of messages for arts education, I realized that some of them are simply conjecture, which could be problematic.

If you are talking to a legislator or anyone who can influence the resources that you need to move forward with an artistic project, you need research. Some legislators will ask to see it, but most will simply want to know that you have it. Either way, you should have it, and you should be conversant with it.

NED RIGHTOR

Earlier, Ann Markusen mentioned that working-class people are alienated from the arts. That raises a broader question about whether the arts actually illuminate the human condition if they are missing huge segments of human beings. However, no one has talked about how you start conversations about the arts with working-class people, people in a legislature, or anyone else for that matter. One thing I have learned from doing numerous interviews is that people love to talk about themselves. Does anyone ask these people what art they do? What art they like? What art they did once upon a time? My advice would be: Start with them.

ILONA KISH

Joaquín Herranz asked the key question for me: What is the problem? If what you are asking for is not linked to an im-

pact, perhaps you should try negative messaging. At a facilitator session we held a few years ago, the facilitator pointed out that we cannot talk about what happens if everything goes wrong the way the environmental movement can: "If you do not act now, the planet will die in five years' time" or "If we do not change the way we work in development, 500 million African children are going to suffer." What happens if we do not get arts education? We can start creating an answer to that by talking about the impact of the arts on society. As Laurie Schell mentioned yesterday, it is a bad idea to say that the arts will solve all our problems. However, we could start making a case with research, such as a study on arts participation in some specific delinquent area.

There is another question about what problems we are trying to solve. Is having a vibrant arts community an intrinsic good? Who does it serve? There is much resistance to that instrumental argument in our arts community. We have to get over that.

FRANK HAMSHER

Joaquín Herranz mentioned that security is a major issue in our current context. Fifty years ago, our nation launched construction of an interstate highway system that now blankets the entire country. It was the first time the federal government had ever spent serious money on a national infrastructure in what was then considered to be a state and local province. Was it justified? This was done during the height of the Cold War. We were building a national defense system. Whether or not that was the real reason is irrelevant to us. It is an example of frame shifting, which Steven Tepper talked about earlier. We should think about shifting the frame for the NEA. Is our goal to bring great art to the entire country? Or is it to unleash the creative talents of all our citizens? Those are two related and distinct messages to consider.

JOHN HOLDEN

Ann Markusen and Jennifer Hahn both made points about the importance of how we describe ourselves. In the U.K. we describe ourselves using terms such as not-for-profit, we talk about subsidies, we talk about the right to fail, and we say we have to be governed by trustees who are presumably trustworthy, while we are not. However, the whole world receives public money in one form or another. The defense industry calls it public procurement. Farmers call it top-up payments. The automobile industry gets investments. Why do we use this self-loathing, apologetic language that completely lacks confidence about who we are and what we do?

JENNIFER HAHN

I want to respond to Ilona Kish's question about the possibility of using a negative frame. Can we tell people that if they do not do what we want, something bad will happen? Generally speaking, that is a dangerous course. Unless you can show a direct causality, you risk losing the trust of your audience. Using a negative frame also does not build on people's better angels. People want to solve problems and make decisions based on their values.

The other issue with using a negative frame is that you will undermine your frame if you define your problem around the same system you are counting on to deliver the solution. For example, if you say that schools are failing our children by refusing to integrate the arts into education, then you are also saying that the schools fail. If your solution is to get more arts education into the school, you are undermining the vehicle that you need to succeed.

One alternative to using a negative frame is to raise the specter of opportunity cost. For example, we say that arts education develops the whole child and is integral to the well-rounded education that every child needs. Then we talk about sustaining that commitment to allow kids to have a successful future. This raises urgency by talking about good things that may not happen. It is a better strategy than saying, "You better do what we want or there will be dire consequences."

ANDRÉ PETTIGREW

Joaquín Herranz made two points that made me think. First, he asked, "What is the problem?" The pie is growing. NEA has essentially accomplished its mission. It is important to declare victory when you accomplish your mission. If you do not, there is an assumption that you are still working on it. This is a subtle messaging piece related to what John Holden talked about. There is a significant difference between saying "Our plan hasn't worked and we need more resources" and "We have succeeded, and we are ready for round two." I have worked in the venture-capital industry, investing in early stage technology companies, and I learned that it is crucial to declare and promote every milestone in those early stages. Declarations of victory add value in the long term.

Today, at the federal level, the focus is on defense and economic recovery. Defense has always been the biggest piece of the pie in the federal budget. There is tremendous uneasiness around security—there are even whole sets of drugs being prescribed just to calm people down. Perhaps you can make a case that the arts provide emotional security. Highlight what local arts do to provide a level of calm, and tell

people why they should make that relatively small investment instead of building a B-I bomber. That is where the money is.

FRANK HAMSHER

To add to André Pettigrew's point about declaring victory, I would like to say that all of us—whether in our individual, collective, or public lives—like to be associated with winners. The public often gets the impression that the arts community is a poor, bedraggled, beleaguered group, always on the brink of disaster. Although there may be some truth to that, that image is hard for the public and legislators to associate with. However, there are many victories to declare, particularly when you start talking about individual institutions, activities, and programs. Make sure those events are declared and celebrated not as end points but as launching points for what is next.

LAURA ZUCKER

Danielle Endres made a point about asserting a positive identity. Our messaging is all being framed as argumentation, which is oppositional. I prefer to change the paradigm and get the people I would be arguing with to carry my water. I want to get them on my team of people who want to move the initiative forward. That takes more person-to-person work up front, but it makes things easier later. A few years ago, we doubled our grant program from \$2.25 million to \$4.5 million. We did it by talking to a key point staff person from each of my five decision-making offices. We told the staff people that we thought grants for arts organizations could help with the issues we were dealing with. We gave them a long list of reasons why this was true, but all we really wanted was to double the grant program. Eventually, we told them that if they doubled the money, we could address unincorporated areas and could fund service organizations to help support the infrastructure. We said we could support arts education in the particular ways that they cared about. We gave them a very detailed list of things they could buy. When we finished, they discussed the pros and cons, saying, "Wow, we could do this! Wow, we could do that!" Finally, one of them said, "I think we should just double it."

They all talked to their bosses, and the next thing we knew, the money was in the budget. It took no advocacy. It took building ownership. That is a key alternative to being oppositional.

KWENDE KEFENTSE

Ann Markusen's comments about audiences reminded me of something I experienced recently in Toronto. I saw a play that came over from London called *The Harder They Come*.

For those of you who do not know, it is based on a Caribbean piece of cinema. You could call it a *yardie* film, something that was never intended to go anywhere beyond the Caribbean diaspora. However, Caribbean people have immigrated to London *en masse*, and they put together a play based on *The Harder They Come*. When it came to Toronto, it sold out every night.

I never expected to see anything so personal on a stage. The whole Caribbean community and everyone they were affiliated with had all come out and filled the theater. I have been to the Pantages for *The Phantom of the Opera, Ragtime,* and many other musicals, but I have never felt anything like the feeling of community in that theater. It came from the strong connection with the audience, and the performers understood that.

There is a huge Caribbean population here, and they will plug into this. And kudos to the Pantages Theater for putting it on and to the city of Toronto for promoting it as it did. That was a time where high art met low art for profit for everybody. I was blown away by the way they connected with the audience. It was amazing.

KEITH COLBO

Those working in the arts have a difficult time framing the discussion. Arguments are framed by what we face at a state level. What is the revenue picture that will frame your arguments? As you come down, you face reality. Are you going to be defensive? Are you going to ask for reasonableness? Are you going to support a cut to be reasonable and work with your fellow legislators? I have done it. Many people distrust the legislature and, in some cases, with good reason.

I watch parties perform across the aisle from one another. I know by mid-session that if I can convince one particular legislator to support the arts, I will have two more automatic votes sitting beside them. I do not have to talk to those people. There are other people I do not want to talk to because I do not want to inflame them. That narrows the audience that I address as a lobbyist.

We lose influence when we do not follow our champions as they leave the decision-making bodies, whether they are elected officials or legislators. Keeping them engaged in the discussion is important. They know the arguments, and they support you. We occasionally ignore elected officials. State policy decides much of what local governance does, and we do not pay enough attention to them.

We also often ignore political party platforms. Some legislators have no particular positions other than, "I am run-

ning to change things." If those legislators are running within party platforms, then we will be driven by those platforms. And if the whole platform is silent on the issue of the arts, those legislators will look to their peers.

Economic development is the current focus, and it will be the focus for some time, but I see an approaching trend that will be difficult for the arts and culture to deal with: The tax issue. As we change to meet these new challenges, our arguments and presentations will be most important.

LARRY MEEKER

Ann Markusen is correct in saying that we have isolated ourselves within silos. We also have a strong resistance to getting out of those silos. But if we argue that the arts message is self-evident, we are also telling the politicians we argue with that they are uncultured. And if they do not buy into that, then we send them a very negative message.

To get out of those silos, we must link ourselves with other causes. Nearly all causes are linked to other causes in some way. For example, would we be for public education if it did not produce higher incomes, make lives better, and keep people out of prison? The case for education would be far weaker if we could not link it to social benefits. Think of all the businesses that support charter schools because they know they need an educated workforce to compete in the world economy.

We need to focus our attention on legislators and advocates like Jennifer Mello. What do they need? If I can link strong arts programs to keeping people out of prisons, that will carry the day for some legislators interested in incarceration issues. If I can link the presence of arts and cultural amenities to economic development, that will carry the day for others. We need to link the arts to every other area of political and human interest we can find.

We can and must do much of that linking through research. I am president of the Kansas City Jewish Museum. We have an art gallery space in an assisted living facility. We are currently exploring how we can better use our art exhibitions and programming to improve the lives of senior citizens. We hope to demonstrate that improvement with research. If we can make that link, I think our gallery will be open for more funding from the medical arena as well as the arts arena. It also gives us another message for people interested in assisted living facilities and the issues of senior citizens. That in turn gives us another constituency to which we can link the arts argument. These linkages are extremely important, so we have to resist staying in the silo. It is easy to talk to our own, but we have to branch out.

FRANK HAMSHER

Your point is a reminder of one of the beauties of talking to legislators about the arts. You can probably find a relevant link for all legislators, no matter how disconnected they seem from the arts as a whole. There is probably an art organization that supports something in which they are interested.

JENNIFER MELLO

What I need are bodies. It is great to spend time working on the arguments and the message, and it will certainly help me if you can prove some connection between the arts and keeping kids out of prison. But what would be more helpful is to have 100 people in every legislator's district who will make the phone calls and show up. That is the piece we are missing in Colorado.

We have done tours around the state where we meet with the legislators in their district, and then we pull in people from the district. In one legislator's district, there is a woman who runs a high-end framing company. She does most of the framing for the Denver Art Museum as well as the Air Force Academy, which has a big art collection. She was able to say to her legislator, "I live and work in your district. There are three jobs in my facility." That specific story is more powerful than big-picture arguments.

Ned Rightor said we should start with legislators wherever they are, and he is right. It is helpful for me to find out whether a legislator goes to the symphony or if he or she is on the board of a small museum in the district. Elaine Mariner, the director of the Colorado Council on the Arts, is a great source for that kind of information. She knows what is happening in every community in the state, and we can go to her and say, "We need to talk to Sean Marshall in Broomfield about the arts. What is going on up there?" She will tell us who to call, and they will say, "Oh yeah, Sean Marshall came to our performance last week." After that, you are already halfway to reaching the legislator. The personal level of argument is critical.

ANN MARKUSEN

To respond to Frank Hamsher's analogy of the construction of the interstate freeway system, I would like to talk about the Works Progress Administration (WPA) period in the 1930s and what happened with arts at the time. At the beginning of the WPA, arts projects were included as either infrastructure—like putting something on the walls of a post office—or to employ an artist. The federal government quickly realized that in order to sustain these projects, it needed messages for the whole American population. The

first message it developed was about celebrating and fostering American art and distinguishing it from European art. The second message was a diversity message. For the first time, the government said that the United States is a land of immigrants—although this did not include African American or Native American people. The leaders in Washington used these new themes to support the work on the post office walls, the living theatre project, and even music.

In this time of deep economic displacement, is there something the arts can offer? Can we address unemployment and despair with our talents and creativity? We are not talking about this opportunity. It is likely that the economy will not improve as it did in the WPA period, so the issues ahead of us are daunting. How can arts and culture help those in our communities who are suffering and trying to figure out how to go forward?

FRANK HAMSHER

Much of the work that was done 70 years ago has a long-lasting shelf life. A lot of archival work, historical work, and descriptive work about our artistic legacy is a result of investments made to fight the Depression by putting artistic people to work. The long-lasting nature of those efforts goes well beyond what a lot of us have been involved with more recently.

ANN MARKUSEN

We would not have written records of the oral histories of slaves if it were not for the Federal Writers' Project in the South. And some historians opposed it at the time because the oral histories were not written down and did not seem real to them. So you are absolutely right in many different spheres.

LAURIE SCHELL

One problem we encounter is that our messengers are often too self-interested to be convincing. The arts community goes in to protect its own turf, programs, and budgets. Another example is education, where teachers are often forced to stand up in front of the school boards to protect their own jobs. Those are not great messengers. We need to get out of the silos and get the public engaged in the conversation. They will do the advocacy work for us.

DANIELLE ENDRES

Although the issues of language and relationship are important considerations, it is also important to remember that we do not need to persuade every audience. There are times when it is appropriate to say, "That person is never going to be persuaded, and I am going to leave them out."

Both in a legislative context and in a public context, you do not need a 100-percent vote. An important part of audience analysis is figuring out who are the persuadable people. So if you find out that a legislator does not care at all about the arts and has never done anything artistic, you should cross that legislator off your list.

DOUGLAS MCLENNAN

Orchestras are having a leadership crisis. Attracting board members with stature is difficult. That is partly because we do not have enough ways to engage people. You cannot just go to people you do not know and ask them to be on your board. You have to have a relationship with them. Our arsenal of methods for promoting engagement with organizations and communities is too small. Our strategies are even misaligned in the sense that we do not allow people to support us in a variety of ways. And when you finally want something big from somebody and you do not have the kind of relationship or context that allows you to ask for it effectively, then you have a problem.

To respond to Jennifer Mello's point about needing more bodies, we need to incentivize people so they are not just supporting the arts because it is right or because we want them to. What else do they get out of supporting the arts? People love to contribute in a variety of ways, and we should explore more ways for people to get involved. If you want 100 bodies from each district in the legislature, start with a smaller goal. First, find ways to engage people so that when they participate, they are not solely giving something—they should also be getting something. Incentivizing people to become more engaged with what you want to do is much more powerful than asking them to keep giving and giving. Realigning incentives for people might be part of the paradigm shift that needs to happen.

LARRY MEEKER

Ann Markusen raised the question of what we can do to take advantage of our weak economic times. I concur that the next few years will be long, protracted, and difficult. Perhaps this is an opportunity for us to look at the cultural diversity in this nation. I believe we are undergoing an economic paradigm shift; what we are experiencing is not simply part of a cycle where things return to where they were before. Much of the consumption is going to take place in other countries and with other groups of people, and our cultural diversity can give us an advantage in addressing their needs. We have an ability to put money into ideas and create businesses far exceeding any other nation in part because our cultural diversity keeps us in touch with global markets. I suspect we could construct an argument that the arts help

us understand our differences better, making us more competitive in the business world.

On a different track, we ought to step up to the challenge of constructing the arguments of our opponents for them. The only thing my parents asked me to do in high school was to take a semester of debate. I did and went on to take all the semesters of debate. That form of argumentation is valuable because it forces you to argue one side of an issue for an hour and then switch to arguing the other side for an hour. Forcing ourselves to argue against the arts may strengthen us in our convictions for the arts. It would also show us that there are many answers to what we want. We might then soften or better adapt our approaches, thereby becoming more helpful to people like Jennifer Mello when trying to convince others.

JOHN HOLDEN

The arts have to be relevant if we are going to get people standing behind us. Earlier this year, I thought there were three things the arts ought to be doing. One is providing a source of comfort, support, and solidarity in these troubled times. I do not think it is a coincidence that the latest Bond film had this curious title, *Quantum of Solace*. I did not know what it meant at the time, but now I think I do. A lot of the arts have become about comfort, reassurance, and helping people cope.

The second thing I thought the arts should be dealing with is anger. The public is legitimately angry with the political process and the economic structure. The arts ought to explore that. There have been a few plays and some music on the London stage that expressed that anger.

