
Mapping State Cultural Policy: The State of Washington

J. Mark Schuster, editor

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The Cultural Policy Center at The University of Chicago fosters research to inform public dialogue about the practical workings of culture in our lives.

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The opinions expressed in this report are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of The Pew Charitable Trusts.

Foreword

In 1999, The Pew Charitable Trusts launched an initiative to foster broader public appreciation of and support for nonprofit arts and culture and their role in American society. This initiative, *Optimizing America's Cultural Resources*, was premised on the idea that the development of beneficial cultural policies depended in part upon providing more and better information on arts and culture to policymakers. Because even the most basic information about cultural organizations and activities was fragmented, incomplete, and difficult to find or use, we invested in an array of projects to gather, analyze, and make available data on American arts and culture.

Similarly, the many public policies influencing cultural activity, with the exception of those related to the establishment and funding of preservation agencies and grantmaking agencies such as arts and humanities councils, have also been fragmented and little understood. The trusts' initiative also focused, in part, on analyzing and disseminating information about policies that either explicitly or implicitly influenced cultural activity, with a specific emphasis on state-level policies. We were fortunate in having J. Mark Schuster, professor of urban cultural policy at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, as a partner in this work. Indeed, it was Professor Schuster who first pointed out to us the advantages of looking at states. Whereas most cultural advocacy has focused either on the federal cultural agencies or at the municipal level, states offer a hitherto unexploited opportunity

to study and map the many and diverse public agencies and public policies that interact with the arts and culture, and to understand their intersections and interactions.

Mapping State Cultural Policy: The State of Washington is the result of the trusts' partnership with Professor Schuster, his co-authors and the Cultural Policy Center at the Irving B. Harris Graduate School of Public Policy Studies, The University of Chicago. It was made possible, as well, by many willing and generous participants in the State of Washington. By putting language and form to the full extent of Washington's cultural policy system, this report helps us to understand the rich and complex mix of agencies and non-government organizations engaged in cultural policy at the state level. To all those who care about the great variety of cultural resources and activities in Washington, we believe it offers new information and insights that will be useful in strengthening culturally relevant state policies and assuring effective cultural support. We also believe that this report provides a powerful and easily adaptable methodology for cultural policymakers outside Washington who wish to engage in a similar process of state-level analysis.

The report itself can be a catalyst for all those involved or interested in culture to revisit and expand their thinking about the impact of government policies on the cultural activity in their own states. Where are there untapped opportunities for alliances and collaborations among

agencies? How can cultural leaders enhance their “policy IQ” and help policymakers improve their “culture IQ”? And, at a time when all states are feeling a financial pinch, how can new insights about how cultural policies are developed and implemented assist states in increasing the efficiency and the effectiveness of their cultural commitments? In other states, as in Washington, policymakers may not have a complete view of the many components of the cultural policy landscape. Therefore, it is imperative that cultural practitioners and supporters invest the time and energy it takes to understand what their particular state system looks like. Only then will culture’s advocates be able to engage in fully informed and productive dialogue with policymakers.

Marian A. Godfrey
Director, Culture Program
The Pew Charitable Trusts

Prelude

In my work as a state arts agency director, I found that most legislators and government officials thought of culture as something separate from everyday life and everyday policy. It was difficult to find vehicles and language to articulate the cultural policies implicit in, for instance, policies and programs for tourism, transportation, education, economic development and social services. It was even more difficult to shape an overall vision that could guide the specifics of the cultural impacts of policy decisions related to projects such as highways, tourism positioning, public education, or construction of state facilities. This project will provide a framework to help define that cultural vision and help everyone involved in policy making to understand that there are ways to shape laws and programs that will benefit the public's cultural prosperity.

*Susan Bonaiuto, former director,
New Hampshire State Council on the Arts*

State level support for the arts, humanities, heritage, and allied forms of culture has, for some time, been an important source of direct government support to these endeavors in the United States. Moreover, it is now widely recognized that not only legislation, but also the projects, programs, and policies of a broad set of state-level agencies have an important impact on the cultural life of a state. State cultural agencies, and their grant-making programs in particular, provide the most visible support for culture, but the combination of policies and programs across state government is a much better indicator of a state's cultural vitality and its commitment to developing the cultural life of its citizens.

To understand more fully the attributes of state level cultural policy and with an eye to providing a service to individual states wishing to consider and reflect upon the full range of their cultural programs and policies as a unified whole, the Cultural Policy Center at The University of Chicago and The Pew Charitable Trusts teamed together for a pilot project: "Mapping State Cultural Policy." This project was inspired by the very successful precedent of the Council of Europe's Program of Reviews of National Cultural Policies, which has provided the opportunity for some eighteen European countries to articulate and receive comment on their national cultural policies. This report is the result of our attempt to apply a similar model to the State of Washington.

J. Mark Schuster, project director,
with David Karraker, Susan Bonaiuto,
Colleen Grogan, Lawrence Rothfield,
and Steven Rathgeb Smith

Cultural Policy Center at The University
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Mapping State Cultural Policy

J. Mark Schuster

What is State Cultural Policy?

It would likely be impossible to find a document entitled, *Our State's Cultural Policy*, on the shelf of any governor, any state legislature, or any state agency in the United States. This is attributable to two primary factors. The first is the difficulty of drawing a boundary around what is considered “cultural.” Does one wish to take an anthropological view in which all of the activities of humankind—shared traditions, beliefs, and ways of life—are considered cultural? Or does one wish to take what seems to be the more traditional American view in which “culture” is used more as a synonym for “the arts” and “the-arts-and-culture” becomes one word? It is all too easy to be drawn into a debate over the definition of the word “culture.”

But it seems to us that there is a useful and reasonable middle ground. We propose to take advantage of what we claim is a general societal consensus around a more tightly delineated area of cultural activities and interventions, which ought to be considered as a whole. Put one way, we are interested in all the ways that the state assists, supports, or even hinders the cultural life of its citizens. Put another, a state's cultural policy can be usefully thought of as the sum of its activities with respect to the arts (including the for-profit cultural industries), the humanities, and the heritage. Thus, state policy with respect to the arts, state policy with respect to the humanities, and state policy with respect to the heritage make up the primary components of state cultural policy.

The second factor that has provided resistance to the articulation of cultural policy is that there has been a general reticence to be more explicit about policy in a field in which it has been popular to say that that policy is *reactive* rather than *proactive*—as in, “We follow the field rather than lead it. We respond to the needs of the cultural sector and its many constituent cultural organizations. We have no policy, we are reactive.” But this stance is problematic in two different ways. On the one hand, it can be seen as a policy in its own right; on the other, it hardly provides a normative reason for public sector intervention through policy.

It is possible that all of state cultural policy is simply the result of lobbying pressure put on the state by the various interests in the cultural field, but we are not quite ready to accept this explanation as to why it might seem plausible that a state “has no policy.”

Our view is different. If *policy* is the *intentionality*—or, more precisely, the set of intentionalities—of programs that seek to achieve particular sets of outcomes in a field of government activity, can it be useful to identify those intentions and make them explicit? To some degree, of course, those intentions are made explicit—in legislation, in policy documents, in strategic plans, and in mission statements—but other such intentions are less clearly spelled out. Thus, we believe that it is also necessary to identify the *implicit* cultural policy of any agency or program of government by *inferring* intentionality from actual practice. The actions that a state and its many operational entities take that affect the cultural life of its citizens, whether directly or indirectly, whether intentionally or

unintentionally, together constitute the effective cultural policy of that state. Underlying these actions is a terrain of intentions, some explicit and some implicit, and our goal here is to provide a description and discussion of that terrain. This is why “mapping” is an appropriate metaphor.

What Do We Mean by “Mapping”?

While our goal has been, in part, to document and to catalogue the elements of the cultural policy of the State of Washington, we have also endeavored to do something more. We have undertaken to provide interpretations of that policy offered by participants in the policy process, as well as to provide our own interpretations of that policy. We have raised questions; we have tried to point out opportunities and pitfalls. We have highlighted choices that have been made and choices that consequently were not made; we have tried to identify options that were not recognized as choices and therefore not considered. We have done this not because we believe that the options not chosen would have been preferable, but because we believe that informed choice ought to be considered a valuable part of ongoing policy inquiry and debate.

We chose the metaphor of “mapping” to capture the spirit of this intent. In any mapping exercise, the cartographer makes choices: What should be included, and what should be left out? What should be emphasized, and how should that emphasis be rendered? And, perhaps most importantly, whose map is it to be, and whose map is it not to be? We understand that we ourselves have made choices—choices as to what to emphasize and choices as to what to pay somewhat less attention to. As with any mapping exercise, if others had undertaken this exercise, they would have collected different data, and even if they had considered the same data as we considered, they would have drawn different maps. Indeed, it is this attribute that makes mapmaking stimulating.

David Nicandri, director of the Washington State Historical Society, has captured this point nicely in his correspondence with us, and it is worth quoting his discussion of the metaphor at some length:

[M]apping is not value neutral. Mapping—creating names, typologies, characteristics, and identities—though nominally scientific can have a set of concurrent values....[T]o take Lewis and Clark as examples, there were multiple purposes to be found in their narratives and maps. Some were explicit, conventional, and therefore obvious to the explorers themselves. Others were not....[T]he creation of a map is still ultimately a matter of crafting perspective. The journals and maps of Lewis and Clark say as much about themselves as they do about the various objects of their observation, whether land, river, or people. Not knowing, perhaps any more than the Indians who encountered Lewis and Clark did, what the future may contain as a consequence of this mapping study, I wanted to stipulate this observation in the project record.

This point is well taken, so let us begin by noting our beliefs for the project record:

- ❑ We see our work more as *policy analysis* than as *policy description*, though framing a policy through description is certainly critical to its analysis. We recognize that the process of framing shapes what one ultimately sees.
- ❑ We believe that there is value in making explicit what is often implicit. This facilitates and improves policy discussion and debate.
- ❑ We believe that choices are often made today simply because similar ones were made yesterday and that there is value in stopping to ask whether other options have been adequately considered.
- ❑ We believe that particular attention should be paid to communication and collaboration in policy making, but we do not believe that that necessarily extends to a preference for centralized bureaucratic control. It is important, we believe, not to confuse the two. And we believe that one must recognize that communication and collaboration are not costless, particularly for small agencies with few resources.

- We believe that public agencies that clearly articulate the goals and objectives of their programs and carefully monitor progress toward those goals and objectives will have, and should have, an advantage in making their claim on public resources. Yet here, too, there are costs associated with articulation, monitoring, and evaluation, and trade-offs are inevitable.
- We believe that there is considerable benefit embodied in the American system of public policy, which delegates important components of public policy implementation to quasi-autonomous agencies and to nonprofit organizations, but we also believe that one can learn important lessons from other ways of organizing the ecology of public policy.
- And, finally, we believe that a map of one state's cultural policy can be best understood once one has an atlas of such maps. The fact that the current study comprises the first such map must be kept in mind when considering its implications. Ideally, we would be able to compare and contrast cultural policy maps of five or six (or more) states, states with different conceptions of, and structures for, their cultural policy. Only then would the most valuable conversation be possible, one that would draw on multiple experiences in varying circumstances. But one has to begin somewhere.

As with any map, boundaries have to be drawn. In this report we have included the visual and performing arts; we have included the cultural industries to the extent that state cultural policy in Washington touches upon them; we have included the heritage (not only the built heritage but also the movable heritage as well as the musical, oral, and written traditions of the state); and we have included the humanities as they are funded and practiced in public by and for the public rather than for students or researchers. Education poses something of a boundary problem. The state universities have arts and humanities programs and curricula,

but they also are home to a variety of extra-curricular institutions that provide public programming. We have chosen to include the latter, featuring a few examples; we have also included the easily separable arts programs of the Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction (elementary and secondary education), but we have not looked at the arts and humanities curricula of the state colleges and universities. We have not expanded our inquiry to sports, even though many would argue that sports are cultural (and even though many countries have seen fit to include sports in their cultural ministries, e.g., the Department for Culture, Media and Sport in the United Kingdom).

But part of our methodology was also to listen during our interviews for cues as to how Washington State might perceive the terrain of its own cultural policy. As a result, we have ensured that our boundary includes the trustee agencies that are public-private hybrids (the Washington State historical societies), as well as organizations that operate at the state level and, arguably, have a statewide policy influence, even though they are not state agencies per se (e.g., Humanities Washington). The cultural policies of the land-based state agencies also turned out to be important and distinctive—a component of cultural policy that we had not quite expected at the outset; because of their importance, these agencies are considered separately in Chapter VI. Similarly, Washington's Native American tribes, functioning as sovereign governments, also needed to be considered in relation to state-level policy; they are addressed in Chapter VII.

Another component of mapping is that categories have to be constructed. This had led us to draw a basic distinction between arts policy, humanities policy, and heritage policy. But these categories, while useful for organizing the chapters of a report, are somewhat crude and arbitrary. Many of the agencies we have studied belong in more than one of these categories; occasionally we have split our discussion of the agency where it seemed that that split would help clarify the

agency's activities. At other times, we have settled for discussing the agency in the context of one of these categories while recognizing that it also touches upon other fields of cultural policy.

Why is State Cultural Policy of Interest?

The conceptualization of "cultural policy" as a separate field of public policy is a relatively recent phenomenon, particularly in the United States where there has traditionally been a fear of uttering this phrase with all of its *dirigiste* implications.¹ To date, the limited cultural policy inquiry that has been undertaken in the United States has focused either on the national level, which is a natural entry point for researchers and policy analysts moving into a field for the first time, or on the very local level, which lends itself to fine-grained case studies of particular institutions or places.

Internationally there is no shortage of studies of *national* cultural policy. By comparison, much less attention has been paid to the policies of intermediate levels of government—e.g., state policy in the United States and Australia, provincial policy in Canada, *Länder* policy in Germany and Austria, canton policy in Switzerland, the policy of the *comunidades autónomas* in Spain, or policy as it played out through the regional arts boards in England. But there are good reasons to begin to turn more analytical attention toward government cultural policy, and particularly toward the cultural policies of intermediate levels of government:

Direct support for the arts at the state level is now—and has been for some time—a more important source of direct government aid to the arts in the United States than is direct support at the federal level. This may also be true for the humanities and the heritage, but definitive data are harder to come by.

For fiscal year 2003, state legislatures appropriated \$353.9 million for the state arts agencies, which also received an additional \$23.5 million from other state government sources (e.g., transfer funds and public art money from state capital budgets).² The appropriations for the National Endowment for the Arts, on the other hand, were \$116.5 million, of which \$95.8 million was dedicated to grant making. Of this amount, \$33.3 million was passed through to the states.³ Thus, even in a year in which state money declined substantially, state *support* for the arts through state arts councils was still more than 3.2 times direct federal support for the arts through NEA. Taking transfers from NEA to the states into account, state *influence* over direct arts expenditure was even higher. We argue elsewhere in this report that drawing an analytic boundary narrowly around arts agencies in this way can be misleading, but here this simplified example makes the point dramatically.

By contrast all of the state humanities councils are private, nonprofit organizations rather than state agencies. While they receive support from the federal government, they do not necessarily receive support from their respective state legislatures. By 2002 the total income for state humanities councils had grown to \$59.9 million; federal money accounted for \$32.4 million (54 percent) of this amount, while state funding accounted for \$11.5 million (19 percent). In fiscal year 2002, the appropriations for the National Endowment for the Humanities were \$124.5 million—\$18.4 million for agency administration and \$106.1 million for grants and programs. Of this amount, \$31.8 million was passed directly through to state humanities councils and regional humanities centers.⁴ But the combined revenue sources of the state humanities councils are only part of the picture; for example, all states make substantial contributions to the humanities through humanities programs at state colleges and universities, an expenditure that has no federal equivalent.

¹ This section of this report is based on J. Mark Schuster, "Sub-National Cultural Policy—Where the Action is? Mapping State Cultural Policy in the United States." *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, Vol. 8, No. 2, 2002, 181-196.

² These figures include the budgets of arts councils in special jurisdictions (American Samoa, Puerto Rico, Guam, the Virgin Islands, the Northern Marianas, and Washington, D. C.).

³ The National Endowment for the Arts is currently obliged to pass along 40 percent of its *program budget* to the state arts agencies.

⁴ The discrepancy between the figures of \$32.4 million and \$31.8 million may be due to income from other federal sources or to errors in budget estimation.

Direct expenditure on the heritage and historic preservation, on the other hand, may well be less significant at the state level than at the federal level, though here, too, large-scale investment in heritage facilities, preservation, and history museums may tip the balance in favor of the states.

Finally, it is important to realize that much of the direct support at the state level—particularly in the arts and historic preservation—is required by the federal government as a match to federal funds that are distributed to the individual states. Some states only barely meet the minimum matching requirement (and some do not even achieve that level), but others appropriate amounts that exceed the minimum matching requirement. In recent years there has been considerable (and successful) pressure to increase the proportion of federal funds that is passed through these state agencies, resulting in a further increase in the amount of money available to be distributed at the state level accompanied by a higher expectation for state-level matches.

The move toward delegation, devolution, and decentralization in government policy making and implementation has made it more important to understand how policy actually plays out at lower levels of government.

It is clear that the federal government is endeavoring to move many of the activities having to do with cultural policy to the state and local levels. Pass-through requirements for the National Endowment for the Arts provide increased resources to the state arts agencies, and the Department of the Interior uses its system of state historic preservation officers to provide an important portion of the work in the nomination of properties to the National Register of Historic Places and in the administration of various grant programs and rehabilitation certification programs.

Increasingly, cultural programs and projects are being adopted to pursue a wide variety of societal aims (economic development, cultural tourism, intervention with youth at risk, etc.), aims that are more likely to be pursued at the state and local levels because of their closer relationship to the constituencies that are most likely to be affected.

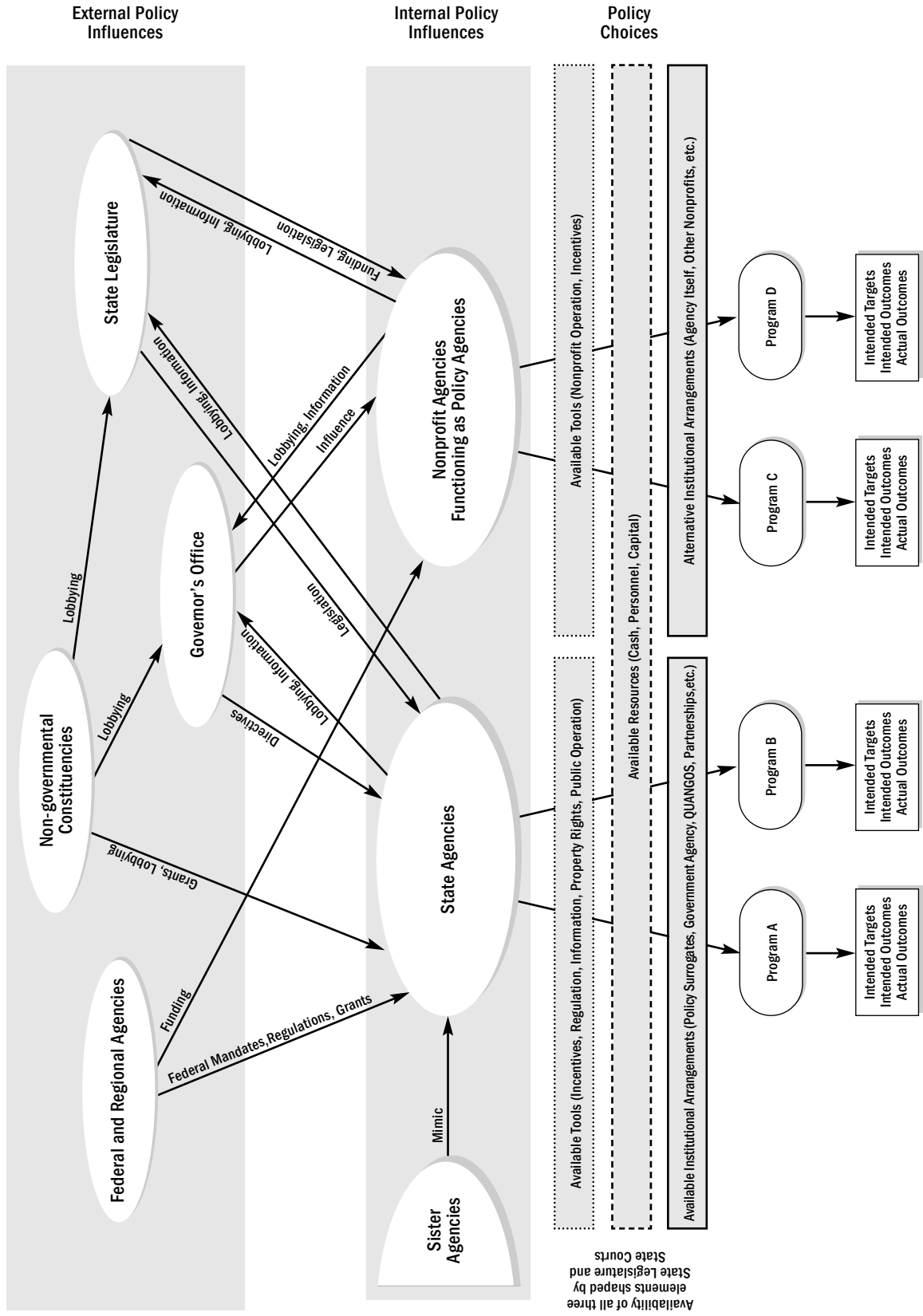
These demands for improved and increased cultural services and opportunities are much more likely to be expressed at the state and local levels than at the national level (except in the service of international relations and diplomacy). Moreover, the possible benefits from instrumentalizing culture are more likely to be articulated locally—e.g., heritage as a lure to cultural tourism. Thus, some elements of cultural policy may have been accorded a higher priority in the states' policy agendas than has previously been the case.

Government's cultural agencies and programs are increasingly being expected to exhibit greater levels of accountability and greater levels of effectiveness.

In comparison to other fields of public policy, government cultural policy has not typically been subjected to the same level of policy analysis and evaluation. Some would say that the sector has been protected from such inquiries because in cultural policy goals and objectives are difficult to measure, thereby frustrating analysis and evaluation. But others would say that the lack of insistence on analysis and evaluation has been more the result of the relative size of the sector: it was too small (in policy terms) to pay much attention to.

Recently this has begun to change. Criticisms of government cultural policy, particularly government arts funding, have seemed to feature disagreement over public values, but they have also contained a strong measure of questioning about the effectiveness of government's involvement in the arts and culture. The phrase

Figure I.1: A Conceptual Diagram of the Ecology of State Cultural Policy



“value for money” has become an important touchstone for reconsiderations of government’s cultural programs. This is a trend that the field can hardly afford to ignore. If a claim is being made on the public purse—as it is in most manifestations of public policy—then the rationale for that claim has to be made clear.



Taken together, these factors suggest that, whether or not it has been articulated as “state cultural policy,” this type of policy has become an increasingly important locus of interest for those who are concerned with the health and stability of the arts, culture, and humanities in the United States, as well as with the overall quality of American life. It has also been an increasing locus of attention for those who would have us focus on the effectiveness of public policy. Yet this rise in the importance of, and attention to, policies related to culture at the state level has not generally been accompanied by a similarly evolving understanding of the cultural policy system that has developed within each state. In effect, cultural policy at the state level has been the sum total of the more or less independent, uncoordinated activities of a variety of state agencies and allied organizations and institutions. The extent to which these entities pursue complementary aims or collaborate is not widely understood, nor is there a clear sense of what types of state policy systems enable or foreclose various cultural initiatives.