The third and most important thing the arts should be doing is exploring new territory. The arts should think of ways to develop from where we are—not to get back to where we were but to create something better for the future.

SUSAN STEINHAUSER

How do we shift this paradigm of the arts community as marginalized? What are the first three steps we need to take to appear more like the Canadian or U.K. models? We would no longer be focused on whether we are valued and how to become essential. How do we remove ourselves from this victimization, and how much time will it take? Who will be the players? What are the three key questions we need to answer?

LARRY MEEKER

The victimization of the arts community comes from us. That is clear. We carry that victim image when we tell legislators, "You need to support the arts because they are good for you," but then we do not explain why. If our political constituents demand that we show a link to educational achievement or economic development, then we ought to respond to that, but we do not have to enter that exchange as victims. We create those links, we support those links, and we get others to support our cause because it is a linked cause and because they know we support their causes as well.

JENNIFER MELLO

The economic development argument is powerful in part because it casts the arts in a helpful light. The argument says that we are an important part of the economy, and we know that because the Colorado Council on the Arts did a great study that quantified a significant number of jobs in the creative economy. It is the fifth largest industrial sector in our state.

The Colorado governor is up for reelection this coming cycle, and one issue he will run on is renewable energy. He has done a lot of work around renewable energy, and it has been framed in a job-creating perspective as well as an environmental perspective. Elaine Mariner and others have worked hard to position the arts and the creative economy in a similar light. If we were the next renewable energy solution, we would be giving politicians what they want and need—politically popular things they can go out and talk to voters about.

JULIA LOWELL

We have to rely on economic arguments because they appeal to all the people who do not highly value the arts. We can persuade those people that the arts are worth supporting because the arts create jobs in their communities.

To answer the deeper question of why people in the United States do not value the arts, we have to look at children. People do not value the arts because they are not taught to value them from a young age. That problem dates back at least 150 years in the United States. If you do not get the kids, how are you going to get the grownups?

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WHERE ARE THE YOUNG PEOPLE (IF THEY'RE NOT AT THE SYMPHONY)? SHIFTING GEARS IN A NEW ERA OF AUDIENCE PARTICIPATION AND ENGAGEMENT

Presenters: Steven Tepper, Jennifer Novak-Leonard, Kwende Kefentse

Audience participation and engagement continue to be critical topics in the arts. Although some studies indicate that fewer young people are attending traditional arts events, their attendance at rock and indie music concerts continues to be strong. In addition, young people in great numbers purchase the latest iPod and other technology, attend guerrilla knitting circles and other DIY activities, and spend a great deal of time on Facebook. Some blame weakened arts and music education in K-12 school years for the lack of young faces in the audiences of traditional arts and classical music events. Others contend the movement away from traditional art forms is a natural evolution of shifting interests. In this session, Steven Tepper, Jennifer Novak-Leonard, and Kwende Kefentse discuss these and other issues related to the participation of young people in the arts and creative activities.

STEVEN TEPPER

I want to talk briefly about young audiences. Much of what I will say was published a year and a half ago in a book I co-edited titled Engaging Art: The Next Great Transformation of America's Cultural Life (2007). A major argument in Engag-

ing Art is that, in the 21st century, we are seeing a return to the kind of thick, interactive, homemade art making of the 19th and 20th centuries. Professional arts, big media companies, and passive consumption of art are becoming less important for many Americans. Henry Jenkins, formerly of MIT, writes a chapter in the book about what young people are actually doing, how meaningful it is, and how they are building community. In talking about this new, participatory culture, he says:

A culture where there are relatively low barriers to artistic expression and civic engagement, where there is strong support for creating and sharing what one creates with others and where there is some kind of informal mentorship whereby what is known by the most experienced is passed along to novices. It is also a culture where members feel free, that their contributions matter, and where they feel some degree of social connection with each other. Arts educators often see themselves at war with popular culture for the hearts and minds of their students, it is quite the opposite. Popular culture motivates students to do research, to read, to write, to learn, and to create. Young people are not disconnected from the arts, they're connecting to the arts in new and unpredictable ways." (Tepper and Ivy, 2007, p. 174)

That is a strong statement to me. I feel that the arts have arrived at the place Robert Putnum (1995) described a decade ago when he started writing about bowling alone and the decline of civic America. We lament the graying of our audiences and the great decline of the cultural generation, the people who fill our theaters and our halls. When Robert Putnum made his argument, people came out of the woodwork to argue that he was just looking in the wrong places. Fewer people may bowl together, bowling leagues may be in decline, and rotary club membership may be down, but have you noticed what is happening with soccer leagues? Have you looked at what is happening with dance studios in communities? There are all kinds of other places where people are joining and interacting and engaging, and I think the same thing is true of culture.

Rather than seeing this as a decline, it is a really a renaissance in art and art making. The question for arts organizations at this point is how can they—if they want to—be relevant to this renaissance? How can they be in the middle of it rather than on the sidelines?

Some of the markers of this new creative renaissance include the rise of the creative ethos. Young people want to go to creative schools, they want to live in creative places, they want to study creative majors and combinations of majors. More students today want to be artists, actors, or musicians than want to be lawyers, nurses, accountants, business owners, journalists, or teachers. Young people want to be in the middle of this renaissance. They want to see the creative process unfold, and they want to experience it. They do not just want to see the finished product out on the stage or up on the museum wall; they want to see how creativity works.

I would contend that the rise of all these reality television shows that are based on art making—whether it is American

Idol, Top Chef, or Project Runway, which is my daughter's favorite—is due to the fact that they allow audiences to look over the shoulder of artists as they are creating, working on their craft, and trying to solve puzzles.

We also see the rise of DIY, or do-it-yourself culture. People involved in DIY pursuits dedicate a serious amount of their time to their hobbies, and they are really good. They are not professionals; they are not making a living doing their hobby, though they probably could. They are connecting with other like-minded people who share their passions. We also see a blurring of boundaries between high art and low art, the virtual and the real, and these boundaries mean nothing to young people.

You may have heard of an online world called Second Life. I will not go into detail about what Second Life is, but I wanted to share some data I gathered from the founder of Second Life. He says that Second Life is important because we, as humans, crave the idea of creating a new identity and going into a place where anything is possible. Over 250,000 people a day interact in Second Life. Second Life, in terms of the things that are made there—the houses, the structures, the roads, the parks—is 10 times the size of San Francisco, and it is about as densely built. It has over 100-million user-created objects. The average age of Second Life users is 32 years old. Thirty-five million dollars were traded in Second Life properties last year. This is a real environment, not just some abstract or obscure online concept.

We are also seeing the rise of what is called the *curatorial* me, in which people can organize their creative experiences to fit exactly what they want. This represents a real push back against authority, against other people telling us what is good and what we should like. For example, at a museum exhibit, someone might create her or his own podcast of the exhibit and make that available online. People coming to the museum could listen to the curator's version, or they could listen to one of many other podcast versions. We see this happening all the time these days—people pushing back against authority with the message, "I don't need experts to tell me what I'm experiencing. I'm willing to curate it for myself."

We see the rise of choice and the need to build community around cultural engagement. For example, consider the wildly popular *Guitar Hero* and *Rock Band* video games. These games are not really mimicking the movement of playing guitar; you mostly move your fingers to lights and try to stay with the beat. Let me tell you what happens when people buy and play these games. A lot of these people get exposed to classic rock they never would have heard otherwise: The Rolling Stones, the Beatles, Jimi Hendrix, and many more.

Players start to customize their characters by creating avatars; logos for their bands, the look of the band, the instruments played, clothing, and even instruments can be custom designed. You can talk to other players in online forums on the Guitar Hero website, you can learn about the latest news from the game maker, suggest new songs and bands for the game maker to add, and submit suggestions about functionality. You can create the ultimate set list, put it online, and other people can judge your choices. You can learn about the history of rock n' roll. You can make your own album, review it, and post it. You might decide that you want to find out if anything is happening locally because you actually want to interact with other people who play Guitar Hero, so you can type in your ZIP code, and it will give you a list of all the things happening in your local area related to the game. They offer an entire online 'zine that is like Rolling Stone online. It includes strong journalistic reporting about the very bands that are featured in the game. You can set up and compete in a battle of the bands with people from all over the world. You can set up your battle, people can judge it, someone will win, points will be awarded, and there are all kinds of battles taking place on this site. You can go to their merchandise booth and take the things that you have created—the logo, the customized instruments—and you can create your own buttons, bumper stickers, posters, t-shirts, your own little figurine action heroes of your very own band, and then you can click a button to create and have it all shipped to you.

To address those who have said, "This is just a game; it doesn't have anything to do with playing music," now you can learn how to play the guitar online at the *Guitar Hero* website by the very famous guitar players you are trying to mimic in the game. If you have mastered *Pain Killer* at the expert level, you have nailed the harmony vocals on another song, you know that with a little direction, you may be slaying a real life crowd like your rock heroes do. Maybe you always wanted to learn an instrument but never took the plunge? Maybe you have said something like, "Sure, I'll play a real guitar as soon as Alex Lifeson from *Rush* can give me a lesson." Guess what? Now, Alex Lifeson is online and able to give you a lesson.

Just think about the depth of engagement—the kinds of community kids and adults can build—thanks to technology. This is a for-profit arts enterprise. Kids understand all the levels of engagement, the importance of community, the ways in which they can build status and reputation using this game. How can we understand and apply these lessons to a non-profit arts perspective?

While this is an exciting moment—a renaissance—of course there is a down side to this great level of self-expression

and individual creativity. There are also incredible levels of anxiety, depression, and mental health issues because young people think that they are the center of the world, that everyone wants to hear from them, and that everyone wants to see what they create. Of course, they do live in a real world, and the real world does not really pay attention to everything they do and everything they want, nor does it give them the exact job they want or the grades they want. There is a lot of evidence that suggests that even as their self-confidence is high—they think they are the best, the best looking, and the most intellectually talented—all the collegiate surveys show that mental and physical health are going in the opposite direction. Therefore, there are some real issues for young people.

We should think about some of the things that make them anxious. What are the things that challenge their budding identities? Can culture help step in there? When you look at all these things happening, it seems to me that the fundamental question is this: In the noisy den of culture, we have to ask ourselves what is important. What will endure? How can you be relevant? What is important to them? What is really important? As a sociologist, I think a lot about social currency. In response to symphony orchestras citing concern about the graying of their audiences, Paul DiMaggio (2008) said classical music has no social currency for a young person because not enough other young people listen to it to allow for shared social relationships based on an interest in classical music. They realize that they will not enjoy any additional social esteem as a result of enjoying and knowing about classical music.

I would posit the following experiences matter most to the rising generation (and these are not new ideas): Young people seek intimate relationships with each other and their families. They seek a sense of belonging to a group—to conform and belong. They also seek a way to be distinctive, to stand out. They seek a sense of efficacy. They want to feel like they matter, that they are good at something, and that their voice can contribute. Finally, they seek a sense of wonderment.

We can go through all of those and think about why certain kinds of culture in the new-media environment help young people achieve those five dimensions of life. Tweeting on Twitter, even though it is a form of broadcasting, as the founder of Twitter says, lets people share moments of their lives whenever they want, it lets people feel more connected and in touch despite a distance. Normally, you tweet about personal topics. Twitter meets a need for young people. Belonging. Online communities, Facebook, and other social networks are all ways that kids can declare with

whom they belong. They not only have networks because they have always had networks with friends, but now they can put them in a public forum. They can show other people their networks, and that is a really important way that they can say, "This is who I am, and this is how I belong."

Young people want distinction. Today, it is not just about knowing the right culture. Kids find distinction by being able to make culture. They receive kudos from each other when they are talented, creative, and able to post their own stuff that other kids can go and see and respond.

Efficacy. Art making is about efficacy. It is about feeling like you are really competent at something. Wonderment. For young people, wonderment is not sitting necessarily in a darkened room watching a professional orchestra. It is about surprise, spontaneity, authenticity, and the raw experience that makes them feel alive.

If we do not understand what wonderment means for them, then we cannot provide the kinds of experiences that we hope will build lifelong relationships with an entirely new generation.



I would like to talk about how arts organizations, specifically dance organizations, are trying to adjust to this new reality in which people want to determine for themselves how they will interact with an organization or activity. Some of what

I am going to tell you will hopefully address some of the issues Doug McLennan raised about reinvention in this new reality. Changing to the degree that is now required is a tall order for arts organizations, especially those that make up the traditional non-profit arts infrastructure. Trying to find new ways of operating requires a lot of time and experimentation, which is something we do not often have at our disposal in the arts. A new initiative from Dance USA, the national service organization for dance in the United States, is called *Engaging Dance Audiences* and is funded by Doris Duke and the Irvine Foundation. The purpose of the initiative is to figure out how people engage in the dance art form beyond attending dance performances. This is one example of how the dance field is approaching the shifting environment.

Going back to an earlier point about thinking outside the box, when an organization has an opportunity to experiment with new ways of engaging with people, some amazing things might happen, but we are still largely limited by the infrastructure that is in place. Dominant thinking is still focused on getting people in the door of a cultural activity. I

know that this session is about young people, but I want to point out that in the world of arts and performing organizations, "youth," these days, means attracting audiences comprising anyone under the age of 45. We are not only talking about teenagers when we talk about younger audiences.

Steven Tepper touched on the concept of building relationships, and Doug McLennan talked about building community around arts organizations. In order to do this, a lot of organizations are putting up Facebook and Twitter pages, but there seems to be a disconnect in how these tools should actually be used. Some organizations seem to believe that if they have a presence on Facebook, people will come and join their online community. There seems to be some misunderstanding between how to use social media tools and what the tools mean to the shifting landscape of doing business as an arts organization.

I find the idea that we are simply passive consumers while watching an orchestra play or watching a dance performance to be a bit flawed. Inspiring creativity in an individual is not solely accomplished by that individual's participation in a cultural experience; creativity can be inspired by watching something as an audience member as well. However, I will agree that this is changing for many people, but it may also continue to be the preferred method of participation for many.

Going back to Steven Tepper's point about understanding wonderment, direct participation in a cultural event is also now a preferred method of enjoying something for many people. Enjoying cultural activities in places outside traditional performance spaces is another way people are now engaging with cultural activities. The Trey McIntyre Project, a dance company in Idaho, has a program called SpUrban (spontaneous urban performances), in which its dancers take over public places-parking lots, coffee houses, college campuses and the like—to perform these spontaneous performances. Flash mobs function in this way, too. Some might ask, "If someone sees a SpUrban performance, would they ultimately buy a ticket to a regular McIntyre performance?" I would ask in response, "Does that matter?" To Doug McLennan's earlier point about everyone having different needs, arts organizations must increasingly diversify how they provide programming to meet this realization.

KWENDE KEFENTSE I would like to talk about two pieces of research that resulted in an arts initiative that I am working on in the city of Ottawa in Ontario, Canada. My research traces a very broad trend in the development of cities, and I posit that the physi-

cal change in cities after World War II predicated a lot of the cultural change that accompanied it, particularly with regard to hip-hop culture. My argument encompasses space and scenes in cities.

For a long time, there were two visions for what a city comprises. Urban planning discourse helped bifurcate those into a two established themes—one for urban space and one for suburban space. We saw the emergence of the suburb and the idea of the new urban city, and with the 1949 National Housing Act, we really saw the creation of policy around concepts of space and what comprises a city. Post-war in the United States, there were a lot of spatial changes happening in cities. This led to questions about creating traditions of place when many places were new, due to suburban growth and the subsequent changes to urban spaces.

When we look at the morphology of both spaces—urban and suburban-and connect that to the emergence of hiphop culture, we can see that without the spatial conditions of the city, this new culture would not have been possible. The suburbs, of course, provided the antitheses to this, and while the suburbs represented a superior environment for nuclear family living, they provided a poor environment for facilitating cultural group dynamics. The urban space, however, provided an environment for aggregating the kind of activity that produced this culture called hip-hop. In the city, you had young people creating novel ways of collective living, combining activities and amenities—some of them delinguent, admittedly-and essentially creating a new city, a new urban space, a new cultural scene, a new community of practice, and a new environment for themselves during the period of flight to the suburbs. Earlier, Steven Tepper touched on the concept of youth being self-made and owning the culture, and this is what young people did at the crux of a significant shift in urban life.