What seems to us to be clear is that informed public policy, with a sense of *current initiatives, available and potential resources, identified opportunities, visible gaps, and nodes of conspicuous effectiveness* is an increasingly important goal to pursue. It is important to the front line cultural agencies because the pressure is on them to be more and more focused on the effective allocation of public resources and more and more creative about ways in which to take advantage of cross-agency collaborative opportunities. And it is important for the “targets” of cultural policy—those at whom cultural policy is

directed—because they will benefit from having access to an increasingly transparent and effective system of cultural support and from knowing what opportunities are available at the state level in whichever agency they happen to reside.

Conceptualizing State Cultural Policy

Before proceeding into the field to map state cultural policy in Washington, we needed a set of common reference points for that inquiry. Most important to our early thinking was a conceptual diagram of the ecology of actors involved in cultural policy at the state level (Figure I.1). Equipped with this diagram and a relatively standard model of public policy implementation, we would document the policy linkages, policy influences, and policy choices in Washington State.

In summary form, the story suggested by this diagram and the model of public policy making that is embedded in it is the following:

- ❑ Policy is the *intentionality* behind the collection of programs that are intended to achieve a particular set of outcomes.
- ❑ Policies may be *explicit*—in which case they should be able to be observed through existing documents—or *implicit*—in which case they should be able to be inferred from the statements and actions of the agency.
- ❑ Policies may be *espoused* or *de facto*. The difference should be able to be detected with careful interviewing.
- ❑ A number of *influences* are brought to bear on policy, e.g., funding, directives, legislation, regulations, political influence, lobbying, the behavior of sister agencies, and federal rules.
- ❑ Policy is implemented through an *ecology* of policy actors, including agencies, programs, and a wide

variety of other public, semi-public, and private organizations.

- ❑ Policies are translated into action through *programs*.
- ❑ Programs are composed of three primary *elements*:
 - They make use of the generic *tools* of action that are available to the government: government ownership and operation; incentives; regulation; information; and the definition, invention, and enforcement of property rights.
 - They draw upon available *resources*, e.g., cash, personnel, capital, and information.
 - They are designed with a particular *institutional arrangement*, e.g., direct operation by a state agency, use of an external organization as a policy surrogate (through contracting or grant-making), or the establishment of a quasi-autonomous non-governmental organization (QUANGO), a government authority, or some other type of arm's length agency.
- ❑ The tools, resources, and institutional arrangements that are available to policy actors are, themselves, subject to policy. Any particular policy actor may have access to a restricted set of elements because of policy constraints on their actions.
- ❑ Programs have *intended targets* (individuals, groups, or organizations whose behavior is intended to change as a result of the intervention) and *intended outcomes*, e.g., increased participation, improved financial stability. *Actual outcomes* are often different from *intended outcomes*.

The importance of Figure I.1 was twofold: it gave us a framework around which to construct our field interviews and research, but it also revealed the complexity that we were likely to find in the field.

Four Premises

Though we tried to begin our fieldwork with a *tabula rasa*, it is fair to say that four important premises informed our approach from the beginning, and, thus, they deserve to be made explicit:

Many more agencies than those that are commonly understood to be the “cultural agencies” are involved in cultural policy.

All states have an arts council, a humanities council (though these are all private nonprofit organizations), a state historic preservation officer, and one or more historical societies. But it is also typical for state cultural policy to be delegated to state agencies beyond this core group and/or to outside organizations and institutions, each with related but distinctly different notions of its role and its aims. Moreover, it is also increasingly common for other state agencies to create cultural programs linked directly to their day-to-day operations.

Thus, we expected to find evidence of cultural policy in many different agencies, departments, offices, and programs scattered throughout the state's bureaucracy (in the event we were to discover that the land-based agencies in particular, such as the Washington State Parks and Recreation Commission, the Department of Natural Resources, the Department of Agriculture, and even the Department of Transportation, among others, were involved in activities that could be described as cultural policy). In addition, we expected to find examples of policy being delegated to independent or semi-independent entities whose actions were similar to and complemented state cultural policy but who were not solely within the orbit of state government. (Humanities Washington and the Washington State historical societies turned out to be cases in point.)

In such a policy context, it is not common to think of the aggregate of these agencies, institutions, actions, and policies as constituting a conceptual whole.

Reliance on multiple agencies and multiple programs stacks the deck against a coordinated policy. It makes policy difficult to articulate and makes it difficult for policy agencies to move in the same direction. Yet, each component of the system can be understood to be implementing its own form of cultural policy, and together they constitute the effective cultural policy of the state.

Much of state cultural policy is implicit rather than explicit, being the result of actions and decisions taken without expressed policy intention.

We expected that few of the agencies we interviewed would have adopted explicit policy documents to guide and inform their work. Instead, we would have to consider their programs and actions in an attempt to infer their policy from those activities.

Much of state cultural policy is indirect rather than direct, being the result of a wide variety of interventions beyond direct operation or direct financial support.

We expected that we would find cultural policies well outside of the cultural agencies. We had good reason to believe, for example, that a large component of cultural policy would be embedded in various components of tax law, particularly in the form of tax exemptions.

Taken together these premises led to a net that had to be widely cast. We expected state cultural policy to be complex, going well beyond the boundaries of state arts agencies to include state humanities councils, historical societies, historic preservation agencies, community development initiatives, parks and recreation commissions, and many other agencies and programs. Legislation, funding, projects, and programs would each have

an important impact on cultural policy well beyond the boundaries of what one would normally consider to be state cultural agencies and far beyond the boundaries of the traditional grant-making programs of state arts agencies.

Why Washington?

Many have asked us why Washington was chosen as our pilot state.

Is it a model for state cultural policy that we hope to see replicated elsewhere? Has it made mistakes that other states ought to avoid? Does it have interesting attributes that suggest it as the first state to study in this way? Does it fit into a broader set of case studies that would comprise a comparative study?

We had no reason to believe that we would—or would not—find a model policy system in the State of Washington. Nor did we have any prior indication of successes or mistakes. We believed that any state would have interesting attributes that would make its cultural policy worth studying, so that did not make Washington unique. But, of course, we were hopeful that Washington would be the first step in a more broadly comparative study in which we could look at states of different types (e.g., states with a centralized office of cultural commissioner versus states such as Washington with no such central bureaucratic coordination).

In truth, the answer is a bit more prosaic. In searching for a state in which to conduct the first such mapping exercise, we realized that we had to find a state whose agencies would be interested in receiving and reflecting upon the results of such a study and whose agency heads would open up their agencies to us, encouraging their staffs to participate. We would need to avoid, at least in the first instance, states in which cultural policy had become so politicized that there would be very little interest in introspection and reflection. As we discussed the choice of state with our project advisory board and others, the State of Washington began to be mentioned more and more often. It was

widely felt that the key agency heads would be receptive and encouraging, and that has indeed been the case.

In November 2001 Kris Tucker, the executive director of the Washington State Arts Commission, convened a meeting at her offices at which we were invited to pitch this project to representatives of ten or so state agencies. No one in that room (least of all ourselves) knew what a “Map of State Cultural Policy” was and certainly none of them came to that meeting with the view that they needed “one of those.” But a generous spirit and openness to inquiry permeated the meeting. We were challenged to launch an even broader and deeper inquiry than we had envisioned, and we were promised open doors and collaborative support, both of which we have received in great measure.

That initial meeting at which the project was proposed was a harbinger of what we would find in the field; some of the participants in that meeting remarked that it was the first time in their experience that such a group of agency representatives had ever met in the same room together around their common interest in and commitment to “cultural policy.” If that phrase was surprising to some of those who gathered that day, the notion that they were involved in the same business turned out to be less so. We would like to think that this project, even from its earliest days, has provided an impetus for the cultural agencies and programs of the state to work more collaboratively, to have a better sense of how to integrate their policy activities across domains, and to have an opportunity to engage in a policy conversation that could occur outside of the boundaries of their own agencies. But it was pointed out to us from the very beginning that collaboration entails choices, particularly choices about the allocation of scarce agency resources, and it needs to be adequately demonstrated that such an investment of agency resources will ultimately be rewarded.

We expect that the primary beneficiaries of this report will be those who are engaged in cultural policy in the State of

Washington. For them, the key questions are: What can be learned from such a mapping exercise? What might it highlight about current policy practice? What does it suggest might be done differently?

But to interpret it well, this report must be understood as an attempt to document and understand the cultural policy of one place at one point in time. The importance of timing is clear. As we conducted our interviews the policy framework kept shifting, particularly as the cultural policy system adjusted to changes in the state’s budget. (Two rounds of budget cuts were announced during the course of our work, the first a relatively minor adjustment to the second year of the 2001-2003 biennial budget when it became clear that state revenues were declining and the second a much more major decline in the proposed 2003-2005 biennial budget.) Thus, large portions of what we have documented in this report may soon fall victim to budget cuts (if they have not already done so). If we had looked at a different two-year period, what we would have seen would have differed, perhaps in unknowable ways.

Timing has another importance as well. Even though the policy terrain was shifting as we did our research, what is presented here is essentially a snapshot of Washington’s cultural policy at one moment in time. For the most part, we have not documented trends.

Finally, the importance of characteristics unique to the selected state should not be underestimated. This is, of course, immediately apparent when one thinks about the extent to which one might be able to generalize about state cultural policy from the case of one state. Consider, for example, the differences that one might observe if one were to compare a state that implements its cultural policy through a variety of semi-independent cultural agencies (e.g., Washington and many others) with a state that gathers these diverse cultural activities together in a single agency, perhaps with a cabinet-level cultural commissioner (e.g., Iowa, Louisiana, New Hampshire, New

Mexico, Nevada, and West Virginia, among others).⁵ But this is also true when simply attempting to understand what is happening in a single place and why it is happening. Each state is rather different, and in order to understand the cultural policy of that state it is important to understand those differences.

How is Washington Different?

There are many ways in which one state differs from another, and we certainly have not attempted to identify all of those characteristics for the State of Washington. What is most important, for our purposes, however, is how those characteristics are likely to impact cultural policy. As we have discussed the results of our fieldwork and have debated how best to interpret those results, we have found ourselves making repeated reference to several characteristics that seem particularly important.

To set the stage, a brief overview of the demographics of Washington is helpful.

The physical terrain and climate do much to define what is distinctive about Washington, and these are among the most important factors that have attracted people to live and work there. Washington has two very distinct geographical regions separated by the Cascade Range. To the west is lush forest and gentle terrain sloping to the Pacific—a region with heavy rainfall where lumber and fisheries once dominated. To the east of the Cascades is the large, flat and semi-arid Columbia Basin that is primarily agricultural, thanks to an elaborate and carefully planned irrigation and waterway infrastructure.

The majority of the state's population is urban and is clustered in a densely peopled swath running along a north-south line through Puget Sound, including King County with 817 people per sq. mile; Pierce County 418; Clark County 549, and Snohomish County 289. It is also in these few counties that one finds, not surprisingly, the greatest commercial development in the state. This contrasts

starkly with the much more sparsely populated rural and agricultural counties, particularly to the east of the Cascades; they range from only 3.4 to 51 people per sq. mile. Spokane County, which serves as the home of the “inland empire” and is the regional hub for nearly all of the agriculture, livestock-raising, and mining activities in the state, is the eastern exception with 237 people per sq. mile.

Early settlers came largely from the Midwest along the Oregon Trail, and it was not until the first quarter of the twentieth century that foreign immigration produced substantial population growth; large numbers of Scandinavians and Canadians migrated until strict quotas were imposed in the 1920s. At this point, Washington had a population of approximately 1.4 million. Tremendous growth took place after World War II with the expansion of international trade (and the emergence of Boeing and the aerospace industry), and then again in the 1970s and 1980s. By 2001, the state had reached a population of just under 6 million people. That number reflects a 21 percent increase just between 1990 and 2000. At the turn of the twenty-first century, 1.27 million people (just 22 percent of the population) resided east of the Cascades. Growth throughout the state has slowed substantially during the past five years, and a slower growth rate is projected for the next several years. Most of the population growth remains concentrated in the west, with the large Puget Sound counties and Clark County accounting for 72 percent of the state's population increase in the last decade. This trend is predicted to continue.

Well over half the population of Washington now lives in the Puget Sound area (primarily in King, Pierce, and Snohomish counties). With the highest per capita income in the Northwest, this prosperous region ranks twenty-fifth when compared with the rest of the nation's regions with a per capita personal income that is more than 50 percent higher than the national average. Over the past few decades, this region has developed a substantial

⁵ See, for example, Lisa Wax, *1994 State Arts Agency Profile* (Washington, D.C.: National Assembly of State Arts Agencies, January 1995).

technology sector (with Microsoft and the many smaller companies it has spawned), and it continues to diversify into areas like biotechnology and information technology. This is in addition to aerospace and aircraft, long established areas of strength in the Washington economy.

The rest of the state is, by contrast, much more sparsely settled and much less economically prosperous. In the past twenty-five years, the timber industry—long a mainstay of the Washington economy—has been radically downsized. This is due to the dwindling supply of old growth forest, competition from other parts of the world with cheaper labor, and the gradual imposition of strict environmental regulations on the timber industry. Taken together, these factors have had a profound impact on Washington's economy, drastically reducing the number of people who work in the timber industry and effectively removing both jobs and a way of life that generations of Washington residents considered part of their identity. Similar upheavals have taken place among those who fished for a living, but advances in that industry have dulled the impact somewhat.

In 1999, Washington's median household income was \$45,776 as compared to a national median of \$41,994.⁶ One out of ten residents (10.6 percent) lived below the poverty line, as compared to a national average of 12.4 percent. But disparities in income across the thirty-nine counties in Washington are substantial and reflect a considerable divide in wealth. Overall per capita income in the state in 1999 was \$22,793 (as compared to a national average of \$21,587), but per capita income in Washington ranged from a low of \$13,534 in Adams County to a high of \$30,603 in San Juan County. The county figures suggest two patterns of disparity. Only one of the twenty counties to the east of the Cascades had a median household income that was higher than the overall median for the state, but five of the nineteen counties to the west of the Cascades had median household incomes higher than the state median (and a

couple more had median household incomes that were just slightly lower), reflecting what many perceive as a fundamental economic difference between the eastern and the western parts of the state. But these numbers can also be understood in another way: rural counties in both sections of the state lag considerably behind urban counties, indicating that the underlying economic disparity may be more rural v. urban than east v. west.

Racial minorities comprise just under one-fifth (18.2 percent) of the population, up from 13 percent in 1990.⁷ A relatively large percentage of Washington's population is of Asian descent: 5.5 percent as compared to a national average of 3.6 percent. At the middle of the nineteenth century Washington was home to around 100,000 Native Americans belonging to more than 100 separate tribes; today Native Americans comprise 1.6 percent of the state's population (just under twice the national average of 0.9 percent). Hispanic residents make up 7.5 percent of Washington's population, a percentage that is lower than the national average of 12.5 percent. Similarly, Blacks or African Americans comprise only 3.2 percent of the population, as compared to a national average of 12.3 percent.

Beyond these demographic factors, there are a number of other characteristics of Washington that may well influence the profile of state cultural policy:

Washington is a young state, and the state is still growing, resulting in an emphasis on capital development.

In other, older states the cultural infrastructure may be more highly developed. To the extent that this is true, one would expect to see more investment in cultural infrastructure in Washington than elsewhere. Atypically among states, Washington has capital grants programs in both the arts and heritage, and a considerable investment has recently been made in new museums, particularly in Tacoma.

⁶ The analysis in this paragraph is based on data available at two websites: http://factfinder.census.gov/bf/_lang=en_vt_name=DEC_2000_SF3_U_GCTP14_S T2_geo_id=04000US53.html and http://factfinder.census.gov/bf/_lang=en_vt_name=DEC_2000_SF3_U_GCTP14_US9_geo_id=01000US.html

⁷ If individuals who indicated that they were "Hispanic" and "white" are included in the definition of minority, this percentage rises slightly to 21.2 percent. These calculations are based upon data available at: <http://www.ofm.wa.gov/census2000/sf1/tables/table19.htm>.

The economy of the state is quite particular. It has gone through cycles of boom and bust because of the importance of cyclical industries such as natural resource extraction, aerospace, and information technology.

These cycles have possibly led to a more uneven development of private support for the arts and culture than has been the case in other places with more stable economies. In any event, the ebb and flow of private support is an important factor that intersects with state cultural policy, particularly in the American framework, which relies so heavily on private initiative in this sector.

In Washington the governorship is relatively weak as compared to other states.

The constitution of the State of Washington was crafted during the populist movement of the late 1800s, and it was designed to limit the governor's power by fragmenting control and placing responsibility for many state functions such as transportation and parks with independent commissions and panels that are not under the direct control of the governor. Because the governor is constitutionally weak relative to other states, he or she plays a weaker role in determining the direction of cultural policy.

The tax structure of the state is quite unusual.

Washington is one of seven states that do not have a household income tax and one of only four states that have no form of income tax. Thus, no other state relies so heavily on sales taxes as does Washington. It also levies a gross receipts tax—the business and occupation tax—on businesses and a state property tax in addition to local property taxes. The ratio of state taxes to local taxes is much higher in Washington than in many states because it finances a greater proportion of governmental services, particularly education (K-12, vocational training, community colleges, and state colleges and universities), at the state level.

State revenue raising is limited by Initiative 601, a citizen referendum passed in 1993 that limited the amount that state government can spend from the general fund and imposed a supermajority voting requirement on increases in state taxes—two-thirds of the members of both houses must approve any measure that increases state revenues or results in a revenue-neutral tax shift, and if any additional revenues will exceed the formula-based limit put in place by the initiative, it has to be approved by a majority of the voters.

The combined effect of these factors is to limit the revenues that are available to pursue policy of any type. For the arts and culture, this effect is magnified by the design and administration of tax exemptions. Nonprofit organizations are eligible for a narrower range of tax exemptions in the State of Washington than would likely be the case elsewhere. Because there is no income tax, there is no incentive provided by an exemption from income tax, but such an exemption is not automatically built into the sales tax or the business and occupation tax. Moreover, nonprofit organizations in Washington (unlike those elsewhere) are not automatically eligible for certain state tax exemptions or incentives by virtue of their federal 501(c)(3) status; rather, they have to apply annually for certain exemptions. The upshot is that the benefit of tax exemption is much less systematic in Washington than elsewhere and, consequently, it may also be lower.⁸ But, at the same time, the cultural sector has been given access to several dedicated state taxes and fees, and these work to the advantage of the sector.

It has been suggested that because the value of being a nonprofit in Washington is lower than elsewhere, the nonprofit sector is less well developed.

Some commentators have posited that the lower value of tax exemptions in Washington has hindered the development of nonprofit organizations. Of course, it is hard to know in what direction the

⁸ These issues are discussed in detail in Chapter VIII of this report.

absence of a tax coupled with the absence of the corresponding exemption works. It is true that nonprofit organizations in Washington are not offered a blanket exemption from either the sales and use tax or the business and occupation tax, and it is not clear to what extent nonprofit organizations actually understand—and therefore take advantage of—the particular tax exemptions for which they do qualify. (These issues are discussed further in Chapter VIII.)

While we were unable to conduct a complete analysis of the development of nonprofit organizations in Washington as compared to elsewhere, we were able to look at some limited data. IRS Form 990 must be filed by many nonprofit organizations, and nonprofit arts and cultural organizations can be separated out of the data that these forms generate. What do these data tell us about whether Washington is more or less endowed with nonprofit arts and cultural organizations than other states?

Table I.1 summarizes these data for Washington, for four other states with similar populations, and for the United States as a whole for 1999. Washington is higher than the national average with respect to organizational density by population: 10.4 arts and cultural organizations per 100,000 residents as compared to a

national average of 8.7; but it is in the middle of this group of comparable states: Massachusetts has a higher number of organizations per capita—indeed, a very high number that is nearly twice the national average—while organizations per capita are approximately 25 percent lower in Indiana and Missouri, and nearly 50 percent lower in Tennessee.

Washington is also higher than the national average with respect to organizational density by area: 9.2 such organizations per 1,000 square miles as compared to a national average of 6.9; but once again it is in the middle of this group of comparable states, higher than Missouri (6.1) or Tennessee (7.8) but lower than Indiana (12.9). Massachusetts occupies the long right hand tail of this distribution all by itself with 127.6 arts and cultural organizations per 1,000 square miles (even New York has only 55.6).

Of course, both the presence and success of nonprofit organizations interact with the philanthropic habits of the population. With respect to charitable giving, Washington lags behind other states. In 1999 Washington had the sixth highest level of adjusted gross income per income tax return filed, \$52,735, but with respect to average charitable contributions deducted per income tax return filed, Washington was fourteenth with an

Table I.1: Density of Arts and Cultural Organizations – Washington Compared to Other States of Similar Size

	Population (2000)	Area (square miles)	Arts and Cultural Organizations (1999)	Arts and Cultural Organizations per 100,000 population	Arts and Cultural Organizations per 1,000 square miles
Indiana	6,080,485	35,870.18	462	7.6	12.9
Massachusetts	6,349,097	7,837.98	1,000	15.8	127.6
Missouri	5,595,211	68,898.01	418	7.5	6.1
Tennessee	5,689,283	41,219.52	322	5.7	7.8
Washington	5,894,121	66,581.95	614	10.4	9.2
United States	281,421,906	3,536,341.73	24,575	8.7	6.9

Note: This table includes only “reporting public charities” that filed IRS Form 990 and were required to do so. The following were excluded: foreign organizations, government-associated organizations, and organizations without state identifiers. Organizations not required to report include religious congregations and organizations with less than \$25,000 in gross receipts.

Source: National Center for Charitable Statistics, State Profiles, <http://nccs.urban.org/states.htm>.

average of \$1,024. With respect to the percentage of gross income devoted to deductible charitable contributions, Washington was in the third lowest quartile of states—an average of 1.9 percent of adjusted gross income was devoted to deductible charitable contributions (well below the national average of 2.1 percent).⁹

But an important (partial) explanation of this difference may lie in the intersection of American tax reform and the unusual structure of taxation in Washington State.¹⁰ The federal Tax Reform Act of 1986 had a rather particular effect in Washington. As part of this effort at tax reform, Congress disallowed the deduction of retail sales taxes for households that itemize their federal income tax deductions, while continuing to allow the itemization of state personal income taxes. Because Washington relies very heavily on the sales tax—the highest degree of reliance in the country—and because Washington has no income tax, the result of this change in the Tax Reform Act was that many fewer upper income households in Washington found it advantageous to itemize their deductions on their federal income tax forms; they now simply take the standard deduction. Since charitable contributions are also one of the expenditures that qualify for itemization, the federal incentive for a significant proportion of Washington residents to make such (deductible) contributions simply disappeared.

A fuller inquiry into the relative supply of nonprofit organizations and their support would have to consider a number of other factors not directly linked to the presence or generosity of tax incentives: the fact that smaller organizations do not show up in the Form 990 data, the fact that there are other organizations that we would consider to be “cultural” that are not categorized in the Form 990 data as “arts and culture,” the fact that nonprofit organizations are likely to be older, on average, in eastern states than in western states and have therefore had greater opportunity to develop, and the fact that direct government aid may also be a

factor in providing incentives to the creation of nonprofit organizations.

The referendum process in Washington makes it more difficult to pursue long-term policy initiatives.