The idea that creative amenities—like coffee shops and bookstores—attract particular kinds of creative people and can turn an urban space into a driver of economic activity has been around for a little while now. Scholars like Richard Florida and others have tried to measure this with various indexes, but researcher Larry Rothfield (2007) focuses more on the notion that we must look at creative scenes, or the ways in which we give symbolic meaning to cultural consumption, by combining activities within a given space. Rothfield contends—and I agree—that scenes act as greater attractors and retainers of creative talent than the creative-industries thinking and that they combine to represent different ways that we socialize and participate in socializing space (Silver, Clark, and Rothfield, 2007).

Through Beat Roots, a program I run for the city of Ottawa, we teach young people music, but we teach them in a different way than they are traditionally taught. We teach kids music through their use of vinyl records. I use an MPC 1000 sampler and show them how to load sounds onto it and then arrange them to their liking. They learn music through this subjective process. We start, however, by teaching them about the history of musical format and how things went from a record to an invisible thing they listen to through their iPods. Then, after we teach them about the history, we ask them to define what they like about music. We ask them to bring in the popular music that they like, we ask them to think critically about and tell us what they like about each song-the rhythms, the lyrics, the instrumentation, and anything else they can tell us. Then they start forming metrics for their preferences, and we give them a stack of records and say, "OK, now go out and find those things in music that you've never heard before." They start engaging with the music on the records—some of which is from their parents' generation or older-and thinking about music in a more critical way. We do not use computers, software, or downloading; we use only records and the sampler.

Part of the equation is demystifying the process of making music for kids and to build on that sense of wonderment they experience when they first sit down with us to learn how to make beats. So many of our kids listen to this music before they join the program, but they have no idea how it is made. They participate strictly as consumers.

I have reached out to many record stores, and most are donating records to Beat Roots because they realize that this is a way they can connect with people who have never experienced vinyl. I also have reached out to other DJs—I happen to be one myself—and beat makers in the community to bring them in on this project. They come and show the kids how they make beats because, as the sampler is a very subjective machine, there is no right way to do it. The key concept is to take a group of youth and provide them with not only skills but also scene orientation—in part by teaching them about a generation represented by vinyl.

Beat Roots programming provides young people with skills that they cannot learn in the classroom and some scope for how they can participate and interact with their scene. They also gain intimate relationships with people who are moving and shaking in their city while they are learning how to make music.

Hip-hop is one of the most popular and widely used placemaking tools of our generation, and in my research and practical application through Beat Roots, I am trying to combine it with scene theory to better understand how people combine different amenities to create scenes. I am creating youth programming that connects youth with their scenes while broadly facilitating a greater understanding of the history of music and specifically an understanding of the way that their community of practice is oriented because one of the most interesting things about hip-hop is that it has become completely global in such a short amount of time. Consider that the genre did not really exist in 1973, and if you told someone you liked hip-hop in 1980, they would look at you as if you were crazy. Now it is a billion-dollar industry that started from something so small—the convergence of creative young people who just started doing it. My research is grounded in that emergence of a global, cultural force in a spatial context.

Because of technology, young people can now plug into anything they want, including hip-hop culture, and create whatever they want. The same extends to old records and other artifacts belonging to their parents' and grandparents' generations—they can ask their grandma for a record, for example, ask her what she likes about it, and then go and make something new with it.

The inspiration for Beat Roots came after seeing a short film called The Archive about the man with the world's largest vinyl record collection. The Library of Congress appraised his collection of albums that were released between 1944 and 1968, and it realized that only 17 percent of his music was available to the public by CD or MP3. There is a giant bottleneck as far as the history of music for digital natives. Kids who have only experienced music digitally—through an iPod or even a CD—simply do not have access to the broad world of music that exists or to the history. This machine, the sampler, is really just a creative incentive for them to think critically about that and to participate in the physical world beyond the digital world, to get them out to a record store to talk to people, meet people, interact and hopefully expand their opportunities for networking beyond the online world. Through Beat Roots, we try to break that down for our kids, to show them there is still a lot in the physical world still to discover.

Youth increasingly are able to navigate and create culture and identity through a new media environment. They are less able, at times, to orient the identities they create to space and place because, while it is easy for a child to go online and learn about the things that comprise her budding identity, it is not as easy to connect that identity to the places in which she lives. Hip-hop is a community, like so many other endeavors that are rooted in creativity. It forms a broad base that allows young people to innovate culture



ANDRÉ PETTIGREW

With regard to the challenge of redefining how the arts attract audiences while competing with self-expression and self-creation; those are all markets, they are channels, and they all include participants. Participants, as a group, are a growing part of those markets, and, in whatever way, people are now participating in the arts, which is a good thing.

My son is a professional hip-hop dancer, but I had never looked at his work online. Literally, I just went to his YouTube page, and I see here that he has gotten 13,000 people to watch his videos. As a parent, I am embarrassed that I have not visited his site, especially because I have the equipment to do so, and I am proud of all the work he has done in his career. He works through different channels than I do and perhaps that speaks to what the gatekeepers of the arts are missing. This is an opportunity to change our views and engage the broader set of participants who are joining the conversation, especially those in the do-it-yourself-participants category because they are creating themselves and are engaged with the tools that people in the traditional arts are trying to leverage.

JOAQUÍN HERRANZ, JR.

I wonder how this—let's call it a youth revolution—is different from the youth revolution of the 1960s? Much change happened during that time, but a lot did not change.

STEVEN TEPPER

In the 1960s, I do not think the people involved in the counter-culture revolution were thinking about living creative lives over the long term or thinking about careers that would involve the consistent use of their creative energies. The revolution in the '60s was a way to organize, and while music was an important unifying factor, the people participating were pushing back against conventions of the time. The '60s represented a cultural moment, which is somewhat reflected in the current shifting environment, but the presence of technology in our lives, the changing economy, and the real possibilities of living this life represent a different kind of movement. For the most part, people who were part of the movement in the '60s have grown up and left their creative lives behind. They went on to other kinds of jobs, other kinds of responsibilities, and more conventional ways of living, even though they still listen to the Beatles, and rock music is still important in their lives.

The opportunities for today's youth involve continuing to lead creative lives, and it will not be a moment in time for them. They are experiencing and knowing the world in a fundamentally different way from their '60s counterparts. They employ their knowledge and talents differently; make their living differently; and make their families, social networks, and lives differently.

DOUGLAS MCLENNAN

Right now, YouTube is serving up one billion videos every day, and 10 billion are being uploaded to the site in an average month. The ultimate goal of any online social network company these days is not to produce the content themselves but to induce people to co-create content. The really interesting thing that happens on YouTube, for example, is that someone might post a video that 200 people may view, then someone else might build on it, which continues the conversation that was started by the initial posting of the video. Many people engaged in this kind of new media do not consider themselves successful unless someone else comes along, takes what they posted, and creates something further with it.

I would like to mention that one of the fastest growing demographics on Facebook comprises users who are 70 years old and older. My mother is 80 years old, and she spends a lot of time using Facebook because that is how she connects to the people who matter to her. She cannot travel outside her home much anymore, so she uses Facebook to maintain her social life. I bring this up as a reminder that we cannot assume that young people are the first—or only—adopters of technology today. Teenagers and people under age 25 generally do not use Twitter, for example. In fact, when I told my 18-year-old daughter that I was tweeting, she told me-after she stopped laughing and rolling her eyes-that she did not know what tweeting is. Why would she know or care about tweeting when she can do what Twitter does and so much more on Facebook? Facebook is much more interactive, and it reinforces the idea that people of that demographic are more interested in the interactive aspect than they are in the broadcasting aspect that describes Twitter. Unfortunately, in the arts, we think we are in the broadcasting business and not in the interactive business.

ILONA KISH

I am feeling a bit generationally challenged now. I remember the same kind of feeling when I first started using the Internet. I remember thinking, "It's just like a big phone book, though I don't know how to find my way around." One of the issues is that some of us, as arts leaders, generally understand and like social media and may use it to some degree, we think the new ways of being and creating in the arts are

interesting, see the new modes of creativity, and so forth, but we do not always have the time or interest to keep up with everything. We are busy running our organizations and advocating for the arts every day. I have no idea how many people in Europe are tweeting about the arts or how many organizations have Facebook pages and are using them correctly. If I do not know what is happening, then I can tell you that the directors of the arts agencies in Europe have no clue.

I wonder about the status of institutional reform because this may all be less about technological advances and more about "getting it" and fashioning an institutional response.

KWENDE KEFENTSE

In terms of getting it, for many people, the first thing you must do is talk to your kids or kids you know. Spend some time with them, see what they do, and ask them questions. This not only builds community, but it also serves as a way to learn about technology through the eyes of young people.

I developed Beat Roots as a result of meeting kids, mentioning that I do a radio show, and while hanging out at the radio station, having them come by and see me doing beats. They loved it and were so interested. I kept talking to kids to try to determine the level of interest on a broader scale. Kids will tell you what you need to know if you just ask them. At the same time, when you are talking to kids, you have to be honest with them if you do not understand something. Ask them to break it down for you, and most likely they will.

STEVEN TEPPER

I wanted to respond to Ilona Kish. There is a lot happening right now, billions of things happening. So, should we just get out of the way and let it all happen? What really do we need to do, if anything? It seems to me there are two things we should think about. We have facilities, we have spaces, we have expertise, and we have connections to art forums. These young people not only want to express themselves, but they want to become really good. They want to become talented and, as they learn, they need mentors to help them figure out how to deepen their budding interest and expertise, and that is what we know how to do.

We have professionals who can work with these kids and extend their interest. Once someone develops an interest in a musical form or topic, they want to take it vertically, horizontally, they want to take it as deep as they can. All of the cultural forms that we work with can be a new horizon of discovery for them—something to which they can link into their art form as Kwende Kefentse's Beat Roots project il-

lustrates. Another thing to consider is this notion of the online space and the real space. They still need places to gather and ways to be and feel rooted to their communities. We have spaces, we have places where they can gather—they being youthful people, not just young people.

If we think about ourselves as applying our expertise in helping them deepen their art form and connect it and develop their expertise and providing the spaces where they can come together in their communities, it puts us back in an important place.

JULIA LOWELL

My original question was, "So what do they need us for?," which Steven Tepper just addressed, but I believe there is also an equity issue here. Beat Roots is funded by Ottawa or is funded in part by municipal arts there, so there is clearly a need for support for this kind of project and for providing spaces and places for people like Kwende Kefentse to eat while he is teaching young people.

Presumably, we are also looking at the physical format of music and how that has changed, as well as putting it into somewhat of a context. One of the things we have also—and it gets longer all the time—is our own history, how old we are, and the things we know that kids do not know. Again, maybe this takes us back to arts education—providing some context for kids would help ameliorate some of the alienation they might feel toward traditional art forms.

DANIELLE ENDRES

I am curious about the role of counterculture for modern youth. I am a product of the 1980s' counterculture, the punk-rock subculture, and for us, there was a strong rejection of the things we did not want to like—things like opera and other high art. We wanted to resist that culture and be activists. I wonder what that looks like for youth today. My other question has to do with how youth activity is being filtered through commercialization or consumption. In the punk-rock subculture, we were anti-consumerism and consumption, and I just wonder how that plays into the modern culture of youth.

KWENDE KEFENTSE

I would offer that what happened during the punk-rock era was a bit more like a suburban form of resistance to the mainstream. Hip-hop emerged out of an urban context, particularly an impoverished one. Some of it had to do with people needing money and not wanting to be poor anymore. A lot of young people connect to movements like these because they do not yet have their own identity, their

own stuff. They have their parents' stuff, they live in their parents' house, and so on They do not have anything they created—something that is theirs. In this context, youth counterculture is less a rejection of the dominant culture of our parents'—in the case of punk rock and opera—but more a statement about identity and wanting to have something of one's own. Young people are saying, "I want to be me."

As far as consumerism, I do not see a problem with that or by things being driven by consumption. That was my interest in driving Beat Roots through record stores because they are places where you can consume, but the consumption is also creation. If consumerism and consumption are rooted in that way, I think they are acceptable. Generally, you have to consume something—like paint or musical instruments—to create anyway.

LAURA ZUCKER

This goes back to a lot of the work of the Curb Center, in which we start to see the dissolving of non-profit/for-profit boundaries. This way of thinking reflects what an older generation thinks about having things fit in one mold or another. I think what Kwende Kefentse is saying is that these concepts and things do not need to fit in boxes and that younger people do not perceive that as a problem in any way.

DOUGLAS MCLENNAN

We are really in the age of the curator—the personal curator. It works like this: You find people or organizations and buy into their aesthetic. They are the people who will point you in interesting directions, the people whom you come to trust. My first online stop in the morning is not to go to the New York Times, although I read practically everything in the Times everyday, I go to aggregator sites that I know are covering all of the things in which I am interested, and I can get the information I need there faster than I can by starting with the Times. This is sort of what we do with ArtsJournal for news related to arts and culture. Also, there is an online phenomenon called the link economy, which essentially means that everyone is a curator, and your currency among the community of which you are a part is based on the value that you provide to other people. The value that you provide to other people is based on what can you point them to do that is interesting and relevant to them. Right now, I probably get a third of my news through Twitter. This surprises many people. However, I follow only people whom I know, those who have some currency with me as well. There are issues that I follow within Twitter, whether in social media, journalism, and so forth, and the people who I follow are constantly paying attention to these topics and generating

content around them in ways that make sense to me. If you can put together a group of personal curators for yourself, it becomes much easier to spread a wider net, and you also run into things serendipitously that you never would have discovered before. Participating in the news cycle in this way is also a way of going in great depth into things that you care about. Everyone is a curator at this point.

ILONA KISH

I wanted to add that it is not that I would not know how to engage with all these new advances in technology; I am simply not interested enough. However, as an arts administrator, I should be. We need to put younger people in charge in many areas because they are the ones who do care, who are interested, who do get it, who are connected, who want to spend the time to follow those things, unlike many people in our generation.

FRANK HAMSHER

The issues we are raising in this segment bring to mind some profound questions for arts organizations. Both arts agencies that tend to be funding agencies and stimulators of activities and those that tend to be arts providers must think about relating to this new environment. Doug McLennan made a good point about the parallel between the arts and the journalism field. Arts organizations—both the providers and the funders—and the state agencies have served as mediators of quality; they have been credible sources of what is good, what is worth attending, funding, and so forth. In the same fashion, mainstream journalism outlets served as the mediators of what is relevant news as opposed to the blogosphere. In this new environment, where everyone is a curator or mediator of news and quality, the question becomes, "Who are the trusted sources?" How do the arts agencies evolve in this new environment as trusted sources for learning what is worthwhile in the arts field?

Is the role of the arts agency to produce or fund? Or to provide access to great art? Or to unleash the creative energies of its constituency? Or an amalgam of all of those? The new media environment raises issues about how to make it all fit together.

LAURIE SCHELL

If we look at the Trey McIntyre dance project mentioned by Jennifer Novak-Leonard, we can see elements of hip-hop and elements of brand new kinds of physical movement, but you can also see ballet and the roots of modern dance. We will not lose our cultural context, we will not lose the historical artifacts that illustrate how we arrived at where we are now. As arts supporters, advocates, consumers, and

CULTURAL POLICY IN THE UNITED STATES AND EUROPE

Presenters: Ilona Kish, John Holden

As the cultural policy establishment of the United States is consumed by events within the country's borders, our colleagues in Europe and beyond face different cultural policy challenges. Ilona Kish and John Holden present an overview of current thinking and cultural policy trends in Europe and link those trends to current cultural concerns in the United States.



I would like to start by talking about cultural policy in the United Kingdom. The first big question about policy is: "What is the scope of policy?" This used to be an easy question to answer. Cultural policy was the preserve of the smallest ministry

in Whitehall with the smallest budget, and it had a simple list of items with which it was concerned. Within the local authority context—and local authorities provide just as much money as central government, a billion or more a year into the arts and culture—it was essentially treated as a matter of recreation and leisure, something that was an indulgence, something we did at the end of the day, something that was nice to have but very far from being the central business of what local government was about. The concept of cultural policy was peripheral, but now it seems to be a central interest of the government.

There are elements of cultural policy written into education policy, and we have had some major interventions in education policy concerning culture. Cultural policy is in economic policy; in community development; and even in things like international relations, where we are paying much more attention to cultural diplomacy because of the way that the world has changed. Instead of cultural relations being confined to meetings of elite to elite, they are now mass to mass, and it means government has to change the way that it thinks about culture in international relations.

Most important, perhaps, culture has come to the fore in terms of identity formation in that we used to define ourselves primarily in terms of our family, our geography, and our work. Now we define ourselves through what we read, listen to, create, and so forth.

Consider the three spheres of culture that I mentioned earlier: the publicly funded or not-for-profit culture, commercial culture, and the homemade culture that Steven Tepper addressed. If you think about those spheres in policy terms, then the first can be considered small, elite, and confined. The second is about entertainment and leisure. The third is amateur. If you combine them all, you have what Jordi Marti, who heads the culture effort in Barcelona, calls the second ecosystem of humankind. This describes what we are all immersed and engaged in all of the time for the most part. This is a fundamental change in the scope of cultural policy.

The next question is one that we have grappled with here: "Why value the arts?" In the United Kingdom, we have had the same debate as the one being had in the United States about intrinsic value, about instrumental value. We have invented a third kind of value called institutional value, which involves examining the social role of culture because we consider it a very politically interesting space. Consider how the average citizen interacts with the government: You have to send your children to school, you have to obey a court summons, and so forth. With culture, however, you engage because you want to engage. Thus, cultural institutions have a privileged place in the formation of society. Cultural institutions can act to increase public goods like conviviality—a sense of feeling together in a society-or they can act to decrease those public and social goods. Therefore, we think there is a politically interesting space there.

This discussion about intrinsic, instrumental, and institutional value, as interesting as it was, has also been a very closed conversation among arts practitioners and policy makers. We realized that we might be missing the point in talking about what cultural policy efforts were mainly doing to benefit the public.

Extraordinarily, the Arts Council of England, which was set up in 1946 with the remit to serve the interests of artists and the public, had always concentrated on serving the interests of arts organizations. The Arts Council had never specifically sought out what the public wanted from the arts until about two or three years ago in the wake of this intrinsic, instrumental debate. This was something of a breakthrough. The Arts Council set up what it called a public value conversation to learn more about public perception of the arts. The Heritage Lottery Fund, another kind of quasi-government body, reconfigured the definition of what "heritage" is, according to public rather than expert determination, which was another very interesting development. One of the questions in this policy debate about the public has been focused on the role of the expert: Who says what culture is these days? Who sets critical standards? Who can decide what the

word quality means? We have had some lively debates lately, just as you have in the United States.

My Demos colleague, Charlie Leadbeater (2008), published a paper recently about the public desire to enjoy, talk about, and do culture, with moral neutrality among them. Sometimes, the public prefers to be part of an audience, sometimes socializing is preferred, sometimes creating art and culture on one's own is preferred. A number of arts organizations are now trying to integrate these desires into what they do, which is changing their relationship with the public.

In all of these public conversations, however, there are problems. In the publicly funded sphere, access to the arts and enjoyment of the arts are by no means equal. There are still significant barriers related to class, race, and socioeconomic status. Another problem involves the very low numbers of participation in some of these art forms. Our interest in classical music and opera is declining. There has been some statistical massaging, however, in altering definitions: If participation numbers for musicals are combined with those of opera, for example, it will then appear that the numbers are not decreasing.

We have also moved swiftly on the momentum around creative industries. We have been working to define a sector in which film, music, and other industries now find themselves-industries that did not previously classify themselves as the arts. The implications of defining the creative industries involve important policy considerations such as digitization, copyright, micro finance, training, and access to jobs. Leadership is another policy consideration in which we have invested a fair amount of money over the last five or six years, both through private and public funds. Now, with the recession affecting everything, there is a lot of uncertainty about the future. Including how the arts organizations will respond and how they can increase public engagement and how the arts message can be strengthened in challenging times. That, in a nutshell, is cultural policy in the United Kingdom.



I will now talk about cultural policy in Europe—specifically in the European Union. One of the challenges I face at this level is working across the European Union in a cultural policy context when there is, in fact, no formal policy for culture, even

though there are a lot of initiatives at the European level.

To give you some background about the context in which I work, the European Union budget is representative of roughly I percent of the member states' GDP, which is con-

tributed into the collective coffers. The largest priorities for the European Union are agriculture and structural actions, which is a huge fund aimed at increasing the infrastructure capacity—the building and maintaining of roads and such—of the different member states. The arts-funding budget at the European Union level is non-existent in terms of financial priorities.

To provide further context, our offices are in Belgium, which is geographically near the United Kingdom. I always find it interesting to talk to John Holden and others in the United Kingdom because the relationship between that country and the United States is very strong. There is a lot of crossover between the two countries, and the role, therefore, that the United Kingdom plays in the rest of Europe is an influential and interesting one. The European Union occupies a very large—geographically speaking—and a very culturally diverse space. As as result, most policy discussions involve significant and complex issues that are difficult to handle in a coherent way, such as linguistic diversity, preservation of language, the concept of multiple cultural identities, looking at Europe as a postcolonial space, and immigration. There are Europeans from postcolonial countries, and immigration into the European Union from the postcolonial countries continues to be a massive east-west flow.

Recall that most of the member states that joined the European Union in 2004 were post-Communist countries. This year, there has been a lot of discussion about what changed since the fall of the Berlin Wall 20 years ago. There are countries preparing to join us, like Croatia, and as a result, there are some very interesting discussions around the criterion of accession. Some of the work we do involves looking at the cultural components—the cultural criteria for accession.

If you have been following the debate about the freedom of the press and Italy's Prime Minister Berlusconi's administration, you know that there was a statement made in Parliament that if Italy had to join the European Union now, it would fail on the criterion of freedom of the press.

My point in sharing this information is to illustrate that there are certain terms that determine who is allowed to join the European Union club, and most are financial in nature. That is beginning to change, however. A newly launched program called the European Partnership Program is now looking at Belorussia, Ukraine, and Moldova and, for the first time, I have seen a fairly significant cultural component in that program. A cynic might say that there is an inherent cultural diplomacy or cultural relations agenda in play—an attempt to make them more culturally like us because they are in an important buffer zone. This is why Turkey is such a thorny

issue; it is perceived as a cultural problem as much as it is an economic and political problem.

The European Union comprises 27 different countries, which means 27 different cultural policy systems. The one thing they all have in common is weak cultural ministries. Greece alone has had somewhere between 12 and 15 ministers of culture in the last 10 years. Typically, the cultural minister is perceived as a person in the political system who was not a strong-enough candidate for a budget, finance, or foreign relations position. We have a commissioner for culture at the European Union, we have a cultural committee in the European Parliament, and we have a directorate general for culture and education. Therefore, there is an entire system in place for an institutional framework, though it has no power or competency in culture. What I, as a lobbyist, am able to accomplish in terms of advocacy for culture in the European Union is marginal.

The problem that prevents the European Union from strengthening its role in cultural affairs has to do with a lack of political vision and political will at the European level. There was a brief moment in the Nineties when Jacques Delor, the president of the European Union, really tried to move Europe from a trade-driven space into more of a political and cultural space. Questions of European identity, collective heritage, nationalism, and the concept of who owns culture arose.

Now, though, the European Union is trying to position itself as a global player, touting its 500 million people, trade group, and adoption of an agenda for culture. Since film came up earlier in the discussion, I can tell you that the issues for the European film industry are quite significant—there are a lot of subsidies for the film industry. The cultural policy approach as a whole, however, is less a policy position (which would be controversial) and more of a mission to mainstream culture across other policy areas. This could be viewed as a tactical move by those in the cultural arena to strengthen that policy area, and it is starting to have some interesting results. One area I would like to discuss is the European Union's Africa Strategy, published last year. Something like nine billion euros a year are appropriated for development funding in Africa and, for the first time, explicit references to the role of culture in building sustainable development strategies is a reality.

The European Union's stance on cultural policy is frustrating, to say the least. To give you an example, the state spending on culture is between one percent and two percent of the gross domestic product across all the European Union. Gathering accurate data on how much is spent from state

budgets for culture in individual countries, however, is nearly impossible. There are also some statistics that are never comparable from one country to another. This makes my job quite difficult in terms of who I am seeking to mobilize; on what agenda; and how mobilization will occur according to agenda, space, priorities, actual spending, and so forth.



FRANK HAMSHER

If culture expenditures across the European Union are approximately one to two percent of the gross domestic product, does anyone know what the comparable figure in the United States would be?

ANN MARKUSEN

Are we talking about non-profit culture solely?

LAURA ZUCKER

We are talking about total government expenditures in culture.

JULIA LOWELL

My general perception is that most European countries do not have a tax break for non-profit organizations, though some do. In the United States, we often try to compare what we spend—through the National Endowment for the Arts, state arts' budgets, and even what local agencies spend if we have access to that information—to what Europeans spend on culture and the arts, and the numbers look terrible for the United States. Some people have actually completed substantial research in this area, including the late Mark Schuster (1989), and the United States still compares poorly. While it is all quite complicated, including the indirect non-profit tax subsidies makes the comparison seem a little less sad as compared to the simple numbers.

FRANK HAMSHER

The United States spends much less, to summarize.

JOHN HOLDEN

Ilona Kish is absolutely right to say that the national level European policy is not all that impactful. In fact, one of the differences is that, in the United Kingdom, the minister of culture position is far from being a kind of end-of-career job. Instead, it is where people are placed to find out if they are any good. The issue with this, of course, is that if a minister of culture is effective, she or he will be shipped into another position. The other point Ilona Kish made is correct: The United Kingdom looks in two directions at once, both to the United States and to continental Europe. We try to borrow the best of what we learn from both. However, we are approaching a change in government, and this has implications for the arts. For one, the next government is likely to

be more Euro-sceptic, which means that relations with the European Union might change.

Specifically, the Conservatives are well aware that they have a legacy with the arts community. Most people remember funding reductions as well as the rhetorical antipathy of Margaret Thatcher—whose favorite piece of music was "How Much is That Doggy in the Window!"—toward arts and culture. The shadow cabinet at the moment has been eager to reassure everyone that it will not be cutting arts funding any more than anyone else would during a recession and that, in fact, the arts will fare better because they would reform the lottery to reinstate spending that was diverted away from the arts.

However, they will have an agenda of cutting waste and bureaucracy, which will most likely fail because most governments fail when they try to reduce spending on bureaucracy. They will definitely have a desire to increase private philanthropy, which again will probably fail unless they reform the tax system and try to institute a cultural shift in philanthropic giving. Actually, I suspect that things will not change much. Along the lines of what we have discussed during this symposium, the way culture and society themselves are changing will probably override much of the political minutiae and any kind of policy change that people wish to make.

ILONA KISH

To broaden the discussion again to the European level, consider the cluster of countries: the United Kingdom, a Nordic cluster, the western European countries, and finally the central and eastern European countries. After the fall of the Berlin Wall, many of the former Communist countries went rushing toward the ideas of capitalism, market growth, and development without spending much time investing in culture. The reality today is that many of those countries still have underdeveloped independent cultural sectors. There are small pockets, of course, of independent cultural activity but virtually no private sponsorship of the arts at all. These countries have also been harder hit by the recession, and the response to cultural policy has been quite depressing. Czech Republic cut the state budget overnight by 50 percent, leaving nothing at all for performing arts. What is left in its budget for culture will go to heritage. This is an example of the kind of overnight decision making taking place in these countries.

Of course, you do have some remaining legacies of the Communist era, in which massive state cultural institutions still exist. For example, in Romania, the state theater employs 500 people, including full-time actors, and has two theaters that house approximately 2,000 people. That structure is in

place in France and Germany, to some extent, as well. In the Nordic countries, on the other hand, there is a high commitment to public funding of the arts, and I would see that as inviolable for them in many ways.

Another point I wanted to make is, while it is possible to have a public or media-driven conversation in the United States or the United Kingdom, we cannot do that in Europe. Even if everyone spoke English, it just would not be possible due to competing ideas, conversations, ways of doing, traditions, and priorities. The French are often in a defensive stance about their language and about the social provisions they give to the arts. France and Belgium are the only two countries that have a legislative status that accords specific fiscal and employment privileges to artists. This provision is in place to protect artists against periods of time when they are not working. For example, those who work in seasonal festivals or who work part time are eligible for unemployment benefits for the periods when they are not working. This is a luxury that is broadly considered to be facing elimination in the future, but in the European discussion about culture, defending this practice is rooted in rejecting the free-market system of the United States. They are in essence saying that they do not want everything—especially things like social and cultural values—to have to live and die according to the market.

In Belgium, I see a lot of fear about the United States' marketplace approach combined with a desire to take advantage of the philanthropic opportunities that might be presented by corporate sponsorship, along with a misunderstanding or a fear about what price will be paid for that corporate sponsorship. Arts and cultural organizations want the benefits of such funding but, as in many grant and subsidy cultures, there also exist the logic and accompanying fear about the perception that if you can attract corporate funding, then you should not have access to public funding. Thus, if you are a well-funded state cultural institution, such as the Brussels Opera, which receives over 70 percent of its operating budget from the government, you know your funding will not disappear, so you would not consider corporate sponsorship as an option. Therefore, we have a high level of incumbent dependencies linked with values about the public role in culture.

JOHN HOLDEN

One of the questions pertinent to our discussions is: "Who benefits from all this?" Are we talking about what benefits people working in the arts and the organizations for which we work, or are we actually talking about what benefits the public and issues around social benefit and social justice? The reason I raise this question is because, to me, the one

thing that could best serve the arts might be the concept of the grand public debate: To engage with the public in a conversation about what the arts mean to individual citizens, what people want from the arts, how the arts should be structured to serve the public. This is a concept that clearly offers challenges rather than comforts to the not-for-profit sector, but it is something that absolutely has to happen, in my opinion.

ILONA KISH

I would love to see that at the European level, but I cannot imagine how it would be possible. I think that the whole mainstreaming approach in cultural policy has been really interesting, and it has been difficult for them to achieve. We, as an arts community, were quite skeptical of it because of a fundamental view of the arts and culture as instrumental and intrinsic. Explicitly including cultural components in other policy areas, however, offers promise.

JOAQUÍN HERRANZ

Prior to this session, I was under the impression that the European Union was an amazing, historical, institutional innovation and that its only issue was finding a way to fully implement a single currency. I thought that, compared to the United States, Europe and the United Kingdom were far ahead in terms of public value and investments in arts in culture, and I also thought advancements in terms of shared language, culture, and identity were farther along than they actually seem to be. I find the comments by Ilona Kish and John Holden to be quite sobering, and I wonder how much of the current state of the arts in the European Union and United Kingdom is due to the economic crisis?

JOHN HOLDEN

An important concept to remember during this discussion is that there is fundamental acceptance in the political mainstream in the UK of the concept of public funding for culture. There are some on both the left and the right who would disagree, but, in actuality, there is broad consensus across political parties that the role of government includes some level of funding for culture. We certainly do not live in a kind of paradise in which everything is easy, and there is complete consensus about everything. I do, however, feel optimistic about where we stand, mainly because, in the past several years, cultural production has increased and—in the United Kingdom at least—we have a very vibrant culture despite the arguments happening underneath.

ILONA KISH

Again, however, that is not a European Union answer. To Joaquín Herranz's comment, the European Union is an amaz-

ing achievement considering its history, but its organization is heavily contested frequently. Issues like national cultural identities, diaspora, immigration, finance, and the inability to form a collective response to global concerns are all things that affect policy at the European level. There are political constraints as well; those who serve in European Parliament may favor policy and ideas that favor their home country, and I, as an advocate for culture, must take a German person with me to talk about local issues when meeting with a German member of Parliament, for example. Of course, we must acknowledge, the formation of the European Union is a remarkable achievement.

LYNN WALDORF

Your comments bring back the question of who should pay for the arts. Both John Holden and Ilona Kish make clear that—even though the issues are complex—there is general broad acceptance for public funding of the arts in Europe. In the United States, things work a bit differently, and the argument that the free-market system ought to govern how people consume everything—even the arts and culture—is often made. Free-market advocates believe those who are the best and most effective in the marketplace in terms of marketing their products or artistic offerings should survive. That kind of thinking is a bit dangerous and is something to think about in terms of policy around the arts and even arts education in the United States.

From this discussion, I understand that this issue is beginning to creep into the culture discussion in Europe—it sounds like arts and cultural groups would like to benefit from funds offered by the commercial sector, but there are issues with accepting such funding. This opens debate again about who should be responsible for funding the arts. Especially when I hear that the Czech Republic slashed its budget and left nothing for the performing arts, is the rest of the European Union alarmed? Is it putting pressure on the Czech Republic to find other ways to ensure the arts do not disappear entirely due to budget cuts?

ILONA KISH

As Jennifer Mello suggested earlier, it would be fantastic if there were a broader collective response to these issues, and I think that, over time, building in that collective space will continue. The European Union is, broadly speaking, promoting the mobility of art works and artists across Europe; that is what they are allowed to do. It would be politically impossible for the European Union to take a formal policy stance on a national cultural policy; it just is not in its realm of governance.