Citizen referenda, particularly tax limit referenda, have a further influence on policy. Not only do they limit the resources that are available, they also increase the uncertainty attached to policy planning for the future. Our interviewees suggested that in the 1980s there was a good deal more flexibility in state government. Now the State of Washington is more tied up because of the effects of various referenda that have been passed by the voters and the threat of new ones. This is seen as reflecting a more general anti-government attitude, an attitude that also would seek to limit the boundaries of state policy.

State agencies can only contract for services or products; they cannot provide unrestricted grants or general operating support.

Article VIII, Section V of the Washington State constitution says, “The credit of the state shall not, in any manner be given or loaned to, or in aid of, any individual, association, company or corporation.” The way in which the Washington State Supreme Court has interpreted this clause has led to a set of practices that differs from many other states.¹¹ State money cannot be used for unrestricted grants or for general operating support. Thus, for example, the Washington State Arts Commission cannot give a grant. It has to write contracts for services to be paid on a reimbursement basis. Expenses have to be incurred before they can be reimbursed. This also has the effect of prohibiting the use of state money for fellowships to individual artists to support their careers; federal money has been used for this purpose (and continues to be in the Folk Arts Program), but state money cannot be used in this way. WSAC avoids this complication by channeling much of

⁹ National Center for Charitable Statistics, “Profiles of Individual Charitable Contributions by State, 1999,” Appendix A (Washington, D.C.: The Urban Institute, 2001).

¹⁰ We are grateful to Don Taylor, revenue analysis manager, Research Division, Washington State Department of Revenue, for this insight. E-mail correspondence with the authors, July 29, 2003.

¹¹ Kelly Barsdate of the National Assembly of State Arts Agencies characterizes this situation in Washington State as “the exception rather than the rule among state arts agencies:

“A handful of states are legally prohibited from giving grant awards to individual artists (Washington, New York Missouri, Texas, and Oklahoma)... [M]ost of those states have found other mechanisms—including regranteeing or other partnership mechanisms—to facilitate the delivery of artist support. Oklahoma and Missouri are on the list of ‘non-general-operating-support’ states, as well. So it’s possible that there are also some legal parameters

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shaping their decisions about both kinds of grant funding.... New Mexico is constitutionally prohibited from using the term general operating support, but they have been resourceful and found a mechanism that essentially accomplishes the same thing under a different name.... But again, this is rare. There are only a few states... that don't award operating support of some form or another. Those choices are not necessarily about state legal restrictions, but... about how the agency decides its thin resources can be used most strategically. Depending on your state's needs and environment, general operating support may or may not be part of the answer to the question, Where can our dollars have the greatest impact and critical mass? Maine is the classic example here.... And a final wrinkle... some other states may have legal restrictions pertaining to their expenditure of state funds to individuals (artists). There may be states that are happily complying with those mandates by using federal funding (or some other financial source) to support their artists and operating awards."

E-mail correspondence with the authors, October 7, 2002.

its direct support to artists through Artist Trust, an independent, private, nonprofit organization.

Whether this is a good or bad thing depends upon with whom you speak. On the one hand, there is greater accountability in the support system—taxpayer money is less likely to find its way into dark holes—and recipient organizations know that they have to have other sources of income in order to manage their cash flow. To some this seems appropriate, providing a test of broader support, but to others this seems unnecessarily bureaucratic, ignoring the fact that many cultural organizations are small and without the substantial resources that would allow them to pay their bills up front while waiting for reimbursement.

There is one way in which Washington State may be more typical of many American states, but this attribute may have unforeseen implications for cultural policy:

Politically, the state is quite polarized. Both the House and the Senate are basically split along party lines, making it difficult to move in any particular policy direction.

Many American states have split legislative control, often with a relatively even split across both houses between Democrats and Republicans, and many have a governor who is of a different party than the majority of its legislators. In such a circumstance, the Legislature tends not to provide a strong or clear policy direction. Legislators may tend to be risk adverse and unwilling to go out on a limb.

In Washington, this balance is, to a large degree, reflective of geography: Republicans tend to come from the eastern part of the state and Democrats from the west, with Republican legislators now also being elected from the suburbs in the west. Interestingly, within the memory of most adults, particularly during the administration of Governor Daniel Evans (1965-1977), Washington's moderate

Republicans were the cultural progressives and the Democrats were the cultural conservatives. This is less true today. But the result is that it is not only difficult to predict the Legislature's commitment to cultural policy, it is also difficult to predict an individual legislator's commitment by his or her political affiliation. In the end this commitment among Washington's legislators has more to do with personal experience than with partisan politics. Generally it has been easier to gain support for heritage policy than for arts policy or humanities policy as legislators find showcasing the history of the state an attractive thing to support. Yet, many of the individuals whom we interviewed expressed the concern that the number of legislators committed to cultural policy is dwindling.

On Methodology

Though extensive, our methodology has not been particularly complicated. Nevertheless, a few remarks are in order. Our data come from four sources: interviews, legislation, policy and program documents, and budgets.

We conducted approximately one hundred and seventy interviews in two phases. (A list of the interviews that we conducted is contained in the Appendices.) The first phase focused on individuals who were particularly knowledgeable about state cultural policy. Most of these were staff of state agencies, but we also interviewed journalists who cover the arts and culture, state legislators, and other individuals whom we had reason to believe were particularly knowledgeable about one or another aspect of state cultural policy. The second phase was to have been focused on targets of state cultural policy—offices, organizations, and individuals whose behavior was to be shaped by cultural policy in one way or another—and we were able to interview many such individuals, but as our inquiries led to more and more pockets of cultural policy in state agencies we found that we had to expand our first round of interviews to include these as well.

The Internet aided our investigation of legislation, documents, and budgets considerably. Five years ago such an inquiry would have been much more difficult than it is today thanks to the widespread and immediate availability of these sources of information in digital form. We were astonished by how much we could learn before ever going into the field. Our research assistants were able to assemble briefing books that contained information on each of the agencies and many of the programs that we needed to interview. On-line directories of state government (access.wa.gov) and on-line compilations of state legislation (available through the state library's website) helped considerably. Much of our correspondence was via e-mail, which meant that the laborious task of setting up and confirming field interviews was greatly simplified.

The research team met before and after each phase of the project in order to discuss what we had been finding and to consider our next steps. These meetings were among the most interesting research meetings in which any of us have had the privilege to participate. We hope that we have captured a good measure of those discussions and debates in this document.

The project has been advised by a project advisory board, which was convened at the outset of the project to help in its design and which has provided advice along the way as we have encountered one or another difficulty.

But most of the credit is due to our interviewees. They willingly took time out of their busy schedules to do something that they normally have precious little time to do: sit back and reflect on their practice. We were welcomed into many corners of Washington State government, though often our gracious hosts were puzzled as to why we were there: "Just what do *I* have to do with *cultural* policy?" We hope that we have given them good reason to see themselves as components of Washington's cultural policy.

There are two aspects of our interviews, however, that need to be kept in mind. We have wondered from time to time if we were getting mostly positive spin in our interviews. At least one interviewee drew this distinction explicitly, telling us that she would tell us only what she *could* say. It is only natural that interviewees wish to put their (and their agency's) best foot forward. Where possible we tried to triangulate on what we were hearing, asking the same or related questions to a variety of individuals. Often, we received rather candid responses. We would like to think that our status as "outsiders" with no local political agenda allowed our interviewees to interact with us more openly. When we completed a full draft of this report, we sent it to twenty of the key individuals whom we had interviewed as well as to our project advisory board, and the comments we received and the revisions we made provided another round of such triangulation.

A second factor also deserves mention. There was some variability across agencies with respect to whom we were able to interview. In a very few cases, we were not able to set up interviews with the heads of agencies or offices. This undoubtedly affected what we have heard, though it is hard to tell exactly how. In one case, we were able to talk to the agency head but were unable to speak with program staff, so our coverage is less than we might have liked. Still, we believe that we have accomplished what we set out to accomplish.

On Money

With respect to budgets, money is important and money is tight. Everyone would like more, and there may be good arguments for increased resources, but we have tried to steer our inquiry away from pure monetary issues. Indeed, much of any such discussion has been rendered moot by recent budget cuts in Washington. Nevertheless, we are interested in relative allocation of budgets, as that reveals something about relative priorities.

It is very tempting in an exercise such as this one to ask, “What is the total amount of money spent by the State of Washington on cultural policy?” Such a calculation is relatively easy for the cultural offices, departments, and programs that are 100 percent dedicated to activities that come within the realm of cultural policy, and these entities are certainly key elements in state cultural policy in Washington, but there are many more entities for which it is nearly impossible to separate out expenditures that can be clearly labeled as “cultural”—it is clear that cultural policy is an element in the Salmon Recovery Project within the Washington State Parks and Recreation Commission, for example, but what portion? Moreover, it is also tempting to add in the value of tax savings that are the result of various tax exemptions and concessions, but, as is pointed out in Chapter VIII, tax savings to one entity do not necessarily result in lower revenue to the state. They may be made up elsewhere as the tax system adjusts to the offering of special provisions.

Thus, we have resisted the temptation to calculate a grand total (and to then compare that grand total in a league table with other states, which would entail similar problems for whatever state one wished to investigate).

A Guide for the Reader

The organization of the remainder of this report is atypical. We present our broad findings first in Chapter II. We then turn to a structured discussion of the individual agencies, offices, departments, and programs whose collective work comprises the cultural policy of the State of Washington. Though our main task was mapping to understand the ecology of cultural policy action in Washington, much of the information that we gathered was in the form of assessments of various agencies and their initiatives. We discuss these cultural policy entities and report these assessments over the course of six chapters in order to give a fuller picture of the policy options that have been taken and those that have not.

Chapters III, IV and V focus, respectively, on the arts, the humanities, and the heritage. In each case we discuss first the primary vehicles of state cultural policy followed by a less detailed presentation of the other components. In order to present the material in this manner, we have had to make some compromises. It is not always easy to discern whether an agency or a program falls into the arts, the humanities, or the heritage. Others might reasonably have made different choices from the ones we have made.

In each case the primary entities are discussed in some detail: organizational structure, profile of programs, the constraints they confront, the degree to which their work is shaped by outside (non-state) mandates, the degree to which they are free to shape the parameters of state cultural policy within their own operations, collaboration with/bridges to other agencies, organizations, and programs, and evidence of effectiveness. In each of these chapters we also discuss the wide variety of other entities that are involved in that subfield of cultural policy.

Chapters VI, VII, and VIII evidence three other non-disciplinary ways of organizing cultural policy. Chapter VI takes a rather different cut at describing cultural policy in the State of Washington. Because of

the historic importance of the environment and environmental policy in Washington and because of the links between heritage and the environment, it turns out that much of what can be characterized as “cultural policy” in Washington takes place under the auspices of what might be termed the “land-based agencies,” those agencies that in one way or another are concerned with the natural resources of the state and with the preservation or development of the natural environment. But these agencies also have moved into the other domains of cultural policy, often in interesting ways.

Chapter VII focuses on the role of Native American tribes in cultural policy at the state level in Washington. It appears just after the chapters on state heritage policy and on the contribution of the land-based agencies to state cultural policy because the protection and preservation of each tribe’s cultural resources in the natural and built environment comprise much of their cultural policy concerns.

Chapter VIII backs away from state agencies, departments, and programs to several other, more hidden influences on state cultural policy. The first section of the chapter looks at the taxation structure of the State of Washington and documents the ways in which special dedicated taxes help pay for cultural policy and the ways in which special tax concessions provide a measure of support to various cultural goals, activities, and organizations. This chapter then turns to a discussion of the Nonprofit Facilities Program of the Washington State Housing Finance Commission. It concludes with a discussion of the Corporate Council for the Arts/ArtsFund (CCA), which, although a private nonprofit organization with little recognizable role in formal state policy, exerts a palpable influence on policy and on the state’s cultural agencies. Many of our interviewees argued that we had to take account of the influence of CCA in mapping state cultural policy in Washington.

This report concludes with a discussion of the future of state cultural policy,

making particular reference to the scholarly literatures on state government and on cultural policy.

A Research Agenda

As the first such excursion into state cultural policy in the United States, we expect that this report will raise far more questions than it will answer. But we also hope that it might launch a more ambitious research agenda. We would be very pleased if this project were to provide a base upon which to develop tools, approaches, and methodologies that could later be used for cross-state comparison of a broader set of carefully selected states. And we would be even more pleased if it were to enable policy actors in other states to compare their experiences and to learn from these results and apply them to their own policies.

We would expect to find that cultural policies vary across states, reflecting a range of ideas about what constitutes “culture,” about what the role of state government ought to be in fostering and nurturing the arts and culture, and about what the concrete aims of cultural policy ought to be. We would also expect to observe interesting variation across the states in the means chosen to implement policy goals. And, finally, we would expect to observe interesting and informative variation in effectiveness.

Yet, at the same time, we would also expect to find elements of considerable similarity across states. Such similarity might derive from an agency in one state consciously modeling itself after a sister agency in another state, or it might be the result of regional collaboration across state boundaries in which similar modes of policy implementation are adopted for consistency. National organizations such as the National Assembly of State Arts Agencies or the Federation of State Humanities Councils and regional organizations such as the Western State Arts Federation or the New England Foundation for the Arts foster this type of cross-state learning. Focusing on such

questions would help in developing an understanding of institutional learning in state cultural policy.

Taken together, such observations would suggest a rich set of further research questions to explore. The fifty experiments in cultural policy embodied in the accumulated experiences of the fifty states offer a mostly untapped resource of information that would be of considerable practical use to the field. Inquiries into state level cultural policy could assist in identifying “smart practices,”¹² innovative programs and innovative structures within which innovative programs can be incubated. In other words, an inquiry into state level cultural policy is likely to be a “variety generator,” pointing to possibilities and suggesting a variety of approaches not previously considered.¹³

At the same time, it is quite likely that one would discover that it is possible to characterize the policy variation across fifty states not as fifty different policy approaches but rather more succinctly as variants on a much smaller number of basic approaches. Such an attempt at categorization might actually serve as a “variety reducer,” helping to identify a set of fundamentally different approaches and to distinguish them from variants of the basic approaches; this would have the advantage of highlighting the actual degrees of freedom that have been taken advantage of in the implementation of state cultural policy across the United States.

¹² Eugene Bardach makes an important distinction between “best practices” and “smart practices.” He is rightfully skeptical of identifying best practices that will transcend a wide variety of local conditions. Rather, he urges a focus on smart practices, which build upon local knowledge and local conditions to create a better policy fit. Eugene Bardach, *A Practical Guide for Policy Analysis: The Eightfold Path to More Effective Problem Solving* (New York: Chatham House Publishers, 2000).

¹³ The phrases “variety generator” and “variety reducer” are borrowed from Christopher Hood, *The Tools of Government* (Chatham, NJ: Chatham House Publishers, 1986), 115.

Main Findings

J. Mark Schuster

Our intent in conducting an “assessment” of cultural policy in one state was not to provide a highly detailed evaluation of each component and each program within the cultural policy system of that state—it is difficult enough to evaluate any single program and nearly impossible to evaluate them all simultaneously. Rather, it was to provide an overview of the opportunities, issues, and constraints that arise when one tries to infer the cultural policy that is unfolding at the state level. In the later chapters of this report we will turn to a more detailed discussion of many of the cultural policy partners and their programs operating at the state level in Washington, but here we turn first to a discussion of the main points that have emerged from our research.

In this chapter we summarize the broad findings of our inquiry into state cultural policy in the State of Washington. While our focus is on Washington, we believe that many of our findings are not unique to Washington but, rather, are more broadly indicative of much of current cultural policy at the sub-national level throughout the United States. We cannot say this with complete certainty, of course, because an equivalent inquiry has not been conducted for other states, but we would be quite surprised to find more than a few states with starkly different cultural policy models.¹

We discuss our findings in two main sections. The first considers the overall ecology of cultural policy in the State of Washington: Who are the main actors? How do they interact? Where do the leverage points of influence seem to lie?

The second section focuses on what we have come to call “storylines.” We have

used this phrase quite self-consciously instead of the more prosaic “conclusions” or “cross-cutting themes” because we are quite aware of the fact that in trying to generalize from the many interviews we have conducted and from the documents we have read, we have had to *interpret* and *represent* the cultural policy of the State of Washington. We have brought our own interests and perspectives to bear, and we have chosen, both explicitly and implicitly, to highlight certain aspects of what we have seen and to allow others to slip into the background. Any such report, no matter how careful, no matter how scrupulous, can only, in the end, offer a set of representations of the situation under consideration. Others might look at the same data and come to a different understanding, or they might insist that the data upon which we have focused are inappropriate to the task at hand, citing instead other data from other sources than those that we have tapped. We welcome the multiple interpretations that can be made and the multiple stories that can be told from the material at hand.

The Ecology of State Cultural Policy

What is the institutional ecology of cultural policy in Washington State? How does this ecology operate?

These turned out not to be simple questions to answer. Partly, this was because the cultural policy ecology of Washington is made up of a rich mix of state agencies, offices, programs, private nonprofit organizations, and individuals whose actions when aggregated make up the sum of cultural policy in the state; and partly it was because of the indirect,

¹ One set of exceptions may well be found among those states that organize their cultural agencies under the direction of a single cultural commissioner, but our experience in Washington suggests that even in these states one would find a wide variety of cultural programs outside of the agencies that are directly under the commissioner’s influence.

out-of-view nature of much policy. The metaphor of “mapping state cultural policy” that we have used to describe this project perhaps suggested that we were setting out on a straightforward technical task. It most assuredly was not.

Cultural Policy Entities in Washington

Our first forays into Washington government directories and on-line resources led to a lengthy list of policy entities that had to be accounted for in any map of Washington’s cultural policy. It was clear, of course, that there were a number of key agencies, agencies that one would expect to be at the center of cultural policy in any state: the Washington State Arts Commission; the Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation; the Washington Commission for the Humanities (recently renamed Humanities Washington)—a private non-profit organization which, we would argue, functions as a surrogate for state humanities policy; and the Washington State historical societies—private non-profit organizations designated as “trustee” agencies of the state, which bridge the heritage and the humanities. But, it turned out that there were more, many more.

Table II.1 lists the agencies, organizations, and programs that we have identified as playing a role in state cultural policy in Washington. By our count, the list includes over sixty agencies, organizations, and programs involved in one component or another of state cultural policy.² The extent to which cultural programs can be found throughout state government is, perhaps, surprising. Many of these programs have grown up not because of a desire to aid the cultural life of the state directly, but because state agencies (and the legislation that controls them) want their activities to be culturally sensitive, either through paying due attention to cultural resources that might be impacted by state projects or through administering state programs in a way that is sensitive to the culture of specific target groups. Others of these programs have been

created because state agencies have come to the realization that they are responsible for some component of the cultural resources of the state. All of these inclinations lead to an implicit cultural policy of the state that goes well beyond “the usual suspects” to surprising corners of the state’s bureaucratic apparatus.

The Governor’s Policy Staff

If there is one place that might be expected to be a locus of cultural policy, it would be within the governor’s policy staff. This staff, built around staff from the Office of Financial Management and the governor’s Executive Policy Office and including the governor’s deputy chief of staff, is responsible for communicating policy initiatives from the governor’s office to state agencies, assessing policy initiatives emerging from the Legislature in consultation with line agencies, and communicating to the governor policy initiatives being introduced by the agencies.

From our early interviews, it became clear that “state cultural policy” as a conceptual idea had little meaning among the governor’s policy staff. This in itself was not surprising, because the idea of cultural policy has not yet gained currency in the United States. What was surprising, however, was the willingness with which the policy staff engaged in a conversation with us about the idea of a “cultural policy.” It was clear to them that, though they had to deal with cultural issues of one sort or another on an ongoing basis, they were forced to do so in a disjointed way—no one had articulated a coordinated vision of what the State of Washington was trying to accomplish with disparate programs.

Although individual staff members in the governor’s policy staff are designated as the point person for various of the cultural agencies, the agency heads whom we interviewed reported little or no contact with their governor’s office contact persons. The most concrete example we were given was when the policy staff called the Washington State Arts Commission to ascertain its view on a recent legislative proposal to create the position of poet

² The actual count depends on how one wishes to split the programs and where one ultimately decides to draw the boundary.

Table II.1: State Cultural Policy Entities in Washington**Office of the Governor**

- Governor's Policy Group: Office of Financial Management, Governor's Executive Policy Office, and Deputy Chief of Staff
- Blue Ribbon Arts Taskforce
- Washington Reading Corps
- Advisory Council on Historic Preservation
- Puget Sound Water Quality Action Team

State Legislature

- Heritage Caucus

Washington State Arts Commission**Washington State Historical Society**

(private nonprofit organization functioning as a trustee agency)

- Washington State History Museum
- WSHS Research Center
- State Capital Museum
- Heritage Resource Center
- Capital Projects Fund for Washington's Heritage

Eastern Washington State Historical Society/**Northwest Museum of Arts and Culture**

(private nonprofit organization functioning as a trustee agency)

Washington State Department of Community, Trade and Economic Development

- Building for the Arts Program, Office of Community Development
- Office of Archaeology & Historic Preservation, Office of Community Development
- Office of Trade & Economic Development
 - Downtown Revitalization Program (Main Street Program)
 - Tourism Development
 - Rural Tourism Development
 - Film Office

Humanities Washington

(private nonprofit organization functioning as a policy surrogate)

Office of the Secretary of State

- State Archives and Records Management
- Regional Archives
- Oral History Program
- State Library

Washington State Parks and Recreation Commission

- Resource Stewardship Program including Archeology and Interpretive Services
- Cultural Resources Management Policy/Cultural Resources Action Plan
- Fort Worden/Centrum
- Cama Beach Project
- Salmon Recovery Project

Department of Transportation

- Heritage Corridors Program

Department of Fish and Wildlife

- Watchable Wildlife Program

Other Signatories to the Memo of Understanding/ Interagency Agreement on Cultural Tourism

- Department of Natural Resources
- Interagency Committee for Outdoor Recreation

Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction

- Curriculum and Instruction, Visual and Performing Arts

Washington State Colleges and Universities

- Cultural Facilities with External Missions, for example:
 - University of Washington: Burke Museum of Natural History and Culture, Henry Art Gallery, Meany Hall for the Performing Arts, Simpson Center for the Humanities
 - The Evergreen State College: Longhouse Education and Cultural Center, Evergreen Gallery

Washington State University Cooperative Extension Service**Department of Revenue/Office of the State Treasurer**

- Revenues for Distribution
 - Convention and Trade Center Tax
 - Hotel-Motel Special Excise Tax (Transient Lodging Tax)
 - Hotel-Motel Tax (Stadium Tax)
 - Local Sales and Use Tax
 - Maritime Historic Preservation
- Tax Exemptions

TVW

(state cable television station)

Department of Agriculture

- Commodities Commissions (e.g., Wine Commission, Apple Commission, Fruit Commission)
- Fairs Commission

Housing Finance Commission

- Non-Profit Facilities Financing

Native American Tribes

- Twenty-nine federally recognized tribes functioning as sovereign governments.
- Tribal Liaisons in State Agencies
- Tribal Historic Preservation Officers operating in parallel with State Historic Preservation Officer
- Governor's Office of Indian Affairs

Washington State Commission on African-American Affairs**Washington State Commission on Asian Pacific American Affairs****Washington State Commission on Hispanic Affairs****Washington Center for the Book**

(private nonprofit organization functioning as a policy surrogate)

The Center for Columbia River History

(an unincorporated consortium)

Corporate Council for the Arts/ArtsFund

(private nonprofit functioning as a united arts fund)

laureate for the State of Washington. The result is that the policy staff ends up offering technical assistance tempered with a bit of political advice rather than policy guidance, and there is no one in this office with an overview of what might be termed the “cultural portfolio.”