What happened in the case of the Czech Republic during its budget crisis is that a large group of Czech artists circulated across Europe, and we promoted a strongly worded petition and letter that were presented on the opening of an official European Union cultural conference that focused on creativity and innovation—it was a big event and, in fact, Richard Florida was there. The Czech Republic had the presidency of the European Union at the time, so we felt that, again, because of the political realities of leadership in Parliament, we had a good chance of having our message effectively received. Instead, the situation was quite surreal. The Czech minister of culture opened the conference and then resigned from the presidency; and the following day, the Czech government fell, but the conference went on, anyway.

We have had several culturally intensive years promoting debate and discussion, but now the discussion is moving to volunteerism and next to poverty. The general feeling is that "we've talked about culture now for a few years; it's time to move on to another topic."

JOHN HOLDEN

The European Union is a tremendous political project—one that was tremendously difficult to achieve. Considering the history of Europe, cultural policy is actually quite interesting. In 1945, Europe was starving and Britain was on its knees. The one thing in which we had collective pride was culture. Throughout the war, Churchill's war broadcasts were preceded by the first two bars of Beethoven's—a German composer—"Fifth Symphony;" it was all we had. Therefore, culture is ingrained in the European and British psyche in terms of identity. The other concept we learned in 1945 was that we needed to keep government support at arm's length. We had just finished a war with a totalitarian regime in Germany, and we were about to enter the Cold War with a totalitarian regime in the Eastern bloc; governments were interested in being perceived as non-interfering. In my opinion, creating an environment in which there is public support but no public control over what the artist does is an interesting and delicate balancing act-one that the European Union has done a reasonably good job of accomplishing over the years.

ILONA KISH

I disagree.

STEVEN TEPPER

Is there any evidence that there is a relationship between public support and cultural participation? If you look at Mark Schuster's (1989) tables, in which he compares participation rates between the United States and Europe and other countries, people in the United States participate at the same rates in spite of the fact that our government funding might be fifth. If you look at what happened in the significant growth of non-profit organizations in the United States, you can see that it went up by 59 percent, while cultural participation went up only by five percent.

I do not know much about the relationship between government funding in the United States and all the great things we admire about European funding and actually how citizens engage in culture every day. I would be interested to know what happened, such as in the case of the Czech Republic, if funding for performing arts is slashed, what happens to theater? Are people engaging less with live theatre? Are they having more theatre experiences? Maybe the cuts to the performing arts in the Czech Republic make life difficult for the artists, but I am not convinced that the cuts have an influence on whether or not Czech citizens experience the dramatic arts in their lives. I am not convinced that absent public funding directly correlates to a decline in arts and cultural creation and/or participation.

ILONA KISH

I do not think that is the question we should be asking at all. We have different funding structures in place between the United States and Europe, and while you can look at how much money is going toward the arts on both continents, each environment has had a very different evolution from the other.

The situation in the Czech Republic made it clear that public funding for culture is something that can be brutally removed, as it was, but it cannot be removed in the same way in the complex funding system in the United States. A key concern is that the majority of the European countries do not have an arm's-length funding principle; actually, it is more about protecting the diversity of production and, in the case of television and film in particular, there is a clear recognition that, if not for public funding, these things would simply not exist.

To us, saying that they then would cease to exist because there is no market for them is an unacceptable argument. There is a European directive that requires a certain number of hours of television and film programming that do not include programs imported from the United States or English-language programming; the same goes for film production and popular music on the radio. I believe that mentality has to do with knowing that there is a section of production that will just never see the light of day otherwise.

However, you're correct. If funding is eliminated for culture and the arts, we would probably see a system emerge from the grass roots over many years because people will still want and need to produce art, and they will survive. It would be a very difficult period if that were to happen, and I do not think that is a necessarily strong argument in favor of cutting funding for the arts.

STEVEN TEPPER

It would be interesting to consider whether diversity itself could be used as a strong argument for funding—not in terms of increasing participation but in terms of preserving the diversity of art forms. If that were the case, it would change the business of the arts for the worse, I am sure. For example, consider the implications of funding classical music as a preservation project, as opposed to a participation project.

JOHN HOLDEN

You raise a great question. However, Ilona Kish is absolutely right. Public funding, certainly in the United Kingdom, has historically been used to prop up the supply side; it has never been used to increase demand. There have been aspirations and policy statements, but they have never actually been directed toward that end until very recently. Personally, I think it is a complete indictment of both the public funding system and the education system that cultural participation ranks so low in terms of any real enthusiasm for participating in the arts.

KWENDE KEFENTSE

Being the Ione Canadian here, I have to ask why Europe has not looked at Canadian models. I believe that there are a lot of parallels, geography being a top comparison. Canada is one country, certainly, but it functions much like five distinct countries spread out over a great distance with a great number of competing national priorities. In the traditional Canadian context, however, culture has been used as a bridge to connect the provinces despite distance and breadth of priorities. My question relates to what Europeans could learn from Canada and what Canada could learn from the Europeans as well.

ILONA KISH

There are technical aspects of your question that I cannot address at this point. What I can say is that we have to remember that Europe is not the United States of Europe, it is nothing remotely like one country. Relying on Canadian and U.S. models is not possible for the European Union in the same ways it is in those countries. Due to the constraints in making decisions about culture at the European Union level,

with funding decisions being made at the regional, municipal, and local levels, we simply cannot apply other models to our environment. Having said that, the International Network on Cultural Diversity and the International Network on Cultural Policy, initiated in Canada by Sheila Copp, have been influential in our work.

ANN MARKUSEN

I would like to ask two questions that have come up in a couple of other sessions. The first is about the concept of the creative city. The buzz, efforts, and academic writing about the creative city have been part of cultural discourse for the last 10 years in places like the United Kingdom, Germany, and the United States. I wondered what your assessment of the creative city is now. Various people have written about it, and while there have been a lot of disappointments—mostly due to a focus on economic development—there have also been some successes. I am curious about how this topic is present in the European context now. My second question is about innovation: "How does our discussion here about new technologies, participation, and youth culture intersect with arts policy in the United Kingdom and Europe currently!"

JOHN HOLDEN

The creative cities discourse was actually very influential in the United Kingdom, and a number of cities have invested heavily in arts infrastructure: Newcastle/Gateshead, Manchester, Liverpool, and Cardiff. Some of them have been very successful indeed, particularly the Newcastle/Gateshead, and Manchester initiatives. They have revivified the places, they have regenerated town centers, and they have attracted tourists and new residents. In Gateshead, for example, the local population had these enormous, great cultural palaces plonked in their towns, but they are using them, so it has been successful.

The discourse itself continues to be renewed from time to time. There's a certain amount of fatigue with the term *creative cities* since there are now approximately 190 of them across the planet. Perhaps London is the most important place of all now with its own relatively autonomous, devolved government, and its cultural policy is worth taking a look at because what it has achieved over the last few years has been pretty remarkable.

ILONA KISH

I think there is some level of conflict for many mainland Europeans in using such Anglo-Saxon/American buzz words. They are excited about the potential of the concept of the creative city, sure, but the buzz-word approach, I would say,

does not really work that well with a traditional European audience. Barcelona is what you might refer to as a *creative city*, but I am not sure how much Barcelona is even using that terminology to describe its efforts.

Barcelona and even Brussels represent the kind of big cultural regeneration movement in the last decade or so. I think the question might be instead, "How can we revive our urban spaces?" Most countries across Europe face that kind of urban challenge these days, and there is now a resistance to jumping on the Richard-Florida bandwagon in lieu of talking about strategies and ideas that make sense to European constituencies.

I feel that I must reinforce this concept, particularly when I am in the United Kingdom, because there is a lot of cultural arrogance emanating from the English-speaking/Anglo-Saxon world. Reliance on bandwagon jargon that originated in the United States does not exactly enable a real conversation in the rest of Europe. There is the implication that it is a different kind of colonialism.

I think that all of the conferences I have attended across Europe and, for the most part, the people attending them, would dismiss conversations about the creative city and the creative class as superficial and anecdotal. I think that, as owners and holders of the dominant language and the dominant media structure, we have to make different efforts to engage with our European colleagues on these issues rather than constantly selling all of our great ideas to our poor European counterparts.

JOHN HOLDEN

Ilona Kish is right, particularly with regard to the creative industries, where the United Kingdom pushes and claims it is the world's creative hub. What appalling arrogance exists around that concept, I agree. However, I do rather disagree about the creativity conversation. I think that even if the language is different, there are a number of cases in Europe that have very consciously used culture to reinvigorate their cityscapes.

LARRY MEEKER

I want to bring the conversation back to the last session on creativity—and Ilona Kish began to speak to this point—but to what extent are European youth creating their own creative environments? Does government support of those activities diminish in some way the creativity of a population that is being innovative and creative on its own? I am not sure where European youth stand relative to American youth, but earlier, I believe Steven Tepper made the point

that, thanks to advances in technology, youth in the United States feel like they are in control of everything, on top of everything, and are the best at everything. They are out there using technology to learn and accomplish whatever they set their minds to and are generally feeling creative. The United States has long been known as a source of creativity and a leader in innovation in the business world. What is the land-scape like for European youth on a broad scale?

ILONA KISH

Steven Tepper and Kwende Kefentse both made the point earlier that European youth are as globally networked as anyone else; it is about Internet access and participation, and there are multiple language forums as well. Although the Internet is dominated by the English language, there are now options; Facebook, for example, exists in 20 languages, and you can customize Google to whatever language you want.

Generally, they do not care who is paying for the space, which is the point Steven Tepper made earlier. We see creating those spaces as one of the government's roles, so if it is a government-funded program to make sure that there is youth access to the Internet, they do not care how it is being funded. Youth are creative everywhere. We know it is not a suppression of their creativity if the tools they use to be creative are funded by one person over another.

JOHN HOLDEN

I have traveled all over the world to every continent, and youth are creative everywhere: Whatever comes to hand, whatever tools are available, there is no suppressing it. I think there is absolutely no correlation between income tax and public support for the arts. I cannot remember the specifics of the statistics, but if you look broadly across Europe, there is no correlation of anything supporting that argument. I do not know what it is like outside of Europe, however. Is Europe less creative than the United States? I do not think so. Look at popular music, look at playwriting; in the high arts and the commercial arts, I think Europe does quite well.

FRANK HAMSHER

One issue that has not been raised yet—although both Ilona Kish and John Holden touched on this during their presentations—is the connection to the issues we deal with in the United States—the question of "who benefits?" That question is often at the core of discussions in the United States. Is art for the creators of it? Is it for the elite—those who have the knowledge to really understand it? Is art for a much broader public participation? I would be interested to hear how those issues are on the table in the United Kingdom and Europe and what you see as a relationship to the issues in the United States.

JOHN HOLDEN

I think we are increasingly moving toward a model that considers the arts in terms of public value and public benefit. We are looking more toward investing in the arts, not subsidizing the arts, with the recognition that it is public money, so it ultimately has to benefit the public rather than any particular part of the public or the cultural producers.

ILONA KISH

The European Union budget is a bit more subject to scrutiny because of the layers of input, and, from a national point of view, there are net contributors and net receivers. Also, the imbalances of wealth across the European Union are quite stark.

The net contributors tend to want a lot more in return. Across Europe, there are lots of differences, and I think the question of immigration is important, as are the questions about how immigrants integrate into the European space and how the arts play a role. However, as I have mentioned, in the Nordic countries, for example, social value of the arts has been integrated into their public policy for years and years. I do agree with John Holden's comment that a broader look at audiences is becoming more interesting than production.

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RETHINKING THE STRUCTURE AND SCOPE OF STATE ARTS AGENCIES

Presenter: Julia Lowell

Discussants: Michael Faison, Margaret Hunt, Loie Fecteau

State arts agencies have enjoyed over 40 years of success. Due to their creative work, the arts have been made available to even the most remote areas of the country. Today, some argue that in order to assist in the next stage of arts development, the agencies need to be restructured and revitalized. Led by Julia Lowell, this session features a discussion regarding how agencies might transform and redevelop over the next 10 years in order to position themselves for the future.



Let me begin by sharing that, although I am an enthusiastic arts participant, I do not have a background as an artist or arts administrator. I am an economist and a policy analyst, and when the Wallace Foundation introduced an initiative called

State Arts Partnerships for Cultural Participation (START) in 2001, I had no idea that state arts agencies existed.

In fact, the original purpose of START was to enlist the help of state arts agencies in stimulating ideas for increasing arts participation. The RAND corporation, where I am a consultant, was asked to conduct a broad analysis of the funded agencies' participation initiatives. We were not asked to look at their roles and missions.

In 2002, however, the United States economy was faltering, and there were numerous and significant cuts to state budgets. By June, when we were in the middle of site visits, some state agencies were fighting for their lives. They still had strong interest in boosting arts participation in their states, but many were no longer in a position to carry out their original START programs. Recognizing this, the Wallace Foundation asked Mark Moore of Harvard University to address the START agencies. He delivered a compelling presentation to an audience of state arts agency leaders, convincing them of the need to think more carefully about the value they create for state residents and how to communicate that value more successfully to their authorizers.

Moore's presentation helped me to realize that the similarities among state arts agencies are in many ways more important than their differences. Despite the diversity of their state economic and cultural landscapes, each still maintains the same basic mission and operating model established by the National Endowment for the Arts in 1965, and each needs to keep a governor and state legislature happy.

My review of state appropriations for arts agencies suggested that keeping those folks happy was becoming steadily more difficult: In the early 1980s, 1990s, and again in the early 2000s, state art agencies experienced severe budget cuts. Gains in the up years had been eroded by losses in the down years. Programmatically, I noticed that programs supporting cultural diversity were often the first to be cut during the down years. The bulk of state arts agency funding went to established arts institutions that were not always active advocates for the agencies. Also, while there was strong interest in placing artists in schools, most agencies did not seem to have a broader vision for arts education policy.

Finally, I noticed that the agencies appeared to be marginalized within their own state governments. I learned from one state agency that it considered itself lucky because the current first lady was interested in the arts. It had almost no contact with the governor.

These initial findings got me thinking about the purpose of state arts agencies. What are their goals? What tools do they use to achieve those goals? According to the National Assembly of State Art Agencies, typical goals include expanding public participation in the arts, supporting arts education, strengthening the capacity of cultural organizations, promoting the career development of artists, contributing to state economies, enhancing community vitality, preserving cultural heritage, creating an arts-friendly policy environment, and promoting the arts to the public. Possible tools include technical assistance (not just in grant writing but also in business consulting and technology), networking and convening, participating in statewide planning, cultivating diversified sources of support for the arts, shaping arts-relevant public policies, documenting the benefits of the arts, acting as a clearinghouse, and grantmaking.

My research suggests that state arts agencies pay most attention to the goal of strengthening the capacity of cultural organizations. They see cultural organizations and, to a lesser extent, artists as their primary constituents and as the means to achieve most of the other goals on their lists. Far and away their tool of choice is the grant, which they

most often give to non-profit cultural organizations. However, after more than six years of study and the onset of yet another budget crisis, my conclusion is that they will not be able to achieve their goals in this way. One reason is that state arts agency budgets are simply too small, and I do not think they are likely to grow. There are too many competing claims on state-government revenues and very strong resistance to tax increases. Another reason is that cultural non-profit organizations represent only a fraction of the arts activity that takes place across the states. Even if they received 100 percent of much larger state arts agency budgets, grants to non-profit organizations would only have limited impact.

During this time, I began to realize that state arts agencies are more similar to one another than they are different. Prior, I had often heard that state arts agencies were all different from one another because states are all different from one another. However, at that time, all of the state arts agencies needed to keep a legislature and a governor happy, and they were all using the same National Endowment for the Arts model from 1965.

When I worked on the START initiative in 2002, the arts field was experiencing a budget crisis. I noticed then that there seemed to be a 10-year gap between budget crises; there was one in 1982 and another in 1992. The cycle seems to be shrinking now, as we are now experiencing another budget crisis seven years later. I do not believe the budget situation will improve for a long time. There will be more focus on accountability and small government. There is strong resistance to raising taxes and fees. While it may be possible to attract small amounts of funding on the margins, I doubt funding gains similar to those in the 1970s and the late 1980s will return.

Another issue I noticed during this time was that there was little consensus on what state arts agencies ought to fund. There used to be more consensus on this issue. Programs that are established as a response to current issues such as increasing diversity, for example, tend to be cut first because they are the newest. Cutting support to major, established programs is difficult, particularly in terms of operating support. The issue of how to choose what to fund is going to continue to persist.

I noticed also that there was minimal involvement with arts education. Although there was interest in having artists in schools and artist-residency programs, most states did not have a broad vision for how to approach the education establishment and get involved with arts education policy. State arts agencies have been marginalized even within

their own non-profit arts community. I remember a particular WESTAF meeting at which grantees complained that their state arts agencies produced too little for them, even though it was clear that the grantees were doing very little in terms of advocacy. It resembled the captive governmentagency situation, in which the people to whom the agency gave the money had begun to own the agency.

State arts organizations have also been marginalized within state government. I was told that, in one particular state, the state arts organization was barely able to attract the first lady's attention, let alone the governor's. The larger the state, the worse it was. That situation was understandable but still very difficult.

I would like to talk about the goals of state arts agencies. What do they say they would like to do? Common examples include: To provide arts education, to expand public participation, to strengthen the capacity of cultural organizations, to enhance career development of artists, to contribute to economic prosperity, to encourage community vitality, to preserve cultural heritage, and to promote the arts to the public. These are all admirable goals.

What tools could the state arts agencies use to achieve these goals? First of all, they could provide technical assistance not just in terms of grant writing but also in business consulting, technology assistance, networking and convening, participating in statewide planning, cultivating diversified sources of support for the arts, shaping public policy in different areas, and documenting the benefits of the arts. Although state arts agencies do these things, grantmaking accounts for 70 percent of state arts agency resources. Given the goals of state arts agencies and given how little money they have, is grantmaking the most effective way to achieve those goals?

There have been some changes at the margins, but we are generally experiencing a serious crisis. State arts agencies are currently in a holding pattern, hoping that the crisis will go away and that enough money will come back to allow them to continue long-term programs and return to the status quo. Before Hillary Clinton said it, Machiavelli said, "Never waste the opportunities offered by a good crisis." This is a great opportunity. If there is no money, you are under the radar, and people cannot get angry with you for taking away things you do not have to give. Now is a good time to experiment and think about what you want to be as a state arts agency director.

One way to take advantage of this crisis is to reexamine the assumption that grantees are the true constituents of state arts agencies. That idea emerged from the belief that giving money to organizations and individuals causes them to produce things that are very valuable to the public. However, that does not seem to be happening. More needs to be done. If your only organizational goal is to focus on giving the money to others who are going to produce cultural benefits, it is important to realize that many people, youth especially, do not hold the same values you hold.

Another action state arts agencies can take during this crisis is to strengthen their position. Strengthen partnerships within state government, departments of education, economic development, tourism, and so on. Many state arts agencies have had relationships in the past, but it is a lot of work to build relationships that are not superficial. However, it might be worth giving up something else in order to focus on building relationships because they can be very useful. For example, New Jersey and Rhode Island are working in the policy sphere to create high-school arts graduation requirements. Other states want to make their state university systems adopt arts as an entrance requirement. Of course, you may end up doing more instrumental work if you take this path, such as economic development and arts education, but that might be a good thing. Great art can be created as part of an economic development emphasis, and arts education is clearly important.

Finally, arts agencies should explore ways of providing art support beyond grantmaking. There may be instances in which state arts agencies should provide direct support, so focusing solely on being a grantmaking organization is a mistake.

If you do not change, you will become stagnate. It is unlikely that politicians will bother to eliminate state arts agencies altogether, but the risk of irrelevance is huge. It is even possible that state arts agencies will block the development of more effective mechanisms for encouraging a dynamic culture in their states.

For the remainder of this session, I would like to pose three questions about different ways to operate state arts agencies to three state agency directors with discussion around each answer. The first question is for Michael Faison: If state cultural and political leaders were to completely rethink how their state agencies operate, what would the new operating structure look like? I am thinking in terms of their objectives, their responsibilities, what tools they might use, acknowledging that this change would take place within a system in which the National Endowment for the Arts and other public funders—primarily local agencies—have a role.

MICHAEL FAISON

What would a state arts agency look like if it were not established to resemble a pseudo philanthropy? I have told my commissioners and even my staff that if we are a philanthropy, we are an awfully small one. The grants we make are valuable, but they are small, and there are not many of them. On that level, grantmaking is only one tool, and it may not be the most effective tool in our portfolio. Perhaps we would be more effective as an information provider—a central source of information that does not exist elsewhere in the state—or as a convener.

Even within local communities, people often talk with us, yet do not talk with each other. This makes us a valuable convener because we can then share the information we get from one constituent or community with the rest.

The Idaho Commission on the Arts functioned as a convener when we managed the distribution of American Recovery and Reinvestment Act (ARRA) funding in Idaho. In addition to making ARRA grants, we brought the leadership of Idaho arts institutions from around the state to Boise. Indeed, we walked them through the ARRA application process. More than that, we conducted work around common issues the institutions face in this economy and identified collaborative strategies for overcoming those issues. Significantly, another profound purpose of the meeting was to teach these arts leaders how to use cash-flow forecasting and to incorporate that information as part of the ARRA-granting process.

With that first step, we now have cash-flow data from nearly every arts institution in the state. We now know their current cash positions and whether their cash flow is stable, moderate, or critical. Working with consultant Richard Linzer, we now are assisting each organization individually with strategies to smooth their cash-flow curves. One such strategy is developing secured lines of credit through local credit-holder groups. Rather than trying to give more money we don't have—a situation over which we have little control-we are helping them understand how to use credit more effectively, thereby increasing the local capital pool. Giving an organization that type of tool arguably is at least as valuable as an ARRA grant that was disbursed as a one-time event. So, state arts agencies can be quite useful by providing information and even business services to organizations.

Another possible role for state arts agencies is to develop policy that affects the cultural industry, whether concerning individual artists, non-profit corporations, or even for-profit arts corporations. For example, state arts agencies can help to enact tax policies that are favorable to arts business and commerce. That is an action that you would expect a government agency to take, and it is not about money. Yet, in the United States, state arts agencies typically do not look like government agencies, which likely is a reason they are not treated like government agencies. Instead, they frequently are treated like publicly funded philanthropies that work under government authority but are not equal in scope to other government agencies.

LARRY MEEKER

If state cultural political leaders were to start over in creating state arts agencies, what would they look like in terms of objectives, goals, and tools?

First, let me address the tools issue. We are in the midst of a technological revolution no less profound than the Industrial Revolution. The Industrial Revolution made artists wonder if the machine would kill the human spirit or allow it new freedoms. The same question is being asked today with regard to the technological revolution and its associated products.

Artist Andrzej Zielinski paints cell phones, laptop computers, ATM machines, paper shredders, and satellites. His work reminds us that these machines are integral to our very being—extending our capabilities, protecting our privacy, helping us form new and different kinds of relationships, and flooding us with information. We must engage this technology to enhance our own capacity and reach out in new ways to ever broader audiences.

In that context, I believe the primary goal of state arts agencies should be to help arts organizations build capacity and stronger bases of support. They should lead by example when it comes to employing technology and building capacity. They should help local arts organizations create more focused missions that better engage the public and make a difference in society. Finally, they should help develop stronger advocacy arguments.

One way to develop stronger advocacy arguments is to help develop and disseminate public policies that advance participation in and appreciation of the arts. Another is to build alliances and engage research that link the arts to other fields such as economic development, educational achievement, reforming juvenile delinquents, and so forth. Such research and policy development help make the arts integral to the public's social value systems and lends support to its economic development goals.

Cutting across interdisciplinary lines also gives advocates like Jennifer Mello the fodder they need to champion our

causes with other constituencies. Also, to respond to Julia Lowell's earlier comments, these initiatives should not be focused on traditional grantmaking for specific activities but on building organizational capacity and stronger advocacy arguments backed by sound research. Then local arts organizations can do a better job with activities, engage broader audiences and constituencies, and continue building the pyramid of participation in the arts we discussed earlier.

I believe we make the strongest case for the arts with our elected representatives and many others when we make the case for the arts in the context of their interests, whether it's economic development, prison reform, or something else. Too often, we in the arts come off as evangelicals trying to change lives through the arts.

We may indeed rescue some souls, but the approach leaves the impression that those outside the arts are uncultured. It's not a strong sales pitch. Indeed, it becomes baggage when we try to carry our message to others and broaden our base of support.

Charles Darwin had it right when he said, "It is not the strongest of the species that survives or the most intelligent; it is the one most capable of change." State arts agencies must change in response to the changing times not only to survive but also to better serve their constituents.

JULIA LOWELL

My second question is for Margaret Hunt: "Is there widespread support for major changes in state arts agencies in terms of objectives and operations, or is there generally the feeling that changes at the margins will be enough?"

MARGARET HUNT

Is there widespread support for major change in state arts agencies? I do not think so. Part of the problem is that, since we have viewed cultural organizations as our constituents for so many years, they feel a strong sense of ownership about what we do and how we spend public money, and they feel entitled to that public money.

We found great benefit in looking at the states that participated in the START initiative that Julia Lowell mentioned and by examining their public processes. We then adopted a model we thought would work in Utah and spent 18 months visiting communities around the state. Through public townhall meetings and one-to-one conversations, we received a very clear mandate about the role of the state arts agencies. We then set about following a clear plan in order to implement the changes we heard being requested. I agree with Julia Lowell's reminder that there is opportunity in this crisis

because, even with the extra work required by last year's budget cuts, those organizations made a lot of noise. They were terrified we would fundamentally change their funding structure. In fact, the primary goal identified in every community we visited in those 18 months was to preserve arts education. The following year, we succeeded in getting \$16 million for arts education programming from the state legislature over a four-year period. That doubled the amount of funding for the arts in Utah.

Seeing the reality of the political power of those arts organizations that get funding was very sobering. Keep in mind that about half of state arts agency directors in the country are employed by their boards, and half are political appointees. If you have the support of a board of directors that employs you, it is easier to implement unpopular change than it is when you have a body of several hundred legislators and everyone feels entitled to tell you what to do. In either case, it is difficult to turn the ship. People are comfortable with small, incremental change, not sweeping change. And even though I believed we were making small changes, that was not the view of many people in the public.

The Utah Arts Council was founded in 1899. It was the first state arts agency in the nation and is part of the history of the state. Therefore, there is an enormous amount of collective pride about the way things have always been done. When we looked at the enabling legislation, written by Alice Merrill Horne, we found that she argued that if artists cannot earn a living and support their families, then they cannot be artists. The Utah Arts Council was on an economic development mission from the very beginning. Once we realized that, we changed our messaging to signal a return to our authentic roots rather than to embark on creating a new strategic plan.

What is the role of the state arts agency? Is it simply to serve the non-profit organizations and artists in our state? What about business communities? What about the forprofit industries that provide jobs? The original legislation can help us answer these questions.

Missing from the efforts of state arts agencies is a connection with young people. Our state arts agency is a policy-making board of directors. Nine of the thirteen members represent specific artistic disciplines, and they have to be employed in those disciplines. Where is the voice of youth in that structure?

Change is happening. How do we remain relevant as a government agency? Is our role to protect and preserve, or is our role to advance? Important discourse about that ques-

tion must take place, but there are some very loud voices in favor of keeping things the way they are.

LAURA ZUCKER

This is not a zero-sum game. In the state of California, I believe there is tremendous support for change and reinvention. Perhaps that is because we are dead last of the 50 states. It is interesting to examine our motives for using those comparatives because we have been saying we are dead last for years, but no one cares where you are in that spectrum. I discovered that a few years ago when we were comparing Los Angeles County support to other local arts agencies, and I was lucky to have a good enough relationship with my decision makers that they actually told me to stop doing that. They told me they did not care what San Francisco is spending. They only cared what we were going to do with the money.

Money follows vision and ideas and projects that people believe in. This has not always been the case. In the past, state arts agencies received fixed sums of money each year. There was even a period in the 1990s when Governor Gray Davis dumped \$20 million on us, and the California Arts Council had to figure out how to spend it. Of course, the money was then taken away just as fast as it was given to us because money that flows simply because it is money is not sustainable. The money had no meaning behind it, and it was personality dependent, which made it easy to retract.

However, when you are doing something that everyone considers important, there will be resources for it. I have found that to be true throughout my entire career. Do you want to start a great arts initiative in arts education? Then do it. You do not need money, nor do you need to shift resources. When we announced a regional plan for arts education, everyone asked us where the big grant was that would fund it. I told them there was no grant. They asked us how much money we had. I told them that we did not have any. I told them that we had agreement that arts education is critical and that we were going to start implementing the plan with changes that cost no money or by bringing in partners who could contribute. Now, seven years later, it is a hugely funded initiative that is getting core support from Los Angeles County. The reason it succeeded is that we proved ourselves before we got the money. So, be bold, follow great ideas, and get buy-in. Resources will follow. Everyone in California is ready.

MURIEL JOHNSON

I agree with Laura Zucker's idea that money will follow great ideas. In California, however, we took a different approach

while working on our strategic plan in 2005. Our then chairman wrote a letter to the Council. He said that we were not relevant, we were not viable, we had no reputation left, and the large groups in California had left us because we had no money. I went to a meeting where people who used to get money from the Arts Council said that they heard we no longer existed. That was our platform from which to start. The chairman was strident in his demand for change.

Here we are four years later. We read the letter aloud at the last Council meeting, and the members of our Council said, "We are not going to have that same letter written four or five years from now." They are an activist council, and they are ready for change. The staff are somewhat harder to convince. Some staff members have been at the Council for over 20 years, and there are few young people on our staff. Luckily, we have interns. Our information-technology intern from Sacramento State said to me, "You all talk a lot. All these meetings take place, but I never see anything happen." When I asked him what young people are thinking and doing, he said, "We don't just sit around and listen. We need action."

The staff has been holding onto grants for two years, saying, "We have to do grants. This is what we do. This is my job." During our last staff retreat, we introduced and discussed our strategic plan, and every single staff member agreed that we have to change. Now I believe they realize that, without real purpose, definition, or funding, the California Arts Council is bound to die. They have not given up on the idea that the state has to give us money, although they generally agree with everything Larry Meeker said.

Another thing I want to add is that our staff needs education. After they heard about the changes that will be implemented, they said, "What about us? We need training, and we need to broaden what we do so that we are more capable and ready for change."

JULIA LOWELL

My third question is for Loie Fecteau: "If a movement were to evolve to revitalize or restructure state arts agencies, what would that look like?"

LOIE FECTEAU

In New Mexico, the state arts agency was created by statute, and it is a bureaucracy. And, beyond that, our state personnel system is set up so that everyone other than my three managers and me is in the union. I would like to be radical, but it is not possible. How do I break out of these constraints? Michael Faison made a great point about the ability of state

arts agencies to bring people together. People still want grants, but they also want to be brought together. They want the state arts agency to be a clearinghouse for information. That is something we can do. And while I would love a revolution, these ideas sound like tiny steps rather than leaps into space. We need to be nimble and take advantage of our circumstances. This is an opportunity for us to do a better job at telling our stories. The Arts Recovery money has given us the ability to do this, especially considering we framed our argument around artists needing money to support themselves. We are requiring every recipient to give us a photograph and a bio, and we will put them up for people to see where the money is going. We would also like to have videos that show the recipients working. The program is called Arts Jobs. If we can put a human face on who we are and what we do, it will fight against the idea of us being marginalized. The problem is not that people do not participate in the arts. The problem is that they do not realize that they are actually arts supporters.

Partnerships are critical, and I would like to follow up on our idea of collaborating. There is power in a partnership between northern New Mexico and southern Colorado, for example, and that provides me with a selling point when I speak with my legislators.

JOAQUÍN HERRANZ, JR.

I would like to talk about what I call the ABCs of governmental resiliency: Adaptation, bouncing back, and coping. I will frame these strategies within issues currently faced by government managers at the federal, state, and local levels. Although state arts agencies are different from one another, many challenges and questions are coming up across the entire country and at all levels. This has been particularly true for the last 10 years, mostly because of our state of crisis. We have dealt with terrorist attacks, natural disasters, and the failure of infrastructure and economic systems. Public management, researchers, and government are all trying to figure out how to respond.

Government crisis—whether perceived or real—is usually the cause behind challenges faced by state arts agencies. Your response can occur either internally or externally. An internal response might be to form a strategic plan or to adopt a new framework like Mark Moore's (1995) idea of public value. For most government agencies, the response will be to something external, such as a budget crisis, a regulatory change, or a political environment change.