The paths through which the cultural agencies report to the governor and the Legislature differ rather substantially. The Washington State Arts Commission, on the one hand, theoretically reports to the governor through the deputy chief of staff, who is responsible for the “small agencies.”³ This isolates the commission from the center of power, which, depending on one’s perspective, has been construed as an advantage and also as a substantial disadvantage. By contrast, the Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation reports up through several levels of the Department of Community, Trade and Economic Development from what it sees as a disadvantageous position. On the other hand, the Washington State Historical Society, by virtue of its hybrid status as both a state trustee agency and a private nonprofit organization appears to have access most directly to the Legislature and to the secretary of state, who has often been a supporter of heritage and history programs.

One implication may be that a private nonprofit organization—albeit one with official state trustee status—has an advantage over state agencies in the competition for state attention and state funds because it can deploy the volunteer members of its board of trustees as representatives of, and advocates for, the organization, while lobbying from the paid staff of a state agency is interpreted as being more self interested. Commissions, with their volunteer, appointed commissioners, would fall in the middle of this scale of influence. It is also worth noting that an agency operating in the heritage field also may have an advantage with the Legislature, because it is in this field (rather than in the arts and humanities) that it is easiest to forge a political consensus.

The Legislature

The Legislature can be a second locus of state cultural policy, especially in a state with a relatively weak governor. In Washington, the Legislature has manifested two divergent trends. On the one hand, in crafting and passing legislation to create state cultural agencies or programs, it has often included wording that makes reference to the cultural resources of the state. Thus, the Legislature seems to be cognizant of the importance of cultural resources while visibly stating its intention to protect and nurture them. On the other hand, much of the legislation that has been passed has focused on specific programs that are favorites of particular members of the Legislature. But because these programs are not generally designed within the grain of an overall policy, they often end up awkwardly located within the state’s bureaucracy or poorly coordinated with other, related programs. Nonetheless, the Legislature establishes the rules within which cultural programs are implemented, provides incentives for particular types of behavior, and appropriates funding for these initiatives.

Because of the lack of a centrally coordinated policy and because of the importance of the Legislature, lobbyists can have substantial influence on the conduct of cultural policy, turning that policy to advantage certain styles of programs and certain types of recipients over others.

The Cultural Policy Conversation

With strong leadership from neither the governor’s office nor the Legislature, cultural policy in Washington has evolved into a horizontally organized system of many disparate and loosely connected actors. With notable exceptions, there is a rather low level of cooperation among the primary policy entities. In a system with so many policy actors it is perhaps surprising that there is little duplication, but there is substantial opportunity for coordination. We were impressed time and time again with how little one policy entity knew about what the others were

³ This position has been vacant for some time.

doing. Often they lamented the fact that they were not cooperating because it seemed clear to them—and to us—that cooperation could lead to even more impressive programmatic initiatives.

Yet, more than a few of the agency staff that we interviewed pointed out an important attribute of collaboration: Collaboration requires the investment of agency resources, resources that are often already quite limited. Thus, trading off current activities in exchange for the potential value that might come from collaboration is, at times, a difficult choice to make; thus, we frequently heard comments such as, “Taking on something new is likely to limit my capacity to meet current expectations.”

Instead of policy development, it might be said that Washington is involved in a “policy conversation” in which multiple entities come into contact with one another, more often informally than formally, to share information. We did find a few examples of truly collaborative projects among the state’s cultural policy entities.⁴ But, we were more likely to find them operating strictly independently, seemingly with the hope that that independence would solidify their claim on state resources for their unique programs. In few places did we find a sense that the whole could be greater than the sum of its parts, though there are exceptions such as the collaboration around the bicentennial of the Lewis and Clark expedition.

Figure II.1 is a diagram of the key lines of communication in cultural policy making in Washington. Several key aspects of the policy conversation are captured here. In this diagram, the term “policy directive” has been used to indicate ways in which one entity in the system directly affects the activities of another. Policy directives might include rules, mandatory programs, grants, incentives, even policy suggestions, but they indicate clear influence of one entity over another. It is clear from the diagram that many of the policy directives in this system are mediated through other actors. So, for example, several of the

cultural agencies are overseen by commissioners and commissions who monitor and shape the direction of the agencies that they oversee. These intermediate levels of influence can work to modify the intent of the governor or the Legislature or can even insert other goals and objectives into the cultural policy process.

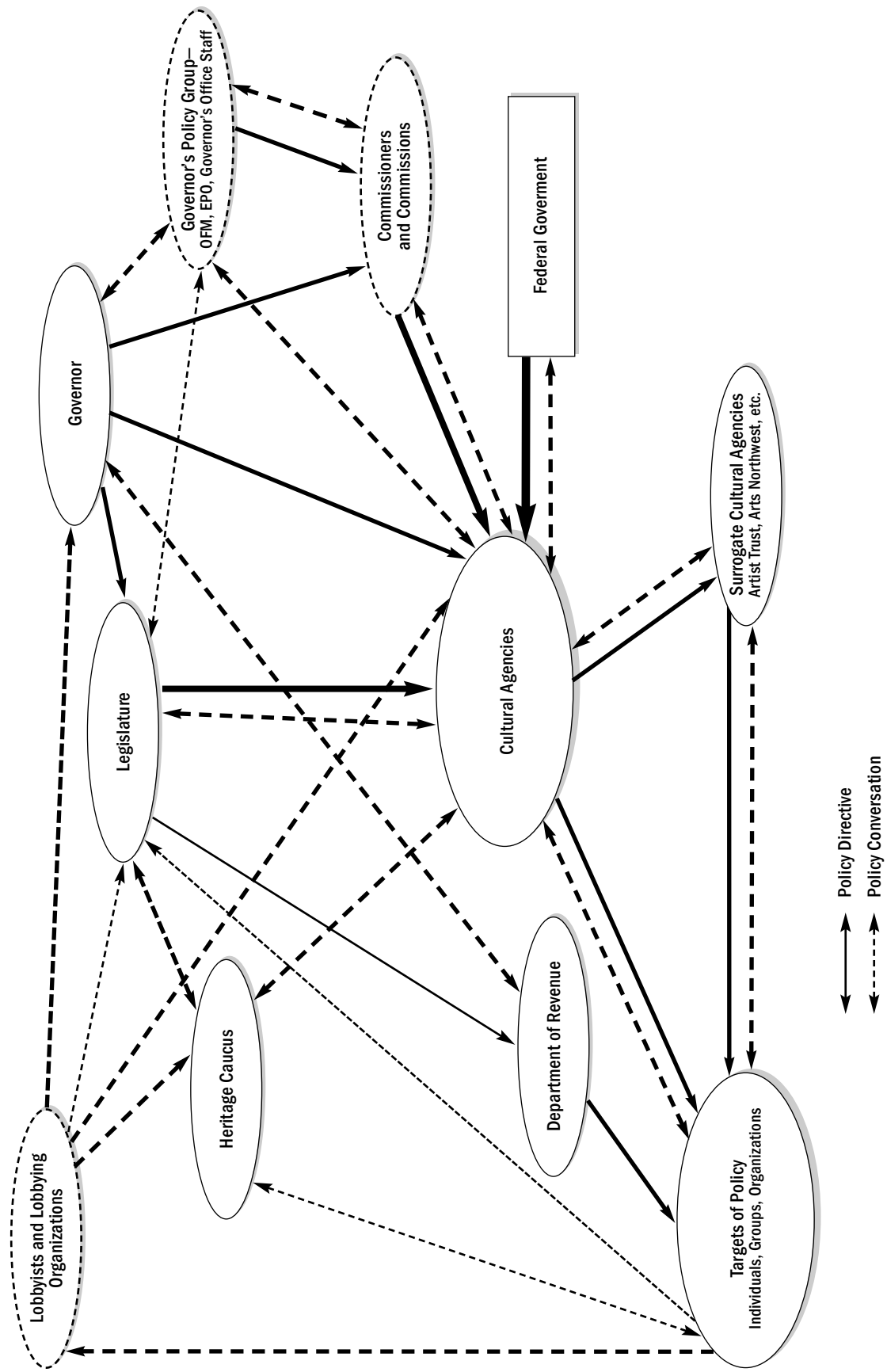
The term “policy conversation” on the other hand has been used to characterize those communication links in the system for which the essential link is in the form of information flow between the two entities. This might take the form of a unidirectional flow of information, as it does from policy targets to lobbyists to the Legislature, or it might take more of the form of a reciprocal conversation.

The relative strength of the communications links is depicted by the width of the arrows. While various commissioners and the Legislature have, perhaps, the most direct influence on state cultural policy, in a number of cases the federal government has even more influence. Generally, this influence is exerted through federal mandates accompanied by federal grants that require a state match. The federal influence is particularly manifest in the operations of the Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, whose activities and programs are closely tied to federal mandates and directives, but it is also manifest to some extent within the Washington State Arts Commission—some of the money they receive is tied to particular federal goals and initiatives, though most is in the form of general matching support. The money that Humanities Washington receives from the National Endowment for the Humanities, on the other hand, is essentially unrestricted.

A number of the state’s cultural policy programs are operated through what might be termed “surrogate cultural agencies,” non-state agencies that are enlisted to oversee, administer, and occasionally run cultural programs on behalf of the state agencies. This is particularly true for the Washington State Arts Commission, which supports certain programs through Artist Trust and Arts Northwest and

⁴ One clear exception is Centrum, which is a joint initiative of the Washington State Arts Commission, the Washington State Parks and Recreation Commission, and the Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction.

Figure II.1: Lines of Communication in Cultural Policy Making in the State of Washington



which is responsible for the creation and ongoing operation of Centrum, a nonprofit center for the arts and creative education. The state historical societies might also be thought of as surrogate cultural agencies, though their privileged position as trustee agencies of the state means that they oversee their own programs and policies rather than implement the policies of other agencies. In a way, Humanities Washington can also be viewed as a surrogate agency, though it is quite independent from the state, launching and running its own programs from a nonprofit base. Indeed, it has made an explicit decision not to seek state support, even though this is the norm in other states. Even so, one might wish to construe the mutual decision not to have a direct relationship between the state and Humanities Washington as a manifestation of a type of state policy.

What Figure II.1 makes clear is that the web of cultural policy communication and directives involves a number of individuals, agencies, and entities. As a result, very little of cultural policy in the State of Washington is conducted through programs designed and run by state agencies themselves. Cultural policy is generally, though not exclusively, focused on a set of targets outside of government, whose behavior that policy is intended to influence.

Several other points about the ecology of cultural policy in the State of Washington deserve to be emphasized, though they are not revealed in the depiction of Figure II.1.

Arts Policy, Humanities Policy, and Heritage Policy

While we have tried to view cultural policy as an analytic whole, we have found that it has been useful to distinguish between arts policy, humanities policy, and heritage policy. These divisions correspond fairly well to the organizational structure behind cultural policy in the State of Washington. If policy conversation and cooperation within each of these areas is only weakly developed, policy conversation across these areas is nearly

nonexistent with only a very few exceptions. If each of these policy areas were stronger and more highly articulated, one might consider them to comprise the three pillars of cultural policy in Washington.

The institutional structure of cultural policy differs across these three areas because the organizational structure of the primary responsible agency itself differs. While state arts policy is administered primarily by the Washington State Arts Commission, a state agency (though one with an oversight commission, which allows it a certain measure of independence from state government), state heritage policy is administered by a mixture of the Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, a state agency, and the hybrid Washington State historical societies, which are nonprofit organizations with trustee status; and state humanities policy is primarily the responsibility of a private nonprofit organization. Interestingly, the tendency is in the opposite direction at the county and local levels: the Cultural Development Authority of King County (a public development authority which recently evolved out of the King County Office of Cultural Resources) combines all three areas, as does the Culture and Tourism Division of the Tacoma Economic Development Department (with the notable addition of tourism) and the City of Vancouver's Cultural Services office.

Cultural Policy and Environmental Policy

An important way in which state cultural policy in Washington differs from the cultural policy of other states is in its links to the environment. Because the natural environment and the land feature prominently in the public's conception of Washington's cultural resources, unusual linkages are being made and cultural projects are popping up in surprising places within state agencies. The land-based agencies—Parks and Recreation, Natural Resources, Agriculture, Fish and Wildlife, and Transportation—are all involved in

policy with respect to cultural resources, though these policies are rarely linked to the agencies of arts policy and humanities policy and only rarely to the agencies of heritage policy. Thus, there is considerable energy and enthusiasm outside the mainstream cultural agencies, though this energy is not normally conceived of as a component of cultural policy. Accordingly, we consider cultural policy in the land-based agencies separately in Chapter VI.

Native American Tribes and State Cultural Policy

Another distinctive feature of state cultural policy in Washington is the role played by the Native American tribes. In Washington there are twenty-nine federally recognized Native American tribes. These tribes function as sovereign governments, and therefore may have activities that can be characterized as manifestations of cultural policy. Although the relationships between the tribes and the mainstream state cultural agencies are minimal (the main exceptions being in the Folk Arts program of the Washington State Arts Commission and in programs of the Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation that interact with tribal cultural resources), the non-cultural agencies generally have tribal liaisons who interact with the tribes and facilitate access to state programs. The largest tribes have tribal historic preservation officers, who operate in parallel with the state historic preservation officer and undertake many of the same tasks that are delegated to the states under the National Historic Preservation Act. The role of Native American tribes in state cultural policy in Washington is discussed further in Chapter VII.

Storylines

In this section we summarize the main storylines that form the bulk of our conclusions. We have tried to restrict this section to storylines that cut across the agencies, organizations, institutions, and programs that make up the ecology of cultural policy. Findings that relate to particular policy entities are reported in their respective chapters.

Washington does not have a single articulated cultural policy. Yet, even though this is the case, there are pockets of articulation that result from a variety of causes.

It was clear from the outset that we would not find a document entitled *The Cultural Policy of the State of Washington* on a shelf in any state office. In the United States the articulation of an overall state cultural policy has been the exception rather than the rule.⁵ But the articulation of policy may be even more difficult in Washington than it is elsewhere.

Washington is characterized by a lack of central influence on policy. Its system of government accords the governor relatively weak powers; he has only limited influence over the budget, for example. Washington embraced the reforms of the Progressive Era and, as a result, makes considerable use of commissions to oversee various components of “state” policy and enlists the institutions of civil society (i.e., private nonprofit organizations) as primary delivery agents. Moreover, the superintendent of public instruction and the commissioner of public lands, both of whom play a role in cultural policy, and the insurance commissioner are all independently elected, insulating them from gubernatorial and legislative influence more than in other states.

All of these factors make the articulation of policy more difficult in Washington than it otherwise might be. As a result, policy articulation tends to occur only at moments of crisis (e.g., *Investing in the Arts*,

⁵ Both Maine and Oregon have made interesting steps in this direction. There may well be others as well.

1998⁶), when it is mandated by federal requirements (e.g., *Historic Preservation Working for Washington, 2000*⁷), or when influential individuals and creative staff perceive opportunities and stimulate it (e.g., *Cultural Resources Management Policy, 2001*⁸). Even so, planning may have a conservative effect, working to maintain and defend the status quo and to protect the budgets of the agencies in which cultural policy is vested. Thus, policy articulation can become a two-edged sword: On the one hand, it can be protective, but, on the other, if it results in an agency increasing its profile too substantially, it can be seen as risky.

In cultural policy there is yet another factor that mitigates against policy articulation: the claim from the recipients (targets) of that policy that cultural policy ought to be supportive of cultural development and creative expression but not try to dictate or lead that course or, put another way, that it ought to be reactive rather than proactive. The essential idea here is that cultural policy ought to follow the development of the various cultural fields rather than lead it. It is certainly clear that the recipients of the support of cultural policy would prefer this state of affairs and lobby strongly to push the system in this direction. Debates on national cultural policy, in particular, are imbued with this point of view. But this point of view, of course, calls into question the reasons for having a public cultural policy at all. Presumably all public policy is intended to encourage, cajole, or otherwise pursue public benefits that would not otherwise occur in the absence of government intervention through public policy and public programs.

To declare our bias, to us it seems clear that policy articulation should be encouraged and rewarded at the state level. The recipe for strong state support of cultural policy would surely derive strength from articulated policy coupled with successful implementation.

In Washington there are discernable differences between the implementation of “arts policy,” “humanities policy,” and “heritage policy.” These differences contribute to the weak links among these domains.

One of the choices that is fundamental to the implementation of public policy is the choice between implementing policy directly through an agency of the state or indirectly through other actors in the system. In cultural policy, choices are made between creating state owned and operated museums or supporting private nonprofit museums, between purchasing and maintaining heritage sites and buildings or encouraging their preservation in private hands. Another choice is between making grants and providing support within the confines of a government-designed program. In the United States cultural policy has traditionally been distinguished by the degree to which it is based on a hands-off model of policy support. Ownership and operation tends to be shunned, and grants are generally preferred over more directive programs.

In Washington, to the extent that it is articulated at all, arts policy is almost exclusively articulated by the funder but implemented by grantees. The Washington State Arts Commission has few programmatic initiatives of its own, choosing, instead, to serve as a pass-through agency for state grants. Operating in a very different mode, the Washington State Historical Society implements a good deal of the state’s heritage policy itself, using its funding for its own programs more than for grants to other organizations or institutions. Yet, it is also true that more and more of state heritage policy is actually being implemented by the various land-based agencies who are coming to the realization that important cultural resources fall under their ownership and within their mandate. Humanities policy tends to fall in-between these two extremes, and a portion of heritage policy

⁶ Governor’s Blue Ribbon Arts Task Force, *Investing in the Arts: Recommendations to Governor Locke on State Support for the Arts*, August 1998.

⁷ Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, *Historic Preservation Working for Washington: The State Historic Preservation Plan 2000*, 1985.

⁸ Washington State Parks and Recreation Commission, *Cultural Resources Management Policy*, November 2001.

overlaps with humanities policy where history is concerned.

There are exceptions to these general trends, however. There is clear evidence that the Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, one of the agencies entrusted with heritage policy, would like to move toward more implementation of policy through grants feeling that this would be an area in which it could be conspicuously effective by funding model programs and key development initiatives. On the other hand, the arts side, despite some clear successes with implementation of policy through programs (e.g. Centrum and parts of the Folk Arts Program), remains committed to a grants-based mode of operation. The most visible manifestation of humanities policy is, arguably, Humanities Washington, which focuses on grants for programs rather than on ongoing support of humanities organizations or humanists. (It is, in a way, an analogue to the arts commission). By contrast, the Washington State Historical Society, which is a contributor to humanities policy as well as heritage policy, serves in an advisory capacity to a grants program and invests in the Center for Columbia River History (a program that operates beyond its own administrative boundaries) but focuses on its own programs.

In our view, it would seem useful periodically to remind the policy agencies of the choices they have made and to ask the question whether other options might prove more effective in pursuing their cultural policy goals.

The five most visible manifestations of state cultural policy in the State of Washington span a range of organizational forms, suggesting that state cultural policy can be implemented through a variety of institutional structures that offer a laboratory in which to study the difference that organizational structure makes.⁹

⁹ David Nicandri, director of the Washington State Historical Society, pointed out that this statement is a reformulation of the Progressive Era ideal that states should be the laboratory for experimentation and that one model does not fit all situations. Of course, such diversity of organizational form is not a guarantee that such experimentation will actually be undertaken.

The Washington State Arts Commission, the Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, the Building for the Arts Program, the Washington State Historical Society, and Humanities Washington run the gamut from a relatively independent state agency, through an office located within a broader state agency, through a well-defined program located in the same state agency, and a private nonprofit organization designated by the Legislature as a trustee agency of the state, to a completely independent nonprofit organization with minimal ties to the state. Thus, each assumes a different stance with respect to the subfield of policy within which it operates.

Cultural policy has not been clearly responsive to the differing needs of the eastern and the western parts of the state, though humanities policy and heritage policy have been more conscious of these differences than has arts policy.

One might expect the very real demographic, geographic, and cultural differences between the eastern and western parts of the state (as well as the differences between the urban and rural parts of the state) to be an important component of cultural policy in the State of Washington. When, toward the end of each of our interviews, we asked for an overall assessment of state cultural policy in Washington, the most frequent observation was that policy was insufficiently sensitive to differences between east and west. In its most extreme form, this observation took the view that “Washington is really two different states and should have two sets of policy institutions with distinct policies and programs.”

Arts policy, which emphasizes artistic quality in its decision making, is arguably less responsive to these differences than the other areas of policy. One comment that we heard concerning the programs of the Washington State Arts Commission was that these programs tend to be “one-size-fits-all” in that they are not

particularly tuned to such differences across the state. (This would seem to be true mostly in the Awards Program and the Art in Public Places program, but much less so in, for example, the Folk Arts Program or the Community Consortium Grants within the Arts in Education program, both of which have focused quite explicitly on regional differences.)

Historic preservation, on the other hand, is fundamentally local, and clearly has to be responsive to local difference. But the Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation rarely has resources with which it can pursue locally crafted policy outside its federally mandated functions. To some extent the two state historical societies together span the gap between west and east, though the predominance of effort is still focused on the Washington State Historical Society's flagship museum and programs in Tacoma. Local historical societies fill the gap as best they can, with only occasional assistance from the state. Once again, the land-based agencies are moving into the gap as they begin to focus on the cultural aspects of the resources for which they are responsible. Humanities policy is generally less visible, though it does seem to be at least partially tuned to regional differences.

A more articulated cultural policy would, by necessity, need to pay more careful attention to differences between east and west (as well as to differences between urban and rural). This, in itself, is an argument for careful and transparent policy articulation.

Once something is perceived as being of historical/heritage value, it is easier to get it onto the state's agenda (and perhaps to support it).

It is easier to build policy consensus around the heritage than around the arts or humanities components of the cultural sphere. To many the history of the state and its people and the physical manifestations of that historical presence seem to

be more indicative of Washington than manifestations of contemporary culture. Legislators, for example, are more likely to be allied with heritage interests than with arts or humanities interests. As a result, increases in cultural policy activity and funding come particularly at moments of pride and moments of memory—the centennial of statehood, the bicentennial of the United States, the hosting of the Goodwill Games, the bicentennial of the Lewis and Clark expedition, the Seattle World's Fair. These moments have been critical for building consensus around new commitments to cultural policy in Washington.

We came across one very concrete example of the primacy of heritage in cultural policy during our field research. With the assistance and ongoing staffing support of the Washington State Historical Society, several legislators have formed a Heritage Caucus, which meets periodically when the Legislature is in session. The caucus meets with representatives of a wide range of cultural agencies and organizations to discuss policy issues of mutual interest. At some point it was proposed that the caucus be renamed the "Cultural Caucus" in order to bring a wider set of concerns and interests under its purview, but the proposal was defeated to keep heritage interests foremost in its deliberations.¹⁰

Heritage interests seem to have had more success than the arts and humanities in getting narrowly targeted legislation passed. The Surcharge for Preservation of Historical Documents and the special provision for making voluntary contributions for maritime historic preservation and conservation activities as part of registering one's boat (see the discussion of dedicated taxes in Chapter VIII) are two cases in point.

The upshot is that one needs to be particularly vigilant about the pressures to move cultural policy toward heritage and preservation and away from contemporary creation in both the arts and humanities.

¹⁰ There may also have been a political calculation that it was easier to discern the boundaries of "heritage" than the boundaries of "culture." Nevertheless, the caucus did continue to consider matters that included the arts, the humanities, and matters of culture more broadly construed. There was also a time at which it was proposed that the caucus be designated the "History Caucus," a designation that most would perceive as narrower.

The closer cultural policy gets to the contemporary (particularly contemporary art and humanities) the harder it is to get onto the state’s agenda.

This is the flip side of the previous point. It is easier to build a public policy consensus around the already created (particularly the built environment) than around the about-to-be created. It is much more difficult to articulate policy with respect to the support of creativity than with respect to the support of legacy. Legislators prefer the known to the unknown, and the controversies that can (and do) occur with the funding of contemporary arts are much more frequent than equivalent controversies with respect to the heritage (though the heritage is by no means immune from differences of opinion, particularly when it comes to the interpretation of history).

Two broad forms of cultural policy are in evidence in Washington—one in the service of culture, per se; the other in service to other state goals, turning cultural policy into an instrumental policy—but unlike elsewhere, the first is still stronger than the second.

Here there is always a tension. Instrumentalizing cultural policy might attract resources and might be effective in pursuing those other goals, but this could come at the cost of diluting the mission that any cultural agency or program articulates for itself. Some agencies and programs have embraced the trend toward instrumentalization; others have resisted it. Those who have resisted are criticized for not cooperating, for not seeking common ground. Which direction leads to more robust cultural agencies, programs, and policies is not clear. What is clear is that instrumentalization creates a tension and a temptation: “Maybe, if we clothe what we are doing in instrumental arguments, we can get support to do what we wish.”

The Memo of Understanding on Cultural Tourism is one interesting example of instrumentalization in cultural policy.¹¹ Nine state agencies and statewide organizations signed this agreement in 2001, along with the Seattle Support Office of the National Park Service. But, this agreement notwithstanding, the state’s political leadership has not embraced the idea of culture and its link to tourism to the same degree that has happened elsewhere or at lower levels of government.

The cultural field would normally applaud an emphasis on “pure” cultural policy over instrumental cultural policy, but the general sense is that this relationship has only been maintained because the resources devoted to cultural policy by the state are seen as being quite modest. It is certainly true that where major increases have been achieved in public cultural budgets those increases have often been fueled by an increasing instrumentalization of cultural activity.

The role of the Legislature in defining cultural policy in Washington is relatively inconsequential.

The Washington Legislature tends not to mandate programs or policy in the area of culture. In part, this is because it is increasingly constrained fiscally, but it also seems due to the fact that there has been a decline in the number of members of the Legislature who are interested in exerting cultural leadership. Bold visionary initiatives have not been forthcoming from the Legislature. Interesting exceptions, however, are the two capital grants programs—Building for the Arts and the Capital Projects Fund for Washington’s Heritage (both discussed later in this report)—which directly involve the Legislature in making decisions about capital grants recipients for arts and heritage projects.

¹¹ “Memo of Understanding on Cultural Tourism,” signed by nine Washington agencies or organizations and the Seattle Support Office of the National Park Service, United States Department of Interior, 2001.

In a situation with weak central policy direction and limited resources, there is an incentive to implement policy through agencies that are seen to be relatively independent of the government.

This is not without consequences, as relatively independent organizations may be more likely to fund different types of organizations or to develop their own programs than entities more closely tied to the state, which will be subject to stronger lobbying influences (in favor, for example, of major institutions, institutions in particular locations, and long term funding that turns into an entitlement).

This has led to agencies migrating in order to straddle the public/private divide. This can be seen most clearly in the transformation of the King County Office of Cultural Resources into the Cultural Development Authority of King County, but it is also true for the state historical societies whose trustee status allows them to straddle that divide as well.

In a situation with weak central policy direction and limited resources but with strongly committed individuals in positions of influence, there is an opportunity for those individuals to succeed in implementing limited cultural policy initiatives for targeted recipients.

Our research turned up a wide variety of cultural policy initiatives spread across the bureaucracy of the State of Washington. More than a few of these initiatives have been the result of someone who perceived a window of opportunity. Particularly clear examples can be found in the legislation that governs the revenue raising of the state. For example, when Washington residents register their boats they are given, by state law, the opportunity to make a contribution to the Maritime Historic Restoration and Preservation

Account. The accumulated donations are then split equally between two specific maritime heritage projects: the Grays Harbor Historical Seaport and the Steamer Virginia V Foundation. To be sure, the donations that are collected are voluntary, but it is clear that some political influence was exerted to promote these two favored projects over others as a matter of state policy.

Such influence is also seen more broadly as a result of lobbying by Corporate Council for the Arts/ArtsFund. CCA claims parentage of a number of state cultural policy initiatives, most notably the Building for the Arts Program. While this program and its sister program, the Capital Projects Fund for Washington's Heritage, were created to establish a systematic vehicle through which the state could provide capital funding for arts projects and heritage projects, they were structured so that they would minimize the effect of the actions of individual legislators who were continuously under pressure to insert willy-nilly favorite local projects into the state's capital budget. (These programs are discussed further in Chapters III and IV.)

Cultural agencies tend to believe that they do better at garnering state resources if they "stay under the radar screen" by lowering their visibility and by operating independently of one another.

A palpable lack of collaboration is quite evident among the cultural policy agencies in Washington. In large part, this seems to be resource driven. Agencies are eager to protect their own resources and do not want them poached by others. As state budget cuts began to affect the sector in 2002-2003, we heard time and time again that the fact that the agencies operated independently and were therefore relatively small protected them from budget cuts because there was little to be gained for the overall budget by cutting such a small entity. One of our interviewees in the governor's office suggested that this

may also be defensive in another way: most citizens would not want to support the arts or culture if they found out they were actually doing so. With the exception of the Washington State Historical Society, the state cultural policy agencies have kept a relatively low profile, which in the end may compromise their ability to make a credible claim on the state's budget based on their role in implementing state cultural policy even as it may protect them from budget cuts and citizen opposition.

The politics of state funding in Washington are such that they result in a shifting of initiatives away from the state's operating budget to the state's capital budget.

Politically, it has been much easier in Washington State to fund capital projects than ongoing programs in the cultural field. In large part this is due to the fact that the cost of capital projects can be spread over time through the issuing of bonds, but it is also due to the fact that an argument can be made that construction costs are recouped rather quickly because the state sales tax applies to construction, and nonprofit organizations are not exempt from this tax. (This latter point is further explored in Chapter III with respect to the Building for the Arts program.) Another factor is the easy identification of capital projects with legislative districts.¹² The net result is a set of mostly unintended rewards for capital intensity.¹³ Indeed, in the recent rounds of budget cuts the capital grants programs in culture have been left uncut, unlike the operating budgets of the main cultural agencies. Another byproduct of this way of funding cultural policy, is that the cultural agencies in trying to rectify the balance between ongoing operations and capital investment—whether it is with respect to their own activities or with respect to their clients' activities—are tempted, if not forced, to fund staff off of the capital budget, a choice that does not promote stability and predictability in their operations.

The influence of the federal government on state cultural policy in Washington is considerable.

Frankly, we were rather surprised by the role that the federal government plays in state cultural policy in Washington. This influence is exerted in three ways: through funding of state programs, typically through a matching grant system; through regulation and mandates; and through its own programs, which serve as models for state-level programs. Considerable portions of the budgets of the Washington State Arts Commission and the Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation are provided by the federal government. While the federal money that flows to WSAC is partially earmarked for federal priorities (underserved communities and constituencies), most of the federal money that flows to OAHF is tied directly to that office's role in enforcing the provisions of the National Historic Preservation Act. Humanities Washington is funded primarily through grant applications to the National Endowment for the Humanities, a federal agency.

To the extent that federal money has been the carrot for state involvement through dangling matching money, when that money declines there is less incentive for a state to maintain its match (and little apparent incentive for the state to step into the breach). The unpredictable behavior of federal allocations, which are in even less control of the state, can wreak havoc with state-level budgeting, which has been the experience of the Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation whose federal allocation comes from the Historic Preservation Fund whose proceeds are derived from the federal leasing of offshore oil drilling sites, a particularly volatile source of funding.

Because the State of Washington only barely meets the matching requirements of these federal programs, the money that is made available to these agencies goes substantially into fulfilling the federal mandates.¹⁴ Little is left to pursue state-

¹² It has been pointed out to us that the governor uses the capital budget in order to gain approval of the operating budget of the state. Legislators are promised that favorite capital projects in their districts will not be targeted for elimination in exchange for the legislator's support for proposed cuts in the state's operating budget.

¹³ One might argue that property tax exemptions also reward capital intensity. See, for example, various papers in Evelyn Brody, ed., *Property-Tax Exemption for Charities: Mapping the Battlefield* (Washington, D.C.: The Urban Institute Press, 2002).

¹⁴ Indeed, while we were in the field the governor's office communicated that it would not allow state agencies in Washington to enter into new programmatic relationships with the federal government that would require matching from the state. This was done to relieve one set of growth pressures on the state's budget.

initiated and state-directed cultural policy, cultural policy that would reflect the distinctiveness of Washington and its cultural life.

This point can be extended a bit further. In an environment of limited resources with a relatively weak governor the greater is the likelihood that the cultural policy agenda will be externally shaped, if not externally determined.

Innovations in state cultural policy are more likely to occur within state-conceived and operated programs than in the regular operations of the state cultural agencies.

Most agencies are attentive to what they perceive as their “base” operations first. For example, the Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation focuses much of its efforts on its role in the listing process for heritage properties and its role in overseeing Section 106 review of the impact of federal actions. And the Washington State Arts Commission considers its primary role to be passing grants through to the state’s cultural organizations and cultural initiatives. But in our interviews the level of excitement and expressed commitment always rose when agency staff were discussing initiatives that they were able to launch *outside* of their normal day-to-day activities. It was in these instances that these agencies felt that they could make a policy difference.

The Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation expressed delight for those years in which their funding allowed them to actually provide seed grants to preservation projects around the state rather than simply being reactive by fulfilling their “traditional” roles. At the Washington State Arts Commission, there was considerable enthusiasm over the success of projects and programs they had launched (e.g., Centrum) rather than just making grants in the traditional way. They were proud of the Arts in Education Community Consortium Grants, which gradually have replaced the more traditional ways of

funding arts education. And they highlighted a limited number of programs that have forged partnerships with other state agencies (e.g., Heritage Tours developed with the Heritage Corridors Program of the Washington State Department of Transportation).

In our view, the key to this dilemma lies in finding ways to encourage agencies to conceive and implement innovative programs. This would clearly necessitate resources, but it would also necessitate permission to depart from the political pressures that continually pull the agency back to the “tried and true.” This is not to question the value of the “tried and true” per se. In cultural policy the key trade-off is often framed as innovation versus long-term, dependable support. As long as these two are considered as mutually exclusive, it will prove difficult to strike out in new cultural policy directions.

In state cultural policy—particularly in arts policy, humanities policy, and heritage policy—there is considerable pressure to cement long-term relationships with selected (favored) policy targets. Succumbing to this pressure makes it more difficult to pursue more flexible policy initiatives over time. This appears to be less true in cultural policy emanating from the land-based agencies.

The resources available for state cultural policy have grown at some moments and contracted at others. A response to this uncertainty has been to solidify and reify existing programs and existing grant relationships. Often, this is accompanied by the growing expectation of continued funding on the part of successful applicants. Funding becomes more of an entitlement than a policy choice. Recognizing this pattern the Washington State Arts Commission has endeavored to fence off the portion of its support that goes into annual operating support for pre-qualified

institutions, but because of limited resources it has been unable to dedicate sufficient resources to the other parts of its operation in order to pursue flexible policy initiatives that could make a difference. (This is not uncommon across the country; many cultural funding agencies now make an implicit distinction between the policy portion of their budget, which is deployed to create new programs and pursue new initiatives, and the non-policy portion of their budget, which may once have reflected policy but now reflects the accretion of decisions and tradition in funding procedures.)

The result of all of these factors is to make new policy initiatives difficult, limiting the ability of the state's cultural agencies to follow desirable new directions without an infusion of external resources (primarily from the federal government or private foundations). Partially, this dilemma is of their own making—they could, in theory choose to make a different set of decisions—but political pressure coupled with budgetary pressure is also an important factor.

One way out of this dilemma might be the seeding of new projects and then moving on once they have taken hold. This does not seem to be an option that has been tried often enough among Washington's cultural agencies to pursue policy objectives, though the Washington State Arts Commission's encouragement of the Northwest Native Basketweavers Association is a notable exception. Certain programs of Humanities Washington are also an exception, though it is less constrained by politics because of its status as a private, nonprofit organization.

Attention to ethnicity and race is less evident in state cultural policy in Washington than might be expected given the demographics of the state.

Issues of ethnicity and race have become important in cultural policy debates throughout the United States. We were therefore surprised to find that they did

not figure prominently in the programming decisions of the cultural agencies of Washington State. This appears to be due to several factors:

- ❑ *The way that funding works in Washington.* Much of the support for cultural policy is tied up in either the capital budget or in a multitude of tax concessions. Neither of these modes of funding lends itself to implementing narrowly targeted policies.
- ❑ *The presence of the “rainbow” agencies* (the Governor's Office of Indian Affairs, the Washington State Commission on African American Affairs, the Washington State Commission on Asian Pacific American Affairs, and the Washington State Commission on Hispanic Affairs). The creation of these commissions has, arguably, raised the visibility of issues of race and ethnicity within the state, but it may also have decoupled these concerns from the mainline agencies. The commissions are relied upon to set priorities. They will act first before it becomes necessary for line agencies to act. If there is a real need, the commissions will work to place it on the agencies' agenda, rather than the agencies putting it on their own agenda.
- ❑ *The small number of ethnic and racial cultural groups receiving direct support.* Either there are fewer cultural organizations linked to racial and ethnic groups than one might expect in Washington, or they are less likely to tap into the resources at the state level. Other than Native American tribes, we saw limited evidence of ethnic and racial participation in any of the programs at the state level and little evidence of this concern in policy.

Interestingly, these issues seem more likely to show up on the state's cultural agenda when they have been put there by the influence of federal money (e.g., the portion of the National Endowment for the Arts money that goes to the Washington State Arts Commission and is dedicated to serving “underserved constituencies”)

or private money (e.g., the State Partnerships for Cultural Participation that are being funded by the Wallace-Reader's Digest Funds). It is also possible, of course, that attention is more likely to be given to these issues at the local level because of the relative proximity of these issues, or at the national level because of the degree of attention that has been focused there rather than at the state level.

On the other hand, the governor's office has issued a policy directive concerning the ethnic and racial composition of state boards and commissions. So, for example, eight of the twenty-three commissioners of the Washington State Arts Commission are currently people of color (and one is a disabled individual).

Personalities matter. In the absence of clearly articulated cultural policy, entrepreneurial individuals will win the day.

As we explored the question of policy effectiveness, it became clear time and time again that the quality of leadership played a critical role in relative success. Those who could articulate a vision and galvanize support of that vision could lead cultural policy in a new direction. Otherwise, it has been very difficult to change an entrenched system with well-vested interests. Yet, we saw a negative side to this as well. Other agencies tend to be reticent to cooperate with those led by charismatic leaders, worrying that their programs and initiatives will be swallowed up. This mitigates against cooperation and further encourages a cultural policy characterized by multiple entities

operating more or less independently from one another.

If one does not set out to design and implement an explicit policy, which is typically the case with state cultural policy and is broadly the case in Washington, one is less likely to pay attention to the question of program assessment.

It was not our intent in this project to provide definitive assessments of the effectiveness of the various programs to which we were introduced. We did, however, ask our interviewees how they assessed the effectiveness of their own programs to get a sense of the degree to which assessment was on their minds, which is, in turn, a measure of the degree of attention being paid to policy. Occasionally, we did come across some evidence of such assessment, and we discuss that evidence in later chapters. Yet, in these instances it was clear that such assessments have tended to be focused on process or outputs rather than on outcomes, and on quantity rather than on impact. This is broadly characteristic of cultural policy in the United States and is not a unique result for Washington State.

Put simply, the twin notions of outcomes and impacts are not foremost in the thoughts of the agencies we interviewed. Yet, as portions of cultural policy become more explicit, as in the regular strategic plans produced for WSAC or OAHIP or the cultural resources management plan of the parks and recreation commission, increasing attention may well be paid to this question, and rightfully so.

The Arts and State Cultural Policy

J. Mark Schuster, David Karraker, and Susan Bonaiuto

The conservation and development of the state's artistic resources is essential to the social, educational, and economic growth of the state of Washington. Artists, works of art, and artistic institutions contribute to the quality of life and the general welfare of the citizens of the state, and are an appropriate matter of concern to the government of the state of Washington.

Revised Code of Washington, §43.46.005

This statement, taken on its own, would seem at first glance to commit the State of Washington to ongoing support of the arts, artists, and arts institutions to some significant degree. However, it pales by comparison to the Legislature's stated commitment of support for activity in the heritage realm. With respect to the heritage, the Legislature's intention is far more emphatic and explicit:

...[The Legislature] finds that the promotion, enhancement, perpetuation, and use of structures, sites, districts, buildings, and objects of historic, archaeological, architectural, and cultural significance (are)...in the interest of...the general welfare of the people of the state; that the economic, cultural, and aesthetic standing of the state can be maintained and enhanced by protecting the heritage of the state....[It is] the public policy and in the public interest of the state to designate, preserve, protect, enhance, and perpetuate those structures, sites, districts, buildings, and objects which reflect outstanding elements of the state's historic, archaeological, architectural, or cultural heritage, for the inspiration and enrichment of the citizens of the state.

Revised Code of Washington, §27.34.200

What is Washington State's commitment to the arts? What is the rationale in policy for any set of actions it might take in supporting them? Nothing exists in the public record to parallel this commitment of support for heritage work as far as we have been able to ascertain. The

consequences of this relative degree of vagueness are open to argument, but considering them requires that we focus our inquiry not so much on what is explicit in articulated public policy but, rather, on the actual workings of the state's major arts policy actors—those with specific and defined arts-related purposes and aims as well as the relevant activities of agencies and programs whose purposes and activities are far broader in scope.

This chapter examines the programs of those state agencies, departments, offices, and programs whose cultural policy activities are focused on the arts. We begin by considering the two key arts policy entities: the Washington State Arts Commission and the Building for the Arts Program. The first of these is an agency defined entirely by its support for the arts, although the rationale in support of its programs has been articulated in different ways at different points in its developmental history. Its commission status gives it a degree of relative semi-autonomy within the state's policy hierarchy. In contrast, the second is one of a number of cultural programs that operate within the framework of the state's major community development agency.

We turn next to the issue of arts and education, looking specifically at the efforts of the Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction (OSPI) to include the arts among the essential learning requirements that students in Washington's public schools are expected to fulfill. The interactions between OSPI and the Washington State Arts Commission—and the role of a unique nonprofit center for the arts known as Centrum—in pursuit of these aims are described and considered. We conclude the chapter with a

discussion of several smaller offices, programs, and institutions whose work is part of the “arts policy portfolio” within state cultural policy.

The Washington State Arts Commission

To many in Washington the most important component of arts policy, if not cultural policy more generally, would be the Washington State Arts Commission (WSAC). It would certainly be the most clearly identified cultural policy actor in state government. In part, this is because *cultural policy* in the United States, to the degree it has been articulated at all, has traditionally been conceptualized more narrowly as *arts policy*. In each of the fifty states, the state arts agency is that agency most visibly associated with the artistic life of the state, and Washington is no exception.¹ The perceived importance of WSAC in Washington also derives in part from its relative longevity. Atypically among American state arts agencies, WSAC was created in 1961 *prior to the creation of the National Endowment for the Arts*.² It became the third state arts agency in the country, following Utah (1899) and New York (1960); Minnesota’s agency was also founded in 1961.³

As its name indicates, the organizational form of the state’s arts agency is a “commission.” Washington makes use of several organizational forms in its state agencies. For an agency of the state, commission status provides a fair degree of autonomy within the broad framework of state government. Its work is overseen in the first instance by a commission—that is, a group of individuals appointed to serve as a board of trustees, to which it is primarily accountable. Today, the Washington State Arts Commission has twenty-three members—nineteen citizen commissioners appointed by the governor, and four legislators appointed by the two political caucuses in the House and Senate.

WSAC’s original function was advisory. It was directed to “...meet, study, plan and

advise the governor, the various departments of the state, and the State Legislature” and to “...make such recommendations as it deems proper for the beautification and cultural development of the State of Washington.” Indeed, it would have been difficult to do much more than give advice, since the 1962 budget of the commission was exactly \$198. One of the commission’s first concerns was the lack of cultural activities in various areas of the state, and it investigated a touring program as a way to rectify this. Interestingly, in its early years it was also involved in environmental issues related to highway beautification and the designation of scenic highways, an effort that continues today though under the umbrella of the Washington State Department of Transportation.

In 1967 the agency hired its first full-time director. Legislation passed in that year authorized WSAC to “develop, promote and administer any activity, project or program within or without the state which is related to the growth and development of the arts and humanities in the state of Washington and [to] cooperate with any person or public or private agency to that end.”⁴ Four items are of particular interest here:

- The humanities were explicitly included within the purview of the agency;
- Projects or programs were specifically mentioned as a possible mode of action;
- The legislation foresaw cooperation with other agencies; and
- Programs whose focus was outside of Washington but which benefited the arts within Washington were also envisioned.

Taken together, these items suggest an agency that might choose to go well beyond the boundaries of narrowly defined regrating programs.

The Legislature appropriated approximately \$70,000 for the 1967-69 biennium. The commission also received its first

¹ There are also arts agencies in six special governmental jurisdictions—American Samoa, Puerto Rico, Guam, the Virgin Islands, the Northern Marianas, and Washington, D.C.—and they are considered the organizational equivalent of state arts agencies. They are, for example, members of the National Assembly of State Arts Agencies.

² Much of this account of the history of the Washington State Arts Commission is adapted from “History of the Washington State Arts Commission,” undated photocopy in the files of the Washington State Arts Commission.

³ Research Division, National Endowment for the Arts, *The State Arts Agencies in 1974: All Present and Accounted For* (Washington, D.C.: National Endowment for the Arts, April 1978).

⁴ Washington State Arts Commission, “The Washington State Arts Commission at Your Service,” November 1970.

basic state agency grant of \$50,000 from the National Endowment for the Arts and another \$25,000 in a special federal grant. According to the commission's own documents it was federal funds that made possible the first grants ever awarded by the commission. In 1974 the Legislature introduced a line item into the commission's appropriations for the first time, an allocation to Centrum, the nonprofit arts center at Fort Worden State Park (discussed below). 1974 was also the year in which the Art in Public Places program was created and funded through the state's capital budget. It was not until the 1975-77 biennium that the Legislature appropriated state funds—\$180,000—to be used at the commission's discretion for programs (previously state money had been used only for administration and for line items specified by the Legislature).

Reports, Reviews, and Plans

There has been something of a tradition of task force reports and strategic planning initiatives for the arts in Washington. To understand their significance, it is important to note that the thrust of these documents has been directed for the most part not so much at broader cultural issues and cultural support as at the commission itself. The ebb and flow of these reports has, to a large extent, mirrored the financial fortunes of the commission; but they have also included, from time to time, hints of a fuller policy-based discourse.

ARTSPLAN, 1978

This initiative was begun in 1977 by Governor Dixy Lee Ray, who allocated \$148,700 in discretionary funding from the Pacific Northwest Regional Commission (a federal agency serving Washington, Oregon, and Idaho) for the development of a statewide arts plan. The then existing Governor's Office of Cultural Affairs chose the Washington State Arts Alliance, a grassroots organization of arts advocates, to develop the plan. The document that emerged was based on an extensive survey of the "needs" of the field followed by a series of discussions as to how those needs might be met.⁵ Of a total of 112

recommendations in eleven broad categories,⁶ some offered concrete suggestions for state action while many others took the form of exhortations for improved behavior by one or another actor within the arts network.

The 1979 Legislature responded to this first major advocacy effort by increasing appropriations to the commission by 72 percent and beginning a process that led to many recommendations eventually finding their way into state legislation, particularly those dealing with tax exemptions and what was termed the "Art in New State Buildings Program" (ultimately implemented as the "Art in Public Places" [1/2 of 1 percent for art] program).

As regards WSAC, the *ARTSPLAN* recommendations are particularly interesting from a policy perspective. While calling for more ongoing support for a variety of recipients—as one would expect—the plan also made a number of recommendations that would have implied a change in policy objectives. The report envisioned a state arts agency whose emphases would be (1) advocacy of the arts, (2) public information, and (3) financial and technical assistance. What is noteworthy here is the relatively minor role assigned to financial assistance. The report called for the commission to become a central resource that would provide a wide variety of services to the field. It urged that the commission expand its technical assistance capabilities, perhaps in conjunction with other state agencies. It called for the creation of a centralized service that could provide conservation services to museums. It urged the implementation of an arts awareness program. It envisioned the creation of a special program to reach specific populations. More broadly, it recommended that the commission should create programs and then spin them off to the private sector whenever possible. And it proposed the creation of a regional office in eastern Washington to facilitate communication, staff assistance, and accessibility. What is significant, in our view, is that in conceptualizing the commission as a strategic planning, programming, and pol-

⁵ Arts Alliance of Washington State, *ARTSPLAN*, draft of a comprehensive plan for the arts in Washington State, 1978.

⁶ Taxes, Funding, Arts and Education, Functions of the State Arts Agency, Communications, Advocacy, the Individual Artist, Accessibility, Special Populations, Arts at the Local Level, and the Arts and Business.

icy entity, *ARTSPLAN* seemed to imagine an agency whose scope of activity would take it well beyond the re-granting of state funds.

Washington State Task Force on the Arts, 1982

Many of the budgetary gains of the commission were reversed during the early 1980s. Its appropriations were cut 58 percent while federal funds available to the commission were also being reduced. Yet, this took place during a period in which the overall state budget increased 19 percent. The Washington State Arts Alliance again responded, asking that the governor appoint a special task force to address this financial crisis for the arts. This resulted in a *Report to the Governor* in May 1982.

This report argued that the support system for the arts, which included many different sources of revenue, had “lost its balance because one of the partners—government—has dramatically cut back its funding.”⁷ It went on to challenge the presumption that corporations and individuals would fill the resulting gap. So as not to focus its recommendations solely on state government, the task force’s report made some thirty-five recommendations directed to each potential funding source—individual donors, business donors, foundations, unions, government, and arts organizations themselves. It concluded with a plea for increased expenditures on the arts in education in various forms, and it reiterated the earlier *ARTSPLAN* recommendation to amend the state constitution to allow the provision of direct support without having to distort the true nature of the relationship between government and nonprofit recipients as one characterized by the purchase of services.

With respect to its recommendations to government⁸—our focus in the current document—the task force made a number of recommendations of the sort one often sees in documents of this kind: taxes that inhibit or adversely affect support to the arts should be eliminated; the state

should budget 50 cents per capita per year for state support of the arts; when cut-backs occur, the arts should not suffer disproportionately; municipal and county governments not currently providing support to the arts should establish support programs; and the like. Most interesting, perhaps, is the very first recommendation directed specifically to government:

- A cultural policy should be developed by each level of government to set forth its commitment to the arts.

Given that the term “cultural policy” has achieved little or no currency in the United States at either the state or federal level, the fact that it appears in this context in 1982 without qualification or apology is noteworthy. The task force seems to have been seeking not just increased (or, at least, stabilized) resources; it would appear to have been asking for clarification of intent, as well. Also significant in this regard is the task force’s call for the creation of a Joint Legislative Committee on the Arts. As far as we have been able to determine, this recommendation was not acted upon, though later a Joint Legislative Arts Committee did appear for a time.

Sunset Review, 1985

During its 1983 session, the Legislature included the commission in its list of agencies to be scheduled for a “Sunset Review” in 1984-85. In anticipation of this review, the commission published a *Washington Arts Report* within which it engaged in a degree of public self-analysis. In addition to a description (and a defense) of each of the commission’s programs, the report spent considerable time discussing the role the agency might play in governmental partnerships. A major recommendation, surfaced here quite clearly, was the development of a three-year plan for community development.⁹ What is meant here by “community development” seems clearly to be “arts community development” rather than “local economic development,” which is the more common contemporary connotation of the term.

⁷ Washington State Task Force on the Arts, *Report to the Governor*, 1982, 4.

⁸ Washington State Task Force on the Arts, *Report to the Governor*, 1982, 6-7.

⁹ Washington State Arts Commission, “Washington Arts Report,” December 1984, 3.

The plan's focus was not limited to grant making. It was also programmatic. Specifically, it would:

- ❑ Establish a statewide comprehensive technical assistance program;
- ❑ Establish a statewide arts advocacy program;
- ❑ Establish a local arts agency network and information program; and
- ❑ Establish the structure for a permanent WSAC Community Development Program.

Following the Sunset Review, the commission was reauthorized for an indefinite period and the Legislature appropriated the highest level of funding the commission had received up to that time. Other changes included the conversion of contract personnel to state employees and a change in the manner in which legislators would be appointed to the commission (from a gubernatorial appointment to an appointment by the political caucuses in the Senate and House).

The Economic Condition of the Arts in Washington State, 1986

The financial arguments being made by the commission changed somewhat in 1986. A variety of local and national reports had focused attention on the profile of support of arts organizations. The concern about absolute levels of support was displaced to some degree by attention being paid to the relative proportion of arts organizations' revenues that was coming from various sources. The commission took up this cause in *The Economic Condition of the Arts in Washington State*.¹⁰ It now argued that revenues had not kept pace with the growth in the arts, and in particular it publicly regretted the fact that the percentage of income for arts organizations that was coming from government seemed to be dropping; the commission noted that while city and county funding had stayed at approximately the same percentages (4 percent and 1 percent, respectively), the federal and state proportions had both fallen (from 7 to 4 percent and from 4 to

2 percent, respectively). To address what it saw as growing financial concerns, the commission recommended that state support for the arts be restored to a level that would represent four percent of the income of arts organizations in the state. It also urged that state government consider programs intended to build cash reserves (though it recognized the constitutional difficulties such a program would have in Washington). And it recommended a search for other sources of funding outside the general fund. Finally, it recommended the establishment of a standing arts committee in the Legislature to address the lack of public policy and inconsistencies in government support.¹¹

This slim report is also notable in another regard. It may well have been the first time that a broader rationale for state support had been spelled out so clearly: The public wants the arts; the arts are for everyone; the arts are basic to education; the arts mean jobs; the arts benefit the local economy; the arts attract new businesses to the region; like tourism, the arts generate dollars; and the arts are good for trade.¹²

Investing in the Arts, 1998

By the late 1990s a series of tensions between the then executive director of the commission and the field had come to a head, culminating in the departure of the executive director. An interim executive director was named, and in December 1997 Governor Gary Locke established a Blue Ribbon Arts Task Force "to study state support of the arts and recommend strategic direction to the governor and the Washington State Arts Commission." For the most part, the work of the task force was carried out external to the commission. The task force focused on what it saw as a declining state government role. Time and inflation, it said, had eroded the state's modest funding support and diminished its leadership in promoting public access. It noted what it saw as a lack of confidence in the commission and its work, and in large part it saw its primary role as helping to restore that confidence.

¹⁰ Washington State Arts Commission, *Report: The Economic Condition of the Arts in Washington State*, September 30, 1986.

¹¹ By this time, apparently, a Joint Legislative Arts Committee had been formed, but its purview was felt to be too narrow by the authors of *The Economic Condition of the Arts in Washington State*.

¹² This may well be a stronger factor in Washington than in other states because of its focus on trade relations with the Pacific Rim.

The task force's conclusion was that "with a relatively small investment, the state [could] widen the door of public access while restoring its position as a modest, but influential, partner with local supporters."¹³ This report is another interesting study in the relationship between funding and policy direction, and at times the task force seems to have wanted to do two things at the same time: strike out in new policy directions, which might entail new modes of action on the part of the state agencies involved in arts policy, while maintaining (and increasing) support for current grant recipients.

With respect to the commission itself, the task force envisioned a dramatically altered future: "The commission should concentrate on long-range strategic planning for the arts and on promoting the arts within state government and among the citizenry of the state."¹⁴ The report called for the development of a new strategic plan for the commission (which may be what the task force meant by "strategic planning for the arts," though strategic planning for the *commission* is distinct from strategic planning for the *arts*). The report called for state appropriations to be increased by \$250,000 in the following year and by an additional \$500,000 in the next year, with any further increases to be linked to the strategic plan.

The report called for a careful evaluation of the potential for new cooperative partnerships in the administration of selected programs. This point, based on the track record of Artists Trust in administering artist fellowships, seems to have been directed in particular at the commission's technical assistance programs, which it envisioned as being conducted in a similar way. Finally, the report urged the commission to work more heavily with other state entities such as the Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction and the Department of Community, Trade and Economic Development. To this end, the task force called for the creation of an Inter-Agency Arts Committee to identify policy opportunities among the various

state agencies and to coordinate state efforts.¹⁵

Taken together, these sound like a call for more active policy-driven intervention, one that would lead the commission beyond its traditional role as a grant maker and would result in greater strategic coordination among the state agencies involved in state arts (and cultural) policy. Yet, surprisingly, the task force concluded its encouragement of cooperative partnerships by seeming to retreat to the *status quo ante* of grant making: "These arrangements would allow the commission to focus more directly on grant making."¹⁶ This would seem to suggest that the task force envisioned that strategic direction would actually emanate from agencies outside of the commission. But, having made this point, the task force report immediately veered back in the policy development direction to conclude that "[t]he strategic plan should ensure that the Washington State Arts Commission becomes an active and aggressive agency of advocacy for the arts and the role it plays—and should play—in the state." Thus, one of the fundamental tensions that any state arts council confronts was nicely embodied in the report itself.

*Planning on the Arts, 2000*¹⁷

Planning on the Arts was the commission's formal response to the Blue Ribbon Task Force's call for a new strategic plan. The 1999 Legislature had approved the \$750,000 increase to the commission's budget that had been requested, and this increase came with the requirement that a strategic plan be prepared and presented to the governor by June 30, 2000.

To develop this plan, the commission launched an unprecedented outreach effort to hear the many voices of the arts community throughout the state. More than twenty meetings were held, an on-line forum was created, and a dedicated phone line was set up. Well over one thousand individuals took advantage of the opportunity to voice their views.

¹³ Governor's Blue Ribbon Arts Task Force, *Investing in the Arts: Recommendations to Governor Locke on State Support for the Arts*, August 1998.

¹⁴ Governor's Blue Ribbon Arts Task Force, *Investing in the Arts*, 7.

¹⁵ Apparently, it would have fallen to the Washington State Arts Commission to promote and staff this initiative, which it has chosen not to do because of the perceived cost in staff time.

¹⁶ Governor's Blue Ribbon Arts Task Force, *Investing in the Arts*, 8.

¹⁷ Washington State Arts Commission, *Planning on the Arts: Washington State Arts Commission's Strategic Plan*, submitted to Governor Gary Locke, June 2000; publicly distributed as Washington State Arts Commission, *The Arts Work for Washington*, June 2000.

The resulting plan, which currently informs the work of the commission, is structured around four strategic themes:¹⁸

- ❑ Communities thrive when the arts are integrated into civic life.
- ❑ Connections enhance effectiveness and empower individuals and organizations.
- ❑ Education in and through the arts is integral to the lives of all Washington residents.
- ❑ Promotion expands the power of the arts.

Each of these themes is divided into strategies—thirty-two are spelled out—and these strategies are to be implemented through a series of more than seventy-five specific action steps.¹⁹ In its attention to detail, this document is much more of a guide to specific action steps than any of the earlier plans discussed above.

Implementation of the plan would depend on the infusion of increased resources (e.g., raising the minimum general operating grant that the commission awards to \$10,000 and then to \$15,000, and increasing funding for artists' fellowships and project grants from \$100,000 per biennium to \$170,000). But themes other than simply increasing resources that are passed through the commission's grant-making programs make an appearance as well, some for the first time. The question of evaluation is raised with the intent that the agency's funding programs and guidelines would be evaluated and restructured as necessary. Cooperation and partnerships continue to be a strong theme, with many alliances with other state agencies and nonprofit partners proposed. The plan calls for the development of a state-wide strategic initiative each biennium to address a particular cultural issue at the local level. Each of these more policy-driven initiatives would be a major departure for the commission, which had become accustomed to operating from biennium to biennium within a set of well-defined program boxes. A number of the proposed actions deal with the geo-

graphic distribution of the commission's programs across the state.

This most recent plan was repeatedly mentioned during our interviews across the state, often with regard to its emphasis on participation from the field. A representative comment:

I think WSAC is a lot more effective now.... The long range planning process was successful—not so much because of the planning document but more because of the public interest that got generated by the planning process. They're a lot leaner and meaner than they used to be.

In a word, the impression of this respondent, and many others, is that WSAC is now more focused.



Each of these documents, whether they are plans, strategies, or exhortations, responded to the politics of the moment in which it was conceived and the time during which it was developed. A recurring theme, of course, is the evolution of a set of arguments to convince the Legislature (and, indeed, the citizens of Washington) to invest more in the arts. Thus, it is not surprising that each one, in its turn, called for increased resources.

But several other key aspects of these documents need to be kept in mind. First, each of these documents, in its own way, seeks to expand the work of the commission in directions that would be far more responsive to policy initiatives. There is a constant push throughout toward the identification of policy priorities and the creation of programs to pursue these priorities. These priorities are typically not presented as merely expanding the currently existing programs of the commission; they are staking out new directions. Indeed, as early as 1982 the phrase "cultural policy" appeared in the hope that the various levels of government would develop their own cultural policies.

Yet the directions that are advanced recur in plan after plan, suggesting that there is either a very strong internal desire or a very strong external pressure (or both!) to stick with familiar programs and to con-

¹⁸ Washington State Arts Commission, *Planning on the Arts*, 7.

¹⁹ Washington State Arts Commission, *Planning on the Arts*, 7-15.

tinue to focus on interacting with familiar recipients. In theory, the commission could decide to deploy its current resources in a variety of policy-informed directions, but the results of these plans suggest that it tends not to make this choice. Thus, new policy direction becomes the rationale for increased resources, but even when those resources become available it is very tempting to retreat to the known, to become captured, as Frank Hodsoll, former chairman of the National Endowment for the Arts, has said, by “history plus or minus.”

Two other related attributes of these documents are worth noting: (1) they are all focused on the arts and are not construed more broadly as “cultural,” and (2) they focus almost entirely on the Washington State Arts Commission and not on its sister agencies. In many ways, this narrow attention is not surprising—particularly if we construe these documents as being primarily about the fortunes of the commission rather than as being about the health of the arts (or culture) in Washington. Yet, reference is continually made to increased cooperation, whether at the legislative level (through calls for joint legislative committees) or at the agency level (through calls for specific partnerships or for the creation of an Inter-Agency Arts Committee). Nonetheless, there seems to be little inclination to increase the boundary of attention to encompass all the cultural activities of the state and the agencies engaged in promoting or supporting them. As we point out elsewhere in this report, practice in other states is beginning to depart from this model of a high degree of separation toward a much greater degree of collaboration. A more cynical interpretation of these reports might also be advanced, however: perhaps they are less targeted toward enhancing the development of cultural policy than they are toward giving the appearance of reform while making allowance for, or even facilitating, budget cuts.

These observations notwithstanding, *Planning on the Arts*, popularly promoted through a set of meetings and brochures

as *The Arts Work for Washington*, is the current point of reference for the Washington State Arts Commission, and many of the individuals whom we interviewed voiced the view that it has had more than a salutary affect on the operations of the commission. Now, as choices are being made, there is always the question, “Is this in line with what we set out in the strategic plan?” This, of course, is what plans are for. The commission revised the plan in November 2001, trimming back some of its goals, noting that some actions had been completed, and adding new ones. The updated plan is available on the commission’s website.

Budget

In fiscal year 2001 the legislative appropriation for the Washington State Arts Commission was \$2,628,293.²⁰ By FY 2002 it had grown to \$2,896,153.²¹ This appropriation ranked Washington twenty-eighth out of the arts councils in the fifty states and the six special jurisdictions.²² Viewed in this way, Washington is somewhere in the middle of the pack. But a different picture emerges when you adjust for the relative size of the states. Washington ranked forty-third out of the fifty states in terms of legislative appropriation per capita. When all sources of revenue to the state arts council were included, it ranked forty-second. The average per capita appropriation in the United States (including special jurisdictions) was \$1.47 for fiscal year 2002, with a maximum of \$5.26 in Hawaii and a minimum of \$0.28 in Texas. Washington’s appropriation per capita—\$0.49—was one-third of the national average.

State arts agencies derive revenues from sources other than legislative appropriations. Some state arts agencies receive and administer public art funds—this is a major component of the total revenue of the Washington State Arts Commission; some receive dedicated license plate revenues or interest from state cultural endowments; some receive dedicated portions of the proceeds of state lotteries. All state arts agencies receive grants from

²⁰ Most of the data in this section are taken from National Assembly of State Arts Agencies, “Legislative Appropriations Annual Survey: Fiscal Year 2002,” February 2002.

²¹ The proportion of this amount that came from the state’s general fund was \$2,873,000; the difference was in compensation adjustments. The amount for fiscal year 2003 was originally set at \$2,874,000 at the beginning of the 2001-2003 biennium, but was trimmed to \$2,788,000 as part of the governor’s budget cutting measures in early 2002, a cut of only three percent.

²² American Samoa, the District of Columbia, Guam, the Northern Marianas, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands.

**Table III.1: Washington State Arts Commission
2001-2003 Biennium Budget Detail by Revenue Source**

Source	Fiscal Year 2002		Fiscal Year 2003 ^c	
	Amount	Percentage	Amount	Percentage
State Government	\$4,345,391	87.1%	\$4,432,157	85.0%
State—General Fund	\$2,873,000	57.6%	\$2,874,000	55.1%
State—Compensation Adjustment	\$23,153	0.5%	\$33,560	0.6%
State—Capital Projects	\$1,449,238	29.0%	\$1,524,597	29.2%
Federal Government	\$568,500	11.4%	\$637,300	12.2%
Basic State Grant ^a	\$394,100	7.9%	\$397,400	7.6%
Arts Education ^a	\$39,400	0.8%	\$39,100	0.7%
Underserved Communities ^a	\$74,900	1.5%	\$76,800	1.5%
Challenge America ^a	\$40,000	0.8%	\$90,000	1.7%
Folks Arts Heritage Corridor Tours ^b	\$20,100	0.4%	\$34,000	0.7%
Private/Other	\$75,615	1.5%	\$145,500	2.8%
Strategic Planning	\$16,615	0.3%	0	0.0%
Wallace-Reader's Digest Funds Grant	\$59,000	1.2%	\$145,500	2.8%
Total Revenue	\$4,989,506	100.0%	\$5,214,957	100.0%

Source: Washington State Arts Commission

Notes: ^a Grant from the National Endowment for the Arts.

^b This program has been funded in various years with grants from the United States Department of Transportation and the United States Forest Service in addition to allocations from the State of Washington.

^c The state budget figures for fiscal year 2003 are the ones that were included in the 2001-2003 biennial budget when the Legislature first passed it. Some of these budgetary amounts were decreased in 2002 as part of budget cuts in the supplemental budget.

the National Endowment for the Arts, though the variation across state arts agencies is relatively slight. Finally, state arts agencies might, and often do, receive other non-state funding. This can include—singly and in various combinations—corporate support, foundation support, federal funds from agencies other than the National Endowment for the Arts, and earned revenue. A look at the combined revenues of the commission as evidenced in the 2001-2003 biennial budget makes this quite clear (Table III.1).

For fiscal year 2002, total combined revenues for the Washington State Arts Commission were just shy of \$5 million. Roughly 30 percent of the total amount came from the state's capital budget; this amount was the result of the 1/2 of 1 percent provision for the purchase of artworks. Over one-tenth of total revenues came from the federal government—mostly the National Endowment for the Arts—but if automatic expenditures for public artworks off of the capital budget are left out of the calculation, the federal

share in the operating expenses of the commission rises to 16 percent. The state's general budget provides well over half of the revenues of the commission, and if the allocation to public artworks is set aside, that percentage rises to over 80 percent. In some ways, the biggest difference between fiscal year 2002 and the projected budget for fiscal year 2003 is the fact that the Wallace-Reader's Digest Funds participation initiative would have kicked in more fully by that time, bringing increased private sources of revenue into the mix.

The budget profile for a state arts agency undoubtedly varies from state to state for a variety of reasons. Nonetheless, a comparison between the Washington State Arts Commission and national averages is instructive (Table III.2).

Much of Washington's variation from the national averages can be explained by the fact that in Washington the Art in Public Places program is run through the arts commission with money appropriated through the capital budget rather than the

**Table III.2: Profile of Total Revenues of State Arts Agencies—
Washington State Arts Commission Compared to National Averages, 2002**

	Washington State Arts Commission (percent)	National Average (percent)
Legislative Appropriations	56.8%	87.2%
Other State Funds to the State Arts Agency	28.5%	5.1%
NEA Grants	11.1%	6.3%
Other Non-State Funding	3.6%	1.4%

Source: National Assembly of State Arts Agencies, "Legislative Appropriations Annual Survey: Fiscal Year 2002," February 2002, 7.

Note: The relative percentages in this table differ slightly from those in Table III.1 because of minor definitional and calculation differences.

general (operating) budget of the state. Other states may not have public art (Percent for Art) programs, or they may not administer them through the state arts agency.

One factor that affects many state arts agencies—but which does not appear to affect the Washington State Arts Commission—is the use of line items. Half of the state arts agencies have line items that are passed through their budgets directly to another agency or organization. (The California Arts Commission has had some forty-two line items predetermined within its budget.) When Centrum (discussed below) was first brought within the commission's budget, it was as a specific line item; more recently, while it still receives an annual appropriation from the commission, the amount is no longer specified by the Legislature in this manner.

One should be careful not to focus too narrowly, however. The concern about line items has been voiced in two forms: a more specific concern about constraining a state arts agency through placing line items within its budget, and a more general concern about increasing the influence of the Legislature on state cultural policy through the use of line items (which may be marshaled outside of the arts agency's budget). In Washington the Legislature has not made it a practice of adding line items to the commission's budget, though, as we will see, it does use line items for arts and culture elsewhere in its budgets, most notably—and most creatively—in the Building for the Arts program and the Capital Projects Fund

for Washington's Heritage, both discussed elsewhere in this report.

How are revenues attached to specific programmatic initiatives? Disaggregating the budget of the Washington State Arts Commission by source of revenue (Table III.3) reveals several patterns worth mentioning.

Focusing first on aggregate figures:

- General agency administration, Art in Public Places, and Grants to Organizations each account for approximately one-quarter of the commission's expenditures. But the agency has very little control over the expenditure in one of these programs, the Art in Public Places program, which is, for the most part, the automatic result of activity in the state's capital budget.

The only "discretionary" portion here is the small amount that the commission is able to allocate from operating funds each year for maintenance of the State Art Collection. In fiscal year 2002, \$34,641 was budgeted for maintenance.

- From a programmatic perspective, nearly 70 percent of total revenues is dedicated to program expenditures in Art in Public Places, Arts in Education, and the Awards Program. (Note that this percentage does not include administrative costs attributable to the administration of these programs.)
- Institutional Support Grants (to a limited group of the largest arts organizations) and Community Consortium Grants under the Arts in

Table III.3: Washington State Arts Commission—Allocation of Revenues to Program Expenditure Categories, Fiscal Year 2002

Program Expenditure Category	Total	Column %	State Operating Budget	Row %	State Capital Budget	Row %	Federal Government	Row %	Private/Other Sources	Row %
Total Agency Administration	\$1,363,530	27.3%	\$1,096,583	80.4%	\$211,022	15.5%	\$5,625	0.4%	\$50,300	3.7%
General Agency Administration	\$508,536	10.2%	\$508,536	100.0%	\$0	0.0%	\$0	0.0%	\$0	0.0%
Commissioners' Expenses	\$21,524	0.4%	\$21,524	100.0%	\$0	0.0%	\$0	0.0%	\$0	0.0%
Program Services and Program Administration	\$833,470	16.7%	\$566,523	68.0%	\$211,022	25.3%	\$5,625	0.7%	\$50,300	6.0%
Art in Public Places Total	\$1,272,857	25.5%	\$34,641	2.7%	\$1,238,216	97.3%	\$0	0.0%	\$0	0.0%
Art in Public Places	\$1,238,216	24.8%	\$0	0.0%	\$1,238,216	100.0%	\$0	0.0%	\$0	0.0%
Artwork Maintenance	\$34,641	0.7%	\$34,641	100.0%	\$0	0.0%	\$0	0.0%	\$0	0.0%
Arts in Education	\$764,121	15.3%	\$707,346	92.6%	\$0	0.0%	\$56,775	7.4%	\$0	0.0%
Community Consortium Grants	\$569,351	11.4%	\$535,576	94.1%	\$0	0.0%	\$33,775	5.9%	\$0	0.0%
Residencies	\$70,100	1.4%	\$70,100	100.0%	\$0	0.0%	\$0	0.0%	\$0	0.0%
Arts Curriculum Grants	\$86,720	1.7%	\$86,720	100.0%	\$0	0.0%	\$0	0.0%	\$0	0.0%
Rural Residencies	\$37,950	0.8%	\$14,950	39.4%	\$0	0.0%	\$23,000	60.6%	\$0	0.0%
Awards Program (Grants to Organizations)	\$1,425,220	28.6%	\$983,820	69.0%	\$0	0.0%	\$441,400	31.0%	\$0	0.0%
Institutional Support	\$633,000	12.7%	\$303,685	48.0%	\$0	0.0%	\$329,315	52.0%	\$0	0.0%
Organizational Support	\$429,862	8.6%	\$410,462	95.5%	\$0	0.0%	\$19,400	4.5%	\$0	0.0%
Project Support	\$129,500	2.6%	\$97,600	75.4%	\$0	0.0%	\$31,900	24.6%	\$0	0.0%
Cooperative Partnerships	\$232,858	4.7%	\$172,073	73.9%	\$0	0.0%	\$60,785	26.1%	\$0	0.0%
Community Development	\$17,100	0.3%	\$12,500	73.1%	\$0	0.0%	\$4,600	26.9%	\$0	0.0%
Travel Assistance	\$12,100	0.2%	\$7,500	62.0%	\$0	0.0%	\$4,600	38.0%	\$0	0.0%
Community Development Projects	\$5,000	0.1%	\$5,000	100.0%	\$0	0.0%	\$0	0.0%	\$0	0.0%
Folk Arts	\$105,100	2.1%	\$45,000	42.8%	\$0	0.0%	\$60,100	57.2%	\$0	0.0%
Master Apprenticeships	\$30,000	0.6%	\$0	0.0%	\$0	0.0%	\$30,000	100.0%	\$0	0.0%
Folk Arts Residencies	\$5,000	0.1%	\$5,000	100.0%	\$0	0.0%	\$0	0.0%	\$0	0.0%
Fellowships	\$10,000	0.2%	\$0	0.0%	\$0	0.0%	\$10,000	100.0%	\$0	0.0%
Heritage Tours	\$45,100	0.9%	\$25,000	55.4%	\$0	0.0%	\$20,100	44.6%	\$0	0.0%
Folk Arts Projects	\$15,000	0.3%	\$15,000	100.0%	\$0	0.0%	\$0	0.0%	\$0	0.0%
Miscellaneous	\$41,578	0.8%	\$16,263	39.1%	\$0	0.0%	\$0	0.0%	\$25,315	60.9%
Strategic Planning	\$23,378	0.5%	\$6,763	28.9%	\$0	0.0%	\$0	0.0%	\$16,615	71.1%
Governor's Arts and Heritage Ceremony	\$6,500	0.1%	\$6,500	100.0%	\$0	0.0%	\$0	0.0%	\$0	0.0%
Wallace-Reader's Digest Funds Initiative	\$8,700	0.2%	\$0	0.0%	\$0	0.0%	\$0	0.0%	\$8,700	100.0%
Miscellaneous Contracts and Awards	\$3,000	0.1%	\$3,000	100.0%	\$0	0.0%	\$0	0.0%	\$0	0.0%
Total Revenues	\$4,989,506	100.0%	\$2,896,153	58.0%	\$1,449,238	29.0%	\$568,500	11.4%	\$75,615	1.5%

Education program are the two largest program categories over which the commission has direct influence. Each of these programs re-grants approximately one-eighth of the commission's total revenues. Organizational Support Grants (to smaller arts organizations) are the next largest category, distributing slightly more than 8 percent of the commission's total revenues.

A consideration of the relationship between program expenditures and revenue sources is also revealing:

- ❑ Many program categories are completely reliant on the state's operating budget, which is not surprising given that it is the single largest source of revenue for the commission, but certain programs are heavily reliant on other sources.
- ❑ As expected, the purchase of artworks under the Art in Public Places program is entirely covered by the state capital budget. Because the commission is allowed to expend up to 15 percent of the amount thrown off by the capital budget for administrative costs related to administering the Art in Public Places program, a substantial portion of agency administration (15.5 percent of the total, 25.3 percent of program administration) is covered by the capital budget.
- ❑ The federal government is a major source of revenue for a number of programs. Partly, this is because of the restricted nature of the federal programs providing these revenues: Master Apprenticeships (100 percent), Fellowships (100 percent), and Heritage Cultural Tours (44.6 percent) in the Folk Arts Program; Rural Residencies (60.6 percent) in the Arts in Education program; and Project Support (24.6 percent) in the Awards Program. Other awards programs are funded quite substantially from the unrestricted basic state grant through the National Endowment for the Arts: Institutional Support Grants (52 percent) and Cooperative Partnerships

(90 percent of the 26.1 percent provided by the federal agency).

What is particularly interesting about these allocations of federal money is that many of them are dedicated to very particular situations existing in Washington—rural constituencies, underserved constituencies, indigenous folk artists—situations that one might expect the state to be targeting *with its resources*. But the commission, in order to maximize its revenues, has to make a surprising choice: to pursue federal monies for clearly local priorities.

- ❑ Finally, with respect to non-governmental sources of revenue, two separate initiatives are in evidence. Private support assisted in the printing and distribution of the commission's new strategic plan, picking up more than 70 percent of the cost. And the participation initiative funded by the Wallace-Reader's Digest Funds shows up in both program expenditures (\$8,700) and in general agency administration (\$50,300).

The allocation of the separate revenue streams to the commission's programs is the result of several factors. Some of the revenue streams are dedicated to particular projects, e.g., the grant from the Wallace-Reader's Digest Funds or the money for the Art in Public Places program. Some are restricted to particular types of programs—NEA money outside the basic state grant, for example. Some are allocated in a particular way because of restrictions on other sources of revenue—state money can only be used to contract for goods or services in Washington, and therefore it is federal money that is used to fund the master apprenticeships and fellowships in the Folk Arts Program. Finally, to the extent possible, the commission attempts to ally programs with single revenue sources so it is relatively easy to say, "This is what your money has been supporting."

**Table III.4: Washington State Arts Commission—Grant Program Application and Funding Statistics
Fiscal Year 1999—Fiscal Year 2001**

Grant Program	Number of Applications	Number of Grants Funded	Percentage Funded	Total Grants Funded	Average Grant Amount
Fiscal Year 1999					
Awards Program (Grants to Organizations)	217	179	82.5%	\$1,045,524	\$5,841
Arts in Education	87	74	85.1%	\$539,465	\$7,290
Community Arts Development Program	29	22	75.9%	\$35,658	\$1,621
Folk Arts Program	24	16	66.7%	\$64,299	\$4,019
Total	357	291	81.5%	\$1,684,946	\$18,771
Fiscal Year 2000					
Awards Program (Grants to Organizations)	224	200	89.3%	\$1,192,548	\$5,963
Arts in Education	99	50	50.5%	\$594,517	\$11,890
Community Arts Development Program	47	40	85.1%	\$61,370	\$1,534
Folk Arts Program	38	20	52.6%	\$46,000	\$2,300
Total	408	310	76.0%	\$1,894,435	\$21,687
Fiscal Year 2001					
Awards Program (Grants to Organizations)	228	188	82.5%	\$1,230,220	\$6,544
Arts in Education	73	66	90.4%	\$695,108	\$10,532
Community Arts Development Program	23	21	91.3%	\$14,165	\$675
Folk Arts Program	45	16	35.6%	\$80,000	\$5,000
Total	369	291	78.9%	\$2,019,493	\$22,751

Source: Washington State Arts Commission analysis.

Five + One Programs

As we have seen, the work of WSAC is structured into five programs, with a sixth under development. Two of these programs, the Awards Program and Arts in Education, are primarily grant-making programs. The Wallace-Reader's Digest Arts Participation Initiative, funded by the Wallace-Reader's Digest Funds and currently being implemented, will also be primarily a grant-making program. Two smaller programs, the Community Arts Development Program and the Folk Arts Program, mix grant making with the direct involvement of WSAC staff in projects. The sixth program, Art in Public Places, has a unique set of characteristics.

We turn first to the existing grant-making programs (Table III.4). On an annual basis, the commission makes approximately 300 grants. Most of these are in the Awards Program (Grants to Organizations); 60-65 percent of the total grants funded were in this category in each of three recent years. Generally speaking, a rather high percentage of applications succeed—in many

categories more than four out of five.

But one has to be careful not to read too much into these statistics. For example, the Folk Arts Program finds that it is quite difficult to get artists from diverse ethnic and racial communities to apply for these grants; it has to encourage applications while trying to be careful that the rejection rate does not rise too high because experience shows that unsuccessful applicants will not apply a second time. In other words, the application rate is managed by commission staff to encourage both current and future applications.

Within each of these programs there can be considerable variation in grant size, a variation that is hidden by focusing on averages. This is particularly the case within the Awards Program where Institutional Support Grants and Cooperative Partnership Grants are quite large, whereas Project Support Grants are quite small. Many of the grants made by the commission are quite small, and we heard more than a few comments about the relationship between the work involved in applying and the money that is likely to be

available. Yet, organizations in the rural parts of the state felt that even a small grant was important in “getting them on the map.” An imprimatur from Olympia, even one with limited resources, was seen as valuable.

The work of the commission can only be understood through the work of its individual programs, and we now turn to a discussion of each of them in turn.

The Awards Program (Grants to Organizations)

The Awards Program (Grants to Organizations) is the primary grant-making division of the commission. It provides financial support to Washington’s non-profit arts organizations through operating or project grants in four different categories: Institutional Support, Organizational Support, Project Support, and Cooperative Partnerships.

Institutional Support. The Institutional Support program component provides ongoing, unrestricted operating support to the more major institutions. Nonprofit arts organizations go through a qualification process to determine whether they will be allowed to participate. To be considered, an institution has to have an annual budget of over \$500,000 and has to be paying its artists and managers. Other criteria may also be applied. Once an institution qualifies, it is guaranteed to automatically receive a grant on an annual basis. Occasionally, an open competition is announced, which may lead to more organizations being qualified. Each competition is opened at the discretion of the commission, and a new competition is held only when it is felt that sufficient new money is available to avoid dilution of the money expected by previously qualified organizations.

Six new organizations were recently qualified, marking the first time in eight years that a new competition had been held. In this competition, some institutions were not approved because they were not able to provide audits. A theater company was finally approved after three applications; previously it had paid its actors for performances but not for rehearsals. Another

theater company met the criteria but was not approved because, even though it was moving “in a WSAC direction,” its outreach was not deemed good enough. A chorus was not approved because it does not pay its chorus members, only its soloists. In years in which competition for Institutional Support is opened up, the panel that reviews applications has one commissioner and two outside members. In other years, the commissioners themselves review the grants that will be made. The commission has, on occasion, temporarily removed organizations from the program. They are typically given a grace period within which they can re-qualify. But generally those who drop out go out of business. Thirty-three organizations are now eligible for, and are guaranteed support through, the program.

The amount each qualified organization receives each year is determined by a formula. First, each organization submits an audit. Program staff then calculate the organization’s “actual operating income” (as defined by WSAC criteria). Each qualifying organization is guaranteed a base amount. Until recently, this base amount had been \$10,000, but it is being decreased because of state budget cuts. The remainder of the program’s budget—once the base amounts have been subtracted—is then distributed to each qualifying organization according to its relative percentage of the total actual operating income of all of the qualifying organizations. In recent years, individual grants have ranged from \$10,000 to \$50,000. Thus, this is a program that rewards budget size (with a floor established by the base amount). Once an organization is qualified its grant is more or less automatic, and the program can be run with a minimum of administrative overhead.

Even though grants under the Institutional Support category are for ongoing operating support, because of the state constitution’s prohibition against grants, they must be set up in the form of contracts between the organization and the commission. Typically the agreement with the recipient organization specifies that the

service that is being provided is access to the public at a reduced (lower than would otherwise obtain) price.

The budget for Institutional Support is currently upwards of \$600,000. As with many WSAC programs, this one is funded out of a combination of state (tax revenue) money and federal money. For fiscal year 2002 the available funds included \$329,315 from the basic federal grant (from NEA) and \$303,685 from the state operating budget for a total of \$633,000. Here the commission wants to be able to demonstrate to both the state and the federal government that it is using taxpayer dollars for top-of-the-line arts organizations. Commission staff believe that this is their program with the widest impact, but this impact is simply based on aggregating the reported annual attendance figures for the qualified organizations. The underlying assumption of this program seems to be that WSAC is filling a budget gap, allowing recipient organizations to keep prices down, thereby providing more access.

The Institutional Support component of the Awards Program has several important properties that bear notice. First, it places a fence around support for the major institutions in the state. Separating off support for major institutions in this way, and making it more or less automatic once the organization has been qualified for the program, recognizes one of the main political realities that is confronted by all state arts agencies: the relative influence of the large institutions. One might argue that the larger, better-known institutions should be able to function with less of a draw on state support, but they will always have the clout and reputation to get back to the table, and they provide powerful support for the commission itself at budget time.

The second important property is that it employs a formula for dispensing grants. "Formula funding" has often been criticized when attempts have been made to use it in cultural funding. However, formula funding has been adopted in many states as an efficient and relatively

inexpensive way of dispensing a portion of the support the state arts agency provides. Some states use it more than others do, but it is nevertheless quite common. One might argue that the use of a formula undermines a policy perspective in which each decision is made with reference to current policy, but the counterargument to this is that the formula, itself, is the embodiment of the policy.

The value of providing ongoing operating support through a formula is probably underestimated in cultural policy because it is so poorly documented. If grant recipients were asked to describe the specific uses of funds received in this way in terms of increased financial stability, improved artistic product, reaching new participants, sustaining jobs, or providing other benefits, the value of this form of support could be compared to other forms of support and better articulated.

The use of a formula can, however, become ingrained, with the resultant funds being thought of as an entitlement rather than as an agreement between the state and the organization to continue to operate in the public interest. This is one reason the commission is so careful about how often it opens up this category to new entrants. But the fact remains: The use of formulas may make it more difficult to steer a state arts agency in the direction of desirable policy initiatives.²³

Organizational Support. The second prong of the Awards Program is Organizational Support. This program component also provides operating funds, but to organizations that are smaller than those qualifying for Institutional Support. To qualify, an organization must either be a nonprofit organization incorporated in Washington or a government agency, have a minimum annual cash income of at least \$75,000, and have a minimum three-year history of offering arts program to the public in Washington with at least one part-time paid staff member or a five-year history of arts programming for all-volunteer applicants. A wide variety of organizations can (and do) apply.

²³ Jonathan Katz, chief executive officer of the National Assembly of State Arts Agencies, makes the point that in some states the recipients of ongoing operational support through a formula mechanism provide significant political support for the agency's budget, support that may ultimately determine whether additional funds for innovation become available.

The program is competitive on a biennial basis (corresponding to the state budget cycle). A five-person panel, including one commissioner, reviews grant applications. The panelists are knowledgeable individuals from the arts community who have no conflict of interest with respect to the applications under consideration. Panelists need to be able to analyze a budget, and they are instructed to make their recommendations based on overall attendance, artistic merit, and financial soundness.

Recently, budgets for Organizational Support have been approximately \$400,000 per year for a total of \$800,000 each biennial budget cycle. In fiscal year 2002 the budget included \$19,400 in federal money dedicated to underserved populations and \$410,462 from the state's operating budget. During the first year of each biennial grant the recipient receives a portion of the roughly \$400,000 that is available; the remainder is paid during the second year, assuming the budget level is maintained. Organizational Support Grants range from \$3,000 to \$7,500. There is a matching requirement, but organizations are simply allowed to report their total budgets, net of state aid, as their match. The next to last time this program was opened 114 applications were submitted and ninety received funding.

According to program staff, Organizational Support reaches into more corners of the state and touches more diverse populations than any of the other grant programs. Interestingly, this seems to be true even in comparison to Project Support (see below), which one might expect to be disbursed even more widely. Because the program is basically an operating support program, it is not proactive in the sense of pursuing any particular policy initiative.

Although the evidence is unclear, program staff believe that artistic merit, public benefit, and quality management are being rewarded. One attribute of this program that recipient organizations particularly like is the fact that the biennial funding pattern means that they only have to apply every other year.

This program component is fairly typical for arts support agencies in the United States—a competitive process with applications assessed by a panel—though more often than not the process is used for project support rather than for ongoing operating support. It is worth noting that members of the commission sit on each of the panels, which bring the two steps of the approval process—panel recommendations and commission approval—into closer contact with one another. One would expect this to minimize any potential conflict between the views of the panels and the views of the commissioners. Indeed, Kris Tucker pointed out that the panel process is expected to be appropriate, professional, and credible; in her four years as executive director the commission has not found it necessary to overturn or revise a panel's recommendation.

Project Support. The third Awards Program component, Project Support, is designed to provide project support with a quick turnaround. There are two competitions and two deadlines (March and October) each year. The same types of organizations can apply as can apply for the other awards programs, but WSAC receives few applications from government agencies or government organizations. Project Support might, for example, fund a chamber of commerce if it is the only organization with any history of arts programming in a particular community. One can apply through a fiscal agent—an organizational structure through which the grant will be funneled. This is the only program category in which this is allowed; this is not atypical for small grant programs.

Within the Project Support category, grants are made for identified components of a project, usually artistic fees, facility fees, guest artist fees, or advertising. The application specifies the project and the component for which funding is being sought. Any component that is funded is reimbursable as a specific expense.

Unlike the commission's more major grant programs, the grant review decisions in this component are made by a committee of staff members, with the final decision

being made by the executive director. Thus, the commissioners are not directly involved. Project Support Grants generally range from \$1,000 to \$4,000; most are at the lower end and some have gone as low as \$500 to \$750. The budget for this program is approximately \$200,000 per biennium. The fiscal 2002 budget, for example, was \$129,500—\$11,900 from federal money targeted to underserved constituencies, \$20,000 from a federal challenge grant, and \$97,600 from the state's operating budget; the fiscal 2003 budget was \$82,000, including \$68,700 from the state's operating budget and \$13,300 in federal monies.

Between forty and sixty applications are reviewed after each deadline; thus, some 100-120 applications are received each year. Approximately eighty of them are funded. The commission has been able to increase this program in size over time, but it has not been able to keep up with, for example, the statewide increase in population, which has gone from 3.1 million in 1970 to nearly 6 million today.

The staff feel that the available funding is insufficient to meet the demand for Project Support Grants, but the commission is also able to use this fact to a policy advantage; it helps train applicants on how to develop and present their proposals, resulting in better proposals. Seen in this way, limited resources may have a salutary affect on the quality of proposals ultimately funded.

The Project Support component receives applications from a wide variety of groups—newly formed groups, tiny groups, rural groups, and groups with ethnic or racial diversity—and, in a way, this program serves as a feeder program toward higher levels of support. The implicit goal is for organizations to build up to Organizational Support and perhaps even to Institutional Support.

When asked if the commission monitors the success of funded projects, the staff said, "Yes, the commission reads the final reports and informs grantees when they are disappointed with the results."

Cooperative Partnerships. The final component in the Awards Program falls under the rubric of "Cooperative Partnerships." These allocations are not exactly grants in the sense of the three components described above. Rather, they fund organizations that provide services to and on behalf of the commission, or they pay for membership dues that the commission owes to networks of which it is a part. Thus, this component operates very differently from the other grant categories. Here the commission identifies unmet needs that it feels can be met only on a statewide or regional basis. It then approaches a partner organization to provide these services. It is not a competitive grant process; once funded, organizations tend to stay in this program for many years providing the services for which the commission has contracted. One staff member made a telling comment: "This is the only commission program that allows the commission to spend money on its own identified statewide priorities." This more or less amounts to saying that this is the only program under which the commission can actually pursue a policy of its own devising. The annual budget for Cooperative Partnerships has been slightly less than \$250,000.

In recent years six recipients have typically received funds from this component, four of the first type (providing services in line with policy) and two of the second (membership dues). The first four are examples of the commission using "policy surrogates" to implement policy on its behalf: Artist Trust, Arts Northwest, the Arts Network of Washington State, and Centrum. Each is described below.

Artist Trust is an independent nonprofit organization that provides technical assistance, advocacy, and fellowship support to individual artists. WSAC had offered artists' fellowships of its own but realized that its program was virtually identical to Artist Trust's. Artists had to fill out two different applications for the parallel programs. Thus it made sense to combine the two programs, allowing Artist Trust to award and administer the

WSAC fellowships to individual artists. Today Artist Trust awards six \$6,000 WSAC fellowships (WSAC provides some administrative costs on top of this) and fifteen \$6,000 fellowships that are funded from other sources. The WSAC fellowships are identified as such and funded through WSAC's Cooperative Partnerships. In most respects the WSAC fellowship recipients are quite similar to the other recipients; however, Artist Trust is careful to select a geographically diverse group of recipients for the WSAC awards. In exchange for public funding, Artist Trust requires a public "meet the artist" element as part of the fellowship. Out of each \$6,000 fellowship, \$500 is withheld until the "meet the artist" event is held; regrettably, some artists forfeit this amount. The work of those artists who receive WSAC fellowships is presented annually to the commissioners. The fellowship program is run on an alternating year rotation: in one year applications in dance, design, theater, and visual arts are considered; in the next year applications in craft, literature, media, and music are considered. The panels are discipline specific and include three artists and/or arts professionals.

Artist Trust also awards Grants for Artists Projects ("GAP funding"). These grants are for up to \$1,400, though an applicant can request less. In 2002 Artist Trust gave fifty-six GAP grants (out of a total of 643 applications) totaling \$73,000. In this program, if the panel selects the applicant to be funded, the panel must fund at the level requested. These grants are to begin, further, or complete a specific work or body of work. This can be interpreted loosely. These grants have, for example, been used to pay for childcare, to ventilate a studio, or to pay actors for a staged reading of a new work. GAP panels are more diverse than the fellowship panels; three panels with five members each meet over a two-day period to make decisions. Typically, Artist Trust has been able to fund between 10 and 15 percent of the applications, but in 2002 it was able to fund only 9 percent.

Artist Trust receives a total of \$67,000 from WSAC, \$36,000 for the fellowships and \$31,000 that is divided between GAP funding and administration.

Artist Trust acknowledged a common perception that only Seattle-based artists receive their grants. It is true, they said, that the lion's share goes to Seattle/King County; but this is simply a reflection of the character of the applicant pool. Artist Trust does not want to ask its panels to choose geographically; they do not want to say, "artistic quality and..." This is because their constituents say it means more to win from a statewide system. Artist Trust does receive money on occasion that is designated to a particular class of recipients, but it returns the money if there are no qualified recipients in the designated class.

Arts Northwest is a nonprofit organization that serves as a clearinghouse for artists and presenters. Supported by three state arts councils (Washington, Oregon, and Idaho) and the Western States Arts Federation (WESTAF), it is premised on the idea that it is less expensive for host organizations to hire performing artists if the artists are part of a tour.

Arts Northwest holds an annual booking conference that is heavily attended and used by almost all the performers and presenters in the region. They also create a juried, touring arts roster each year; selective in nature, this gives the various regions Arts Northwest serves a chance to book a constellation of talented performing artists without having to make individual determinations about quality. In areas of the state with few artists and few arts organizations, such a service can be extremely helpful in facilitating performances. The annual budget is \$134,000; about one-quarter of this amount comes from the state arts commissions and WESTAF in the form of grants, half comes from registration fees at the annual booking conference, and one-quarter from membership fees. Growth has been steady, and both presenters and artists make it clear that they have come to rely on the services of this clearinghouse and

would find it difficult to function in its absence.

The *Arts Network of Washington State* is a nonprofit association of local arts organizations—one of a set of arts “assemblies” created in many states during the 1980s and ’90s. The network’s focus has been on capacity building and technical assistance to smaller arts organizations. Its main activity is an annual “Cultural Congress” in which many different workshops are presented. For a few years during the mid 1990s, technical assistance to and capacity building among rural arts organizations was a major focus—especially arts organizations focusing on underserved populations.

Over the years, the Arts Network has received money directly from WSAC and NEA to support its activities. Recently the Arts Network has been reorganized to solve funding and staffing problems. A very successful Cultural Congress was held in spring 2002, and the Arts Network has merged with the Washington State Arts Alliance, reestablishing a 501(c)(3) arm of that organization. WSAC now provides funding for these purposes directly to this foundation arm of the alliance.

Centrum: A Nonprofit Center for the Arts and Creative Education differs from other recipients of Cooperative Partnership grants in that it was created by WSAC in collaboration with the Washington State Parks and Recreation Commission and the Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction. Centrum is a nonprofit arts and education center that is a tenant of the Parks and Recreation Commission, which owns and manages Fort Worden State Park and Fort Worden Conference Center.

Fort Worden functioned as a fort until the 1950s, when it became a juvenile detention facility. A state park was created on a portion of the property while the detention facility was still operating. Ultimately the state had to figure out what to do with the site. WSAC had been talking to the Parks and Recreation Commission about creating a place for the arts. Eleven

different sites around the state had been considered before Fort Worden was selected and Centrum was created in 1973. The Fort Worden site could provide the facilities that WSAC had hoped to create, particularly the establishment of a Fort Worden Conference Center with accommodations and dining facilities, which would complement the proposed arts facilities. The arts became the way to use the buildings and to keep them from falling apart. Thus, a park/conference center/arts-based retreat facility was created.

Centrum is unique in that it is the only longstanding program created by an action of the commission and continuously supported henceforth.²⁴ Centrum is the largest single grantee of WSAC, currently receiving a bit more than \$100,000 per year. It began as a line item entry in the commission’s budget, though it is no longer treated this way. It must now apply every two years, like any grantee, but its grant is virtually protected, and it has been able to plan on an annual grant much as if it enjoyed line item status. Centrum also has an additional contract with the Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction for approximately \$175,000 per year to provide students in grades 5-12 experiences in creativity. Both of these sources of funding are as predictable and as reliable as any such sources can be. The total annual budget of Centrum is on the order of \$1.8 million. Sixty-five percent is earned income, 35 percent is unearned. Eighteen to 20 percent of Centrum’s total income comes from government sources—the state and the National Endowment for the Arts (in most years), along with some local and county support. Fundraising provides 15-17 percent, half of which comes from corporations and foundations and half from individual donors.

Centrum provides four types of programs: Experiences in Creativity (its school program); Multigenerational Workshops and Festivals in various art forms (summer); an Artists’ Residency program with residencies of one week to two months; and Elderhostel programs in the arts.

²⁴ The Art in Public Places program is similarly a longstanding program, but one that was created by action of the Legislature, not by the commission itself.

Two other organizations receive revenues through the Cooperative Partnerships category, both in the form of membership dues: the National Assembly of State Arts Agencies, a national organization to which nearly all state arts agencies belong and contribute, and the Western States Arts Federation, a regional arts organization to which twelve state arts agencies in the western states belong. Both organizations provide a variety of services to their members as well as a forum for discussion of issues of common interest.

Arts in Education

WSAC's Arts in Education program, which has several components, has a total annual budget of approximately \$750,000 and has the commission's authorization to split its money among its subprograms as the staff see fit. As with most WSAC programs, funding for the Arts in Education program comes from a combination of state revenues and federal money via NEA; approximately \$700,000 is state money and the remainder federal.

Artists in Residence. Artist residencies are the oldest component (30-35 years old) of the Arts in Education program. The typical funded project is a two-week artist's residency with a minimum of ten percent of the artist's time devoted to teacher training and ten percent to outreach to the community in which the residency takes place. Over the years, the content of residencies has been updated based on the path of educational reform in Washington.

This is a matching grant program category. Both schools and government agencies may apply; if a proposal is funded, WSAC pays half and the recipient pays half. Schools must choose from a roster of artists prequalified by WSAC through a peer review process. Qualification for the roster is based upon the quality of the artist's work, the artist's experience with children, and the artist's familiarity with the state's arts education standards. Lesson plans are submitted and judged by the panel. Applications from artists to be included on the approved artist roster are opened up every two years. Artists may

update information on the form at the start of each review cycle with samples of their latest work. Part of the conscious design of this program is that the artist has to be proactive, signaling every two years that he or she wishes to stay in the program. The commission is not merely passive—it actively recruits artists to get them into the pool. Each funded school has free choice from among the artists on the roster, though commission staff advise that selection.

Grants of three different kinds are made depending on the distance the artist has to travel (local, mid-distance, and distant). The basic funding formula is \$50 per hour with a total of forty to sixty hours per residency plus mileage plus a per diem. The commission's half of each funded grant ranges between \$1,500 and \$3,200.

Over the years the resources allocated to the residency program have varied considerably—between \$70,000 and \$250,000 per annum. The current level is approximately \$70,000. This is the direct result of a good deal of evaluative review having to do with how best to do Arts in Education. As other programs have been tried out, more traditional components such as this one have diminished in size. It is the only Arts in Education program component dating from twelve years ago that is still part of WSAC's program.

Two critiques are frequently made of the artist residencies. One is that they are so limited in scope that it is hard to imagine that they are having a substantial impact. Rather, it is argued, they are simply keeping the flag of the arts flying in schools where that flag would otherwise be lowered and stored away. A related argument involves a more general critique of Arts in Education expenditures by WSAC: Why is WSAC paying for schools to update their curricula? Should that not be the job of another state agency, e.g., the Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, or of the communities in which the schools are located? (In Washington, where much of the money for local education comes out of state revenues, this latter point is less relevant than it is

elsewhere.) Project staff told us that there are school districts that “depend on” this program, but it is hard to know exactly what this means.

Linda Bellon-Fisher, manager of the Arts in Education program, is of two minds on this question: “You could say that arts education in this state is an unfunded mandate, or you could say that school districts do have the money and could decide to use it in this way.” Here in a nutshell is a dilemma of much arts funding: Why are we spending money to get someone to do something that they could do on their own if they really wanted to? This question particularly plagues Arts in Education programs throughout the nation because of their natural ties to state departments of education. These concerns are revisited in the section of this chapter that deals with the Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction’s program of support for arts education.

The Artists in Residence program reputedly has an excellent roster of teaching artists and has been welcomed in participating schools. But there is also a perception that this component is the least up to date of the WSAC’s Arts in Education initiatives in terms of its ability to advance arts education. It is not a program geared to effecting major changes or toward implementing dramatic arts education policy initiatives.

Arts Education Community Consortium Grants. This most recent of WSAC’s Arts in Education initiatives has triggered a good deal of enthusiasm, as we discovered during our field interviews. An historical perspective is necessary to fully understand the basis for this response.

At one time Washington had had the nation’s most extensive arts education touring program, which began with Title I funding during the 1960s. The Legislature paid for touring to the schools through what was then termed the “Cultural Enrichment Program,” initially located administratively within the Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction and later at WSAC. The program was

particularly important in building up those arts organizations that went on tour, but it reportedly had little impact on the field of arts education more broadly. By all accounts, subsequent educational reform did not change the equation very much.

By the 1990s WSAC was serving as the booking agent for the program. Roughly half the schools participating were enthusiastic and half were not, as evidenced by such actions as canceling scheduled performances at the last minute. In response to ideas that came for the most part from the more rural/eastern half of the state, the program was reformulated so that it was no longer confined to performances alone. Rather, each project from that point forward would be required to involve families of schoolchildren and the community at large. Thus, a newly reconstituted program to pursue arts education through community consortia was created, with the ultimate goal of building local school district commitment to arts education to such a degree that it would come to be viewed as indispensable, whatever the vagaries and limitations of arts education funding overall.

Today, any nonprofit or government agency may apply for an Arts Education Community Consortium Grant, but the consortium must include either a school or a partnering institution. Consortia may apply for two-year grants corresponding to the state’s biennial budgeting process. Applicants must document what they are already doing and identify the missing components that would make arts education more effective locally. The application must articulate a plan to accomplish specific educational outcomes. This grant-making program is more problem-oriented and problem-driven than many of the commission’s other programs, in that to be funded each consortium must identify some aspect of the local arts in education effort that is deficient or absent. Most of the work must take place locally, but proposals must still draw from WSAC’s roster of qualified artists. WSAC peer panels review applications annually, with at least one commissioner on each panel.

Commission staff reported that overall applications have been imaginative and of high quality. An independent evaluation has confirmed that broad community participation in planning and decision making has been a key factor in making this among the commission's more successful arts education initiatives.²⁵

In its first year the program received more than sixty applications. It now receives roughly forty each year; of these, about thirty are usually funded. Grants can be up to \$35,000, with a \$10,000 maximum for small schools. \$569,351 was budgeted for the 2001-2003 biennium—\$535,576 in state funds and an additional \$33,775 from NEA's Arts in Education program.

Arts Curriculum Grants. This component was initiated in 1993 with a grant from NEA.²⁶ Its major objective is to develop and implement new standards and expectations for arts curricula in the public schools. The aim is to develop sequential and comprehensive visual and performing arts curricula. Support is provided to public school districts for assessing their arts curricula, designing new curricula, training teachers, and developing means of assessing students' competencies in the arts. Most recently, the program received fifteen applications and funded ten. The total amount of grant money budgeted for these grants is \$80,000, with \$10,000 as the maximum for any one grant. School districts are limited to three grants within a ten-year period.

Funding limitations have prevented commission staff from assessing the extent and degree of this component's current impact on public school curriculum development in the arts. In previous years staff made site visits and have commissioned outside evaluations, but current budgetary constraints have brought these activities to a halt.

Rural Residencies. This component has been discontinued because of budget restrictions, and may ultimately be folded into WSAC's regular Artists in Residence program. The original impetus for these residencies came from the availability of

funding through the National Endowment for the Arts' Challenge Program, which WSAC administered in Washington State. Its rationale lay in the fact that many rural school districts lacked the matching resources required by WSAC's standard residency program. The Rural Residency component was established in response. It was reportedly "very hands-on and labor-intensive" for WSAC staff. Projects were funded for one week and one time only.

The Community Arts Development Program

The Community Arts Development Program operates differently from other WSAC programs. Although it does have a small amount of grant money at its disposal, this program relies primarily on providing services to the field, typically in the form of its program manager, Bitsy Bidwell, a self-styled "Visiting Nurse of the Arts." Ms. Bidwell described herself as a "hand holder, cheerleader, and general nurturer."

The program is built on providing services (technical assistance, information, and referrals) to the field. Thus, it is primarily an information program providing in-kind assistance; it is intended to:

- Provide opportunities for and information about arts management;
- Build organizational capacity; and
- Provide management information and assistance, guidance and encouragement.

Over time the program has evolved a set of seven workshops that can be presented on request around the state. It is now much more common for these workshops to be packaged together and organized into two-day events that might happen as many as five times per year in various locations, though the staff recognizes that this model is efficiency driven rather than demand driven.

Some money is available for grants through the Professional Development Assistant Program (PDAP) category and through a new category of Community Development Projects. PDAP makes

²⁵ Rebecca Severeide, Early Childhood Strategies, "The Washington State Arts Education Community Consortia Program: Year Two Report," Washington State Arts Commission, December 2001.

²⁶ A substantial number of programs have their origins in federal initiatives, which continue to be funded either with federal money administered by state agencies or which eventually become incorporated by state agencies as their own.

small matching travel grants to allow artists and arts organizations to develop their professionalism through attendance at workshops, conferences, or other such learning opportunities. Up to one half of the cost of attendance or a maximum of \$500 can be awarded. In fiscal 2002 \$12,100 was available (\$7,500 in state money and \$4,600 in federal money targeted to underserved constituencies). Though the grants are small and the opportunity is not advertised too heavily, there are always many requests. Applicants only need to apply about six weeks ahead of the event they propose to attend. Money is granted until it runs out, and when it runs out the demand stops because the word passes quickly through the field. In any given year some additional money may become available from another budget item. For example, WSAC always budgets approximately \$3,000 for costs related to grants appeals that might happen throughout its programs; when this budget item is not needed, the excess is transferred to PDAP.

Community Development Project money is used to provide support for staff initiatives. It has been used in the past, for example, to support a convening of indigenous artists, but if it continues to be available in the future, it may be used in any number of community development projects.

Over the years this program has worked in parallel with the Arts Network of Washington State. When that organization was fully functional it also provided technical assistance to the field, and the question was asked whether both programs were needed. A division of labor evolved in which the network would take on the established organizations and WSAC would be responsible for emerging organizations. But funding for this parallel system became problematic. It had always been difficult to find appropriate levels of funding for the Arts Network; local agencies found it difficult to raise funds for other than their own direct programs. WSAC has, on occasion, managed to secure some local grants from NEA and

pass them through to the Arts Network, but the questions of how much institutional infrastructure there should be and who should fund it remain.

When asked whether WSAC was setting itself up in competition to the many arts management consultants in the field, Ms. Bidwell answered, “No,” because she travels to all parts of the state and does not work nationally. The clients for these grants do not have the resources to hire consultants, she said; indeed, they do not know where to start. Yet, we also heard individuals in the field question whether WSAC ought to be providing this service. Some felt that arts organizations would be better served by outside consultants or other organizations who were perceived to be more up to date in their approaches to technical assistance; others would undoubtedly prefer WSAC to simply fold all such programs into general operating support grants, irrespective of their merits.

When asked how the Community Arts Development Program is assessed, the answer is, “Right now we simply talk about the number of hours of project assistance. Other than that we use anecdotal information.” But in our interviews staff posed all the right questions: What are we doing here? How can we be accountable? Are we creating stable organizations? How do we know? How far should the commission’s responsibility for the health of arts organizations in the state extend? Despite having asked them, for the most part these questions remain unanswered.

The Folk Arts Program

The Folk Arts Program works through two different methods: grants and projects. Grants are made in three forms: Master Apprenticeships, which are grants to master teachers allowing them to take on an apprentice, Folk Arts Residencies, and fellowships to individual folk artists.

Master Apprenticeship Grants are on the order of \$2,500-\$3,000. The master teacher applies along with a proposed apprentice. The master teaches the apprentice for approximately 100 hours over a year

receiving \$25/hour. Each year the program receives twenty to thirty-five applications and makes ten awards. Language and cultural barriers make individuals reticent to apply and particularly reticent to apply if they have already been turned down once. Thus, the program has to be careful about the way in which it solicits and encourages applications. The program is in contact with various fieldworkers who help identify potential applicants, and it has become trusted by Native American cultural leaders, so quite a few unsolicited applications routinely come from Native American master teachers.

Two folk arts fellowships are available per year—\$5,000 each—selected from twenty-two applicants. Choosing from among so much diversity is particularly difficult. Peers from nearby states are often used to judge the applications. This program is designed to recognize folk artists' contributions to their communities; the intent is to honor, showcase, and recognize their work, holding them up as models for young people. Because these awards are structured as recognition of the artist's work rather than as a performance-based contract, federal money is used to fund these fellowships.

It is worth noting here that Master Apprenticeship Grants and Folk Arts Fellowships are administered directly by WSAC rather than through Artist Trust. Federal money targeted to underserved communities allows this to happen, but WSAC staff also feel that they have particular expertise in identifying good candidates in the folk arts field.

In recent years, some money has also been available for Folk Arts Residencies. In fiscal year 2002, \$5,000 of state money was available for these residencies.

The Folk Arts Program also supports a wide variety of special projects. It is currently in the midst of a relatively large project producing Heritage Tours. These tours combine booklets with tape cassettes and include history, sounds, and images of artists and their living traditions along preplanned cultural heritage routes

throughout the state. The Heritage Tour program dates back to 1995 when an NEA grant was used to do a field survey of the folk arts in Washington with an eye to beginning a project. The Folk Arts Program teamed up with the Heritage Corridors Program in the Washington State Department of Transportation and proposed that it could present information to their clients in an exciting way: with a cassette in your car that includes narration and music. This is a rare example of a concrete collaboration between WSAC and another state agency. The project was initially funded with \$25,000 from the Washington State Department of Transportation and \$25,000 from NEA. The fourth tour, the Olympic Peninsula, was done with the assistance of the U.S. Forest Service, which added \$15,000. A fifth tour has just been finished. The first tapes were produced in 1,000 copies, which retailed for \$15. The first one sold out. The fifth tape, Seattle to Vancouver, covers a more traveled route, and 4,000 copies have been made. Funding is in place for two more plus a final CD to add appropriate images. Slides are now being digitized in anticipation.

Washington has assisted with eight similar projects in other states, and this program is widely considered to be a success story. The Folk Arts Program hopes that eventually it will be able to incubate it out of WSAC to become an independent effort.

Beyond Heritage Tours, WSAC budgets approximately \$15,000 annually for other special projects in the Folk Arts Program. It facilitated, for example, a convening of Native American basket weavers to discuss their particular needs (especially access to natural resources). Initiated by WSAC and incubated for three years, it was then spun off into an independent 501(c)(3) nonprofit organization. Similarly, a more recent project will convene Native American woodcarvers. WSAC knew that the basket weavers, almost exclusively women, would want to join forces and work together; but they are less sure as to what the woodcarvers, almost exclusively men, will want to do. There is clearly an

interest in preserving traditions, preserving copyrights, and preventing piracy of indigenous designs. While there are few world famous basket weavers (maybe one or two), there are five or ten world-renowned wood carvers, so the dynamic is likely to be different.

The Folk Arts Program offers a different model. It is aggressively raising outside money, much of it from federal agencies. The program director estimates that he has submitted approximately thirty grant proposals to various NEA programs that give money to folk and traditional arts. Much of what can be accomplished is facilitated by federal money—and in a way this program is tied to the fortunes of the NEA budget—even though the activities supported are intimately linked to the peoples of Washington.

Art in Public Places

In 1974 the Legislature passed legislation creating Washington's "percent for art" program. This legislation mandates that an additional 1/2 of 1 percent be added to capital appropriations for the construction of state buildings and that this additional amount be dedicated to the purchase of works of art to be included in these buildings. Washington's program is the second oldest in the nation after Hawaii's. It is one of only four that includes the public school system within its purview.

For state agencies and public schools this 1/2 of 1 percent for art program applies to the state portion of financing for new construction. For state universities and colleges, this program applies to any renovations whose costs exceed \$200,000 as well as to new construction. In any given year, 15 percent of the allocation that is spun off the capital budget for this program is made available to WSAC for the administrative costs of running the program. (This pays for 3.5 FTEs to administer the program plus necessary goods and services.)

WSAC serves as intermediary between the agencies whose building is involved and the artist whose work is to be included. If

the amount of money generated is greater than \$25,000 (or greater than \$20,000 in the case of schools), Art in Public Places will oversee the commissioning of a new work of art.²⁷ The majority of projects under this program are smaller, however. If the budget is less than \$25,000 (less than \$20,000 in the case of schools), the money is typically used to purchase an existing work of art.

Some 300-400 projects may be funded under each biennial budget, and, in order to keep the program manageable, artists whose work might be commissioned or purchased (see below) are prequalified into an Artists Resource Bank. Once qualified, the artist either submits slides of works that are available for sale or samples of work to indicate the type of work that might be commissioned. In the latter case, the artist specifies a price range within which he or she would consider commissions. Approximately every two years there is an open call for artists to submit work for possible inclusion in the Artists Resource Bank. Any artist from the Pacific Northwest (Washington, Oregon, Idaho, Montana, Wyoming, Alaska, or British Columbia) may apply; artists from outside the region can apply if nominated. Currently, approximately 75 percent of the qualified artists are from the Pacific Northwest and 25 percent are from other parts of the United States. A jury of peers (artists, arts educators, arts administrators, and curators) makes the decision based on whether or not the work is of professional quality. Once you are in the register, your slides get seen. If you then continue to provide slides of existing work your slides will continue to be seen.

With respect to the purchase of preexisting works of art, the local building site sends a committee to one of a series of meetings that WSAC holds around the state. At that meeting the committee is shown some 400 slides (four slides each from 100 artists) and given the opportunity to select the work of art that it wishes to buy. Once an artwork is selected, its slide is replaced by another

²⁷ An alternative option for commissioning is to involve the artists directly as part of the design team for the new building, integrating the art into the architecture.

and the cycle continues. An artist can send in up to ten slides of available work. Four are loaded, and then replaced with another slide when a work is sold. An artist can sell up to five pieces in each biennial period.

When a work of art is to be commissioned, WSAC staff contact the site directly to explain the opportunity. If there is a decision to go ahead, a series of meetings over an eighteen month period follows: orientation, artist selection, interviewing the artist, bringing the artist on site, developing criteria for the piece, and presentation of the artist's proposal. The local committee can then accept or reject the proposal. If it is accepted, a contract is drawn up. Some twenty-five to thirty new works are commissioned each year.

All of the artworks acquired under Art in Public Places are viewed collectively as the State Art Collection. There are currently over 4,300 artworks in the collection, and it is growing by some 200 per year. By one estimate the works in the collection have an acquisition value of over \$16 million, making Washington home not only to one of the oldest state public art collections, but also to one of the largest and most valuable.

The size and the dispersion of the collection have led to its greatest problems. It is difficult for WASC to monitor the collection once the pieces are bought or commissioned. They often adorn office walls