Adaptation is relatively uncommon among government agencies. We talk about it often in an effort to emulate private sector organizations, but public agencies have certain

constitutional requirements that make adaptation difficult. The first step in adaptation is to understand how the environment is changing. Most government-agency responses are actually about bouncing back. An ecosystem response is a fitting analogy. If a fire burns through a forest, natural systems that get disrupted can often bounce back to their original conditions.

That is one way to frame the current crisis. How can you batten down the hatches for the next few years? Should you cut staff? Change programs? Can you structure yourselves so you can bounce back if we come back to more prosperous times?

The third response is coping. The analogy for coping is an individual who suffers a psychological trauma. The individual survives because human beings are resilient, as are government agencies. But survival means having significantly reduced services and changing the way you think about what you do.

This is a dire situation, but I believe that adaptation, bouncing back, and coping are the main drivers for change. I have not heard how you are going to change your operations in response to pressures such as technology, social media, and young people. You have strategic choices to make. The most difficult response is adaptation, but adaptation is the best path to survival. Many government agencies choose to delay, protect their turf, hold their heads down, and then wait to come back. If you do not know how to do that, then you face permanent cuts. And if the environment changes and you do not, then you are not part of the new institutional environment.

ELAINE MARINER

The budget for the Colorado Council on the Arts was cut 90 percent in 2003. The Council was reduced to a staff of one when I took that job. We have not bounced back in terms of staff. However, we have definitely coped, mostly due to camaraderie among my colleagues. We are lucky to have a field of 50 state arts agency directors. We learn a lot from one another.

I believe we are adapting. Five years ago, in an effort to take advantage of this crisis, the Colorado Council on the Arts became part of the Office of Economic Development and International Affairs. I am surrounded by business-development staff who have useful tools for small businesses to offer us, such as rural development loan funds, community-development block grants, enterprise zones, and so on, whether they are for non-profit or for-profit arts enterprises or for large and small businesses. We believe we should tap those resources for creative businesses.

The current director of the Colorado Office of Economic Development comes from Loveland, Colorado, a community known for having a strong arts economy. He has already agreed to let us take on the film division, and we are going to call ourselves the Office of Creative Industries. We are currently pitching the idea that the creative sector is a growth driver in Colorado, and we are modeling our pitch after the successful renewable energy sector. We are adapting, coping, and bouncing back.

MICHAEL FAISON

State arts agencies have worked in a supply-side economic model for most of their history. In our conversation about different ways to participate in the arts, it is worth investigating a more demand-side approach to this work. The approach could range from subtle to dramatic. For example, on the dramatic side, you could take your entire agency budget and put it on credit cards and give the cards to citizens who dictate where the resources should go with their purchases. The approach could be that radical and simple.

A more nuanced approach could be a slight shift in language that has profound consequences. For example, I no longer talk about creating greater access to the arts. Instead, I talk about making it easier for people to participate in the arts. In the first statement, the primary constituent is the non-profit corporation that delivers the service. In the second statement, the primary constituent is the arts participant who avails herself of the service. Small language shifts with profound implications can move you to a more demand-side approach, allowing you to reach beyond the retailer to the consumer. This is important for us to think about if we hope to reach a new generation that may participate in the arts very differently from the previous generation.

One specific area where we can shift toward a demand-side approach is arts education. State arts agencies have funded artist residencies in schools for the last 40 years. Although I see wonderful things happening in individual schools, I do not see systematic change. My own agency just completed our long-range planning over the last I8 months. We remain strongly committed to arts education, but the residency grants we make actually are a lower priority arts education service. Our highest priorities are the instructional capacity-building work we do with teachers and the policy work we do with the Idaho Department of Education to develop academic standards. Our strategy is to use the system itself to deliver quality arts education services.

For that plan to work, we need strong, skilled staff. We are doing our best to hang onto such staff despite budget reductions because they are the kind of people who can prompt

profound and lasting changes in the educational system. If we were simply a philanthropy, we would not need all of these people at all. All we would need are a few administrators to process grant payments. What, then, are we doing that is of real value to people? I do not intend to trivialize grants; they are rightly valued for the good they do in individual schools and communities. As a government agency, however, do we not have systemic policy roles to play as well?

LYNN ROGERS

I am a visual artist. I love that state arts agencies exist. I have always associated them with the support of individual artists. However, Elaine Mariner has departed from that paradigm in Colorado, and she is now talking about issues of economic development and creative career development. These issues are directly tied to arts education. She is not moving away from providing support for arts education, but she is shifting toward offering a type of support that is more relevant to the community's needs.

Looking at the needs of the community is important as we shape our goals, which in turn can inform our roles.

ERIN TRAPP

I agree with Laura Zucker's earlier statement that money follows vision. What is unusual about Denver is that we have never given grants of any significance. We might be the only local or state arts agency in the country that does not give grants, so we have had to form our identity in other ways. We do not have to administer grants because we have a formula funding mechanism in the form of a tax district that allows money to flow to arts and cultural organizations. This is liberating, but it is also limiting because we do not have that immediate incentive to offer.

Of course, constituents still want us to make grants, and grantmaking is actually rather glamorous work; people love you, and they listen to you because you have money. As we talk about changing the paradigm for the arts and for government involvement in the arts, we should keep in mind that there is a lot of unglamorous work to be done. This fact has not been confronted at the local or state level.

One of the only ways to get more money is to really work for it. I did three years of anti-graffiti committee work, and at the end, we were given a small amount of money. However, only one member of the city council has suggested cutting that money this year, and the other members of the council jumped on him; we never had to step in. We fought hard for that money, and it has grown into more money. We did not get that money simply by presenting our idea to

make murals and asking for it. We got the money by being relevant, by making partners, by extending the frame of our work to include anti-graffiti efforts and crime reduction. We have now extended it include and broaden the public art program. Vision is great, but ideas are a dime a dozen. It is the willingness to get in there and do the difficult behind-the-scenes work that is going to make a difference.

MARGARET HUNT

I would like to share a positive note on adaptation and innovation. One of the challenges of government is that we are blocked from using Facebook, even though that is where our audience is. This was a covert operation: We made a page for Alice Merrill Horne, the legislator who wrote the authorizing legislation that created the Utah Arts Council. Then we asked poets in our state to create bite-sized poems on YouTube. We then shared the poems on Alice Merrill Horne's Facebook page. It cost us nothing to do that.

ARLYNN FISHBAUGH

To respond to Laura Zucker's comment about money following vision, I agree that is normally the case. However, there are exceptions, particularly in states that are going through especially hard times. I do not want anyone to think they were not being visionary when they have been fighting this heroic fight. I would also like to congratulate WESTAF for bringing this group together and inspiring us. The West is known as one of the most innovative places in the world.

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APPENDIX

BACKGROUND READINGS

The items presented below served as background reading for symposium participants and observers of the 2009 WESTAF Symposium. Readings appear in the order in which they were presented to readers in the original symposium reading packets.

Christopherson, S. & Rightor, N. (2010). The creative economy as "big business": Evaluating state strategies to lure film makers. *Journal of Planning Education and Research*.

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SYMPOSIUM AGENDA

Engaging the Now: Arguments, Research, and New Environments for the Arts was convened at the Aspen Institute in Aspen, Colorado, October 15-16, 2009.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 15, 2009

2:00 p.m. – 2:30 p.m.

OPENING SESSION

McNulty Room, Doerr-Hosier Center

Symposium Facilitators Laura Zucker and Frank Hamsher

2:30 p.m. – 3:30 p.m.

FILM INCENTIVES IN THE STATES

McNulty Room, Doerr-Hosier Center

Ned Rightor and Jon Hendry

3:30 p.m. – 4:30 p.m.

ARTS EDUCATION: ADVOCACY AND RESEARCH
Lynn Waldorf and Laurie Schell

4:45 p.m. – 6:00 p.m. BEYOND ECONOMIC IMPACT STUDIES: ECONOMIC ARGUMENTS FOR THE ARTS

Larry Meeker, André Pettigrew, and Ann Markusen

6:30 p.m – 7:00 p.m. OPENING RECEPTION

7:00 p.m. – 8:30 p.m.

DINNER AND PRESENTATION

Douglas McLennan

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 16, 2009

8:15 a.m. — 8:30 a.m.

REVIEW OF THE SYMPOSIUM PROCESS, OPENING COMMENTS

Laura Zucker and Frank Hamsher

8:30 a.m. – 9:30 a.m.

MESSAGING PART I: CONSTRUCTING THE ARGUMENT

Danielle Endres and Douglas McLennan

9:45 a.m.— I I:15 a.m.
MESSAGING PART II: ARTS AND CULTURE REDEFINED
Jennifer Hahn, Jennifer Mello, Joaquín Herranz, Jr., and Ann
Markusen

I I:30 a.m.

12:45 p.m. – 2:15 p.m.
WHERE ARE THE YOUNG PEOPLE (IF THEY'RE NOT AT THE SYMPHONY)? SHIFTING GEARS IN A NEW ERA OF AUDIENCE PARTICIPATION AND ENGAGEMENT
Steven Tepper, Jennifer Novak-Leonard, and Kwende Kefentse

2:15 p.m. – 3:30 p.m. **CULTURAL POLICY IN THE UNITED STATES AND EUROPE**McNulty Room, Doerr-Hosier Center

Ilona Kish and John Holden

3:45 p.m. – 5:00 p.m.

RETHINKING THE STRUCTURE AND SCOPE OF STATE ARTS AGENCIES

Julia Lowell

6:30 p.m. – 7:00 p.m. **CLOSING RECEPTION**

7:00 p.m. – 8:30 p.m.

DINNER AND CLOSING REMARKS

loaquín Herranz, Jr.

PARTICIPANT BIOGRAPHIES

KEITH COLBO, MONTANA

Keith Colbo is the president of Colbo Consulting Group, where his responsibilities include lobbying, program evaluations, and business consulting. Colbo was involved with the Montana Interagency Coordinating Council for Prevention, a nine-member council of agency heads that fostered planning, collaboration, and cooperation around the well-being of young children and families. Prior to founding his firm in 1989, Colbo served under four Montana governors in various offices, including budget director and director of the Department of Revenue, retiring from state government service after 25 years. His last appointment was director of the Department of Commerce. Colbo has been the executive director of the Montana Independent Bankers and the chair of the board of trustees of the Western States Arts Federation. He holds a bachelor's degree from Montana State University.

DANIELLE ENDRES, UTAH

Danielle Endres is an assistant professor of communication and a faculty member in the environmental humanities master's program at the University of Utah. Her research focuses on rhetorical and argumentation theory in the context of both environmental controversies and Native American cultures. Endres' main research project focuses on the rhetorical and argumentative dynamics of controversy over nuclear waste siting practices. She is developing theories about the ways that the governmental process of decision making about where to store nuclear waste tends to exclude members of the public, activists, and Native Americans from meaningful participation in the decisions. As a result, such stakeholders have had to turn to other venues and means of presenting their arguments. She has several publications on this topic that can be found in Communication and Critical Cultural Studies, Local Environment, and Environmental Communication: A Journal of Nature and Culture.

Endres is also the co-editor of an upcoming book about climate change activism called Social Movement to Address Climate Change: Local Steps for Global Action (Cambria Press). This book theorizes how to build social movements in the 21st century that utilize new models and venues of organizing such as an open-source movement organized mainly through the Internet. The book is written for both academics and practitioners so that each chapter in the book offers theoretically informed practical suggestions for movement builders to use in constructing arguments and rhetorical appeals. In addition to conducting research, Endres teaches

courses in argumentation and rhetorical criticism. She is from San Francisco, California, and holds a bachelor's degree in history from the University of Oregon, a master's degree in communication from San Diego State University, and a Ph.D. in communication from the University of Washington.

JENNIFER HAHN, NEW YORK

Jennifer Hahn is a principal at Douglas Gould and Company. She oversees strategies and campaigns to advance arts education, reform public education, improve college access and success, and implement social policies that benefit children, youth and families. Hahn is a leader in strategic planning, messaging, spokesperson training, capacity building for grantees and clients, as well as the management of media advocacy campaigns. She is an expert in communications and advocacy for learning in and through the arts. Currently, Hahn directs the firm's work with the Ford Foundation's Integrating the Arts and Education Reform initiative. She is also a partner with Achieve Minneapolis, creating a communications and advocacy strategy for a five-year district-wide strategic plan to bring arts integration and arts education to all children. Her extensive national experience planning and implementing campaigns in support of arts learning also includes partnerships with the California Alliance for Arts Education, the Orange County Department of Education, and the Center for Arts Education. Hahn helped develop keepartsinschools.org, the nation's premier online resource for local arts education advocacy. She is the editorial director and frequent host of its field-building webinar series.

Hahn also is the creator of an online toolkit on arts learning and No Child Left Behind as well as multiple messaging and advocacy tools. As an advocacy-communications trainer, she has trained hundreds of arts education spokespeople nationwide and extensively in California. As a nationally recognized speaker, she has presented at conferences of Americans for the Arts, Grantmakers for Education, Kennedy Center Arts Partners, Arts Education Partnership, and many others. Hahn holds an undergraduate degree from the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor, where she was a founder of Basement Arts, a university theatre company that is still producing today. She earned a master's degree in fine arts with an emphasis in theatre and drama from CUNY/Brooklyn College.

FRANK HAMSHER, MISSOURI

Frank Hamsher is a public affairs consultant and the former president and executive director of Forest Park Forever, a non-profit organization partnering with the city of St. Louis to restore and maintain a premier 1,300-acre urban park. Hamsher has provided strategic communications and oper-

ational counsel on public issues, civic matters, controversies, and crises for public and private entities in the St. Louis region and nationally. He also worked as senior vice president and partner at Fleishman-Hillard; as senior counselor to the mayor of St. Louis; and as a partner at Husch Blackwell Sanders (formerly Husch and Eppenberger), a regional law firm based in St. Louis.

Hamsher has been on the boards of the Urban League of Metropolitan St. Louis, the United Way of Greater St. Louis, Downtown St. Louis Partnership, the University of Missouri-St. Louis Chancellor's Council, Metropolitan Forum, New City School, and Danforth Plant Science Center. He holds a bachelor's degree from Princeton University and a law degree from Yale Law School.

JON HENDRY, NEW MEXICO

Jon Hendry is the business agent of International Alliance of Theatrical State Employees (IATSE), Local 480, which is the largest film technicians local union outside of the East and West coasts. He is also the legislative and political director for the New Mexico Federation of Labor (NMFL), the AFL-CIO affiliate in New Mexico. After a seven-year career in rock n' roll and a 26-year career in the motion picture business, Hendry took a detour into state government, working as a marketing director for the New Mexico Tourism Department. He left that post to work for former New Mexico Governor Bill Richardson's presidential campaign, followed by President Barack Obama's presidential campaign. Originally from Scotland, Hendry is a graduate of Glasgow University and the National Labor College.

JOAQUIN HERRANZ, JR., WASHINGTON

Joaquín Herranz, Jr. is a professor of public administration and urban studies at the Evans School of Public Policy at the University of Washington. He conducts research on the strategic management of public and non-profit agencies, inter-organizational networks, workforce development, and the intersections of community development and arts and culture. Herranz holds a master's degree in city planning from the University of California at Berkeley and a Ph.D. in urban political economy and policy from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. His research includes studies for The Urban Institute, the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, the World Bank, and the International Labour Organization. Prior to his doctoral studies, he was director of research at the Urban Strategies Council.

JOHN HOLDEN, UNITED KINGDOM

John Holden is an associate at the independent U.K. think tank Demos, where he was head of culture for eight years,

and a visiting professor in cultural policy at City University. Holden holds master's degrees in law and in art history, and his interests lie in the development of policy, people, and organizations in the cultural sector. He has been involved in numerous major projects ranging across heritage, libraries, music, museums, the performing arts, and the moving image. He has addressed issues of learning, leadership, the creative industries, cultural policy, and evaluation, working with organizations such as the Department for Culture, Media and Sport, Arts Council England; Heritage Lottery Fund; Museums, Libraries and Archives Council; Creative Partnerships; the Reading Agency and Screen England, as well as individual organizations including the Tate, the Glasgow School of Art, the British Museum, and the Royal Shakespeare Company.

Holden was a principal organizer of the influential Valuing Culture conference in June, 2003, and is the author of works including Publicly Funded Culture and the Creative Industries, Democratic Culture, Capturing Cultural Value, Cultural Value and the Crisis of Legitimacy, Culture Online, Culture and Learning: Towards a New Agenda, and Creative Reading. He has given many keynote speeches in the U.K., Europe, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. Holden is a member of the Strategy Board of the Clore Leadership Programme, a Fellow of the Royal Society of Arts, and a member of the Advisory Board of both the Arts and Humanities Research Council and the Institute for Cultural Diplomacy, Berlin.

KWENDE KEFENTSE, CANADA

Kwende Kefentse is a DJ, radio host, blogger, and arts instructor currently working out of Ottawa, Ontario. While completing his degree in interdisciplinary urban studies at Carleton University, he worked as a journalist for the Ottawa Xpress, the capital's independent arts and culture weekly newspaper. His research project, The Uprising of Public Man: Youth Culture in Young Spaces, was recognized as exceptional when he was asked to be one of two student presenters at the Carleton University Research Organization's 2008 Urbanism in the Built Environment symposium. While conducting an interview for the Xpress, he connected with Richard Florida and began writing weekly for the Creative Class Exchange blog, analyzing youth arts and cultural scenes.

Kefentse's participation in arts and culture initiatives include service as an advisory board member of Canada Dance Festival between 2006 and 2007 for the launch of the Hip-hop 360 Festival, participation as an active member of Ontario's Municipal Cultural Planning Partnership since 2008, and participation as a Festivals/Ethno-Cultural Arts juror for the City of Ottawa in 2009. He edits and maintains the Canadian Housing and Renewal Association's (CHRA) Youth House, a section of the CHRA site that connects its youth dele-

gates around the country. At the local level, Kefentse hosts a weekly radio show called *BEET.ROOTS Radio* on CKCU 93.1 FM and a bi-monthly dance party called *Time Kode*. He is also an arts instructor for the city of Ottawa. The programming that he created and executes, Beat Roots Ottawa, teaches music to youth ages 12 to 16 by showing them how to deconstruct vinyl records to create new songs and orienting them in their local musical community of practice.

ILONA KISH, BELGIUM

Ilona Kish is the secretary general of Culture Action Europe, formerly the European Forum for Arts and Heritage, based in Brussels, Belgium. Culture Action Europe is a European-level advocacy organization representing the interests of thousands of artists and cultural organizations at the level of the European Union. The organization aims to create a forum for civil dialogue within the cultural sector. Kish trained in literature and modern languages before working in the European Commission culture directorate. She worked in the private and corporate sector as an international project manager for eight years before joining Culture Action Europe as secretary general in 2003. Kish speaks four languages and is from the United Kingdom.

JULIA LOWELL, CALIFORNIA

Julia Lowell is a consultant for the non-profit RAND Corporation in Santa Monica, California, specializing in public policy and international economics. Lowell graduated from Wellesley College and holds a Ph.D. in economics from the University of California, Berkeley. Lowell's arts-related research includes a comparison of the organizational demography and financial strategies of U.S. non-profit and for-profit performing arts organizations and an evaluation of Arts Council England's 2007 public inquiry into national priorities for arts funding. Recent research includes a synthesis of the international evidence on how to increase arts participation among people of color and low-income groups.

Beginning in 2002, Lowell has led a multi-year study of the history and policies of U.S. state arts agencies. Her most recent work in this area, State Arts Policy: Trends and Future Prospects, was released in November, 2008. Lowell has been a guest commentator on National Public Radio's Morning Edition, the BBC World Service, public radio station KPCC FM's Talk of the City, and public radio station KCRW FM's Which Way LA.? She has been a guest speaker at events sponsored by various arts-policy organizations, including the California Arts Council, the Pennsylvania Council on the Arts, and the Western States Arts Federation.

ANN MARKUSEN, MINNESOTA

Ann Markusen is a professor and the director of the Project on Regional and Industrial Economics at the Humphrey Institute of Public Affairs, University of Minnesota. She has held faculty positions at the University of Colorado; the University of California, Berkeley, Northwestern University, and Rutgers University; Markusen was awarded the William Alonso Prize by the Regional Science Association International in 2006 and the North American Regional Science Association's Walter Isard Award for Outstanding Scholarly Achievement in 1996. She has twice won the Chester Rapkin Award for the best article in the Journal of Planning Education and Research.

Markusen has served as a Brookings Institution Economic Policy Fellow, a Fulbright Lecturer in Brazil, a Public Policy Institute of California Visiting Fellow, and a Visiting Fellow at the University of Dortmund, Germany. She previously served as a senior fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations in New York; on the Presidential Commission on Arms Trade Offsets; as member and chair of the Committee on Science, Engineering and Public Policy of the American Association for the Advancement of Science; and as president of the North American Regional Science Association. She currently serves as Visiting Perloff Chair in the Department of City and Regional Planning at the University of California, Los Angeles, and as the A. D. White Professor-at-Large at Cornell University. Markusen holds a bachelor's degree in foreign service from Georgetown University and a master's degree and doctorate in economics from Michigan State University.

DOUGLAS MCLENNAN, WASHINGTON

Douglas McLennan is an arts journalist and critic and the founder and editor of ArtsJournal.com, the leading aggregator of arts journalism on the Internet. Each day, the staff of ArtsJournal combs through more than 200 publications worldwide and posts links to the best cultural stories. The New York Times recently wrote that "ArtsJournal.com has added something important to cultural discourse." The Boston Globe calls Arts/ournal "a must-read for anyone with an interest in the arts." Prior to starting ArtsJournal, McLennan was arts columnist and music critic for the Seattle Post-Intelligencer. A former concert pianist, he has a master's degree in music from the Juilliard School in New York. He has performed in Asia, Europe, and North America and has lived and worked in Italy and in China, where he spent a year as an artist-in-residence at the Central Conservatory in Beijing. He has written on the arts for numerous publications, including as music critic for Salon.com and for Newsweek, The New York Times, the Los Angeles Times, the Wall Street Journal, and the London Evening Standard. He has been a music critic for National Public Radio's All Things Considered and is a contributor to the new edition of Baker's Biographical Dictionary of Popular Musicians.

McLennan is a frequent lecturer on arts and cultural issues and has spoken at Columbia University; the Chicago Art Institute; the University of California, Berkeley; the National Press Club; the University of Washington; American University; and others. He served as head of the board of the National Arts Journalism Program at Columbia University and is a fellow of the Mellon Orchestra Forum. He also set up and runs an annual conference for classical music critics at the Aspen Music Festival each summer. He is a recipient of several awards for arts criticism and reporting, including a National Arts Journalism Program Fellowship at Columbia University and a Deems Taylor/ASCAP Award for music journalism. He was recently named one of 100 outstanding graduates of the Juilliard School for the school's centennial.

LARRY MEEKER, KANSAS

Larry Meeker is the current mayor of Lake Quivira, Kansas, as well as the president of Meeker Consulting, a sole proprietorship that focuses on facilitating strategic planning for financial institutions and presenting workshops that address economic development, fair lending, and the service of economically disadvantaged populations. Meeker is also a professor in the Business and Criminal Justice Department of Western New Mexico University, where he teaches an annual course on economic development. He retired from his post as vice president of the Federal Reserve Bank of Kansas City, where he spent 28 years regulating banks and bank-holding companies, conducting research, mediating community protests of bank-merger applications, and developing programs to help banks better serve the credit needs of low-income individuals and small businesses.

Meeker has been published in academic and professional journals and has extensive teaching and lecturing experience. His most recent article, "The Arts as Economic Development," was published in the January, 2004, issue of Bank News. Meeker currently serves as the president of the board of directors of the Kansas City Jewish Museum Foundation; board member of the Arts Council of Johnson County; commissioner of the Johnson County Public Art Commission; and board member of the Nerman Museum of Contemporary Art in Overland Park, Kansas. Meeker is also a past president of the Arts Council of Johnson County which, under his leadership, led a suburban arts Initiative that linked the arts with economic development, produced an arts business plan for the county, and passed a one-percent-for-art law pertaining to county capital projects. He holds a Ph.D. in business from the University of Kansas.

JENNIFER MELLO, COLORADO

Jennifer Mello is a principal at Brandeberry-McKenna, a public affairs and lobbying firm in Denver. Mello specializes in civil justice and consumer-protection issues and also represents the advocacy effort of Arts for Colorado, the state's arts-advocacy group, at the state capital during the legislative session. Her prior experience includes working as executive director of the Colorado Democracy Alliance. On behalf of the Bighorn Center for Public Policy, she spent the 2005 Colorado legislative session in a successful effort to pass legislation improving the integrity of Colorado's elections. Mello was the Colorado House Minority Office policy director in 2003-2004.

Prior to her work at the state capitol, Mello was a senior associate at Denver-based BBC Research & Consulting. She holds a master's degree in public policy from Georgetown University and a bachelor's degree in history and public policy from the University of Denver. Mello serves on the Colorado Advisory Council for Progressive Majority, is the president of the board of the BlueFlower Project, and is the past chair of Habitat for Humanity's Women's Build.

JENNIFER NOVAK-LEONARD, ILLINOIS

Jennifer Novak-Leonard is a consultant at WolfBrown, a management consulting firm devoted to working with non-profit organizations, public agencies, and foundations. Novak-Leonard is experienced in applying rigorous research methodologies to cultural policy issues and is trained as an econometrician and as a dancer. She is co-author of Arts and Culture in the Metropolis: Strategies for Sustainability (RAND, 2007) and a contributor to Gifts of the Muse: Reframing the Debate About the Benefits of the Arts (RAND, 2004). Novak-Leonard is also co-author with Alan Brown of the 2007 WolfBrown report "Assessing the Intrinsic Impacts of a Live Performance," commissioned by a consortium of major university presenters.

Novak-Leonard is completing her Ph.D. at the RAND Graduate School, where she specializes in both cultural and immigration policy. Novak-Leonard holds a master's degree in public policy from the University of Chicago and a bachelor's degree in art history and international relations from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

ANDRÉ PETTIGREW, COLORADO

Andre Pettigrew is the executive director of Climate Prosperity Project Inc., a national non-profit committed to supporting regional communities in transforming their economies through "green" innovation, energy efficiency, capital formation, business growth and job creation. Pettigrew is

the former executive director of the Denver Office of Economic Development, where he was responsible for overseeing the reorganization of his department to increase the city's effectiveness in growing the Denver economy. Under his leadership, the agency unveiled the Greener Denver Business program and co-sponsored the 4th Annual Sustainable Opportunities Summit, showcasing the development of Denver and the Rocky Mountain West as the center of the new energy economy, bringing together more than 600 businesses and political and academic experts. Pettigrew holds a bachelor's degree in economics from the University of California at Los Angeles and is a graduate of the State and Local Government Senior Executive Program at Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government.

EDWARD (NED) RIGHTOR, MASSACHUSETTS

Ned Rightor is president of New Economy Dynamics LLC, a firm he launched in early 1996 that specializes in civic sector recruiting work; assessments of individuals, programs and organizations; and policy research and economic development consulting. For 27 years, he has been an executive recruiter and consultant, 14 of them as a founding member and vice president of Isaacson Miller, New England's largest diversified executive search firm. Having delved into a wide variety of enterprises and their cultures and in response to the shifting dynamics in the U.S. economy, his research, writing, and consulting have increasingly focused on investigating the changing nature of labor markets, employment relationships, work, and the conduct of careers; exploring the new accommodations in public policy, social and market institutions, labor law, and industry practice that will be necessary, fair, and lasting; and recommending actions to particular organizations, industry clusters, regions, and sectors that will help them meet the demands of the new economy. Rightor favors economic development strategies that center on building and sustaining a regional industry or cluster rather than on individual firms; strengthening the emerging organizations that represent, network and credential an industry's workforce across firms; cross-sectoral partnerships to align individual, employer, and community interests; and a balance of power among workers, employers, and investors. In collaboration with Cornell University researchers, Rightor has worked on a series of regional planning studies across New York state and industry studies of the photonics cluster in Rochester; the new media workforce in New York City; and the film, television and commercial production industry nationally. He is now working on a multi-regional research and consulting project targeting emerging industries in upstate New York.

LAURIE SCHELL, CALIFORNIA

Laurie Schell is executive director of the California Alliance for Arts Education, the state affiliate for the national Kennedy Center Alliance for Arts Education Network. The California Alliance for Arts Education promotes, supports, and advocates visual and performing arts education for preschool through post-secondary students in California schools. In her work with the California Alliance, Schell has fostered strategic alliances with state and regional arts and education agencies, including the California State PTA, the California Arts Council, the California Department of Education, California county superintendents, and the professional arts teachers associations. During her tenure at the Alliance, the organization revitalized legislative and policydevelopment efforts, coordinated a successful campaign to augment state funding for arts education, garnered over \$3 million in private foundation support for the Alliance, and launched a direct-assistance initiative to school districts and an initiative to develop local advocacy coalitions.

Schell currently serves on the executive committee of the Los Angeles County Arts for All initiative and is a former elected member of the Kennedy Center Alliance for Arts Education Network National Leadership Committee. She is a recipient of The James Irvine Foundation's Leadership Advancement grant, a Durfee Foundation Sabbatical Award, the Women in Business award sponsored by state legislators of the San Gabriel Valley, and an Honorary Service Award from the California State PTA. She holds a bachelor's degree from Stanford University and a master's degree in liberal studies with an emphasis in dance from Wesleyan University in Connecticut. She recently completed an executive education course at the Harvard Kennedy School of Government for Senior Executives in State and Local Government.

STEVEN J. TEPPER, TENNESSEE

Steven J. Tepper is associate director of the Curb Center for Art, Enterprise, and Public Policy and assistant professor in the Department of Sociology at Vanderbilt University. Tepper previously served as deputy director of the Princeton University Center for Arts and Cultural Policy Studies. His research and teaching have focused on creativity in society, conflict over art and culture, and cultural participation. He has published two cover stories for the Chronicle of Higher Education, focusing on creativity and cultural participation, "The Next Great Cultural Transformation" (with Bill Ivey) and "The Creative Campus: Who's Number 1?" He has also published articles on public art, culture and democracy, literary reading and gender, and the creative economy. His most recent writing on creativity appeared in Sociological Quarterly and focuses on everyday creativity and the creativity narratives of college students. Tepper is co-editor of and contributing author to the book Engaging Art: The Next Great Transformation of America's Cultural Life (Routledge 2007). His book Not Here, Not Now, Not That: Protest over Art and Culture in American Cities was published by the University of Chicago Press in 2010. Tepper holds a bachelor's degree from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, a master's degree in public policy from Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government, and a Ph.D. in sociology from Princeton University.

LYNN WALDORF, COLORADO

Lynn Waldorf is executive director of the Griffin Center for Inspired Instruction, a Denver-based education service organization. The Center collaborates with universities, foundations, public arts agencies, non-profit organizations and school districts around the nation in paradigm-shifting projects that foster innovation in classroom teaching and student learning. Waldorf holds a Ph.D. in education research methodology from the University of California, Los Angeles, and has long experience as a visual artist, K-12 teacher, arts education researcher, program evaluator and business administrator. She is also trained in meeting facilitation and strategic planning through the Institute of Cultural Affairs in Chicago and consults in the area of organizational leadership.

Waldorf's research has been funded through grants from the U.S. Department of Education, the California Arts Council, the Los Angeles County Arts Commission, the San Diego Commission for Arts and Culture, and numerous foundations. She is the recipient of an American Educational Research Association Dissertation Award and UCLA's Leigh Bernstein Award for innovation in research methodology. Findings from her studies have been published in seminal arts education research volumes and journals, including Champions for Change, Critical Links, Evaluating the Impact of Arts and Cultural Education (Fr.), Teaching Artist Journal, and Arts and Learning Research Journal.

LAURA ZUCKER, CALIFORNIA

Laura Zucker is executive director of the Los Angeles County Arts Commission and the director of the arts management program at the Claremont Graduate School. The Arts Commission provides leadership in cultural services for all disciplines for the largest county in the United States, encompassing 88 municipalities. Zucker oversees a grants program of \$4.5 that funds more than 300 non-profit arts organizations annually; leads the regional plan to restore arts education to all 80 school districts in Los Angeles County, Arts for All; funds the largest arts-internship program in the country in conjunction with the Getty Foundation; programs

the John Anson Ford Theatres; and implements the county's civic art program. The Arts Commission also produces free community programs, including the L.A. Holiday Celebration that is broadcast nationally on PBS.

Zucker was previously the executive director of the Ventura Arts Council and was producing director of the Back Alley Theater for 10 years. She received a bachelor's degree from Barnard College and attended the Yale School of Drama.

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Western States Arts Federation (WESTAF)

1743 Wazee Street, Suite 300 Denver, CO 80202

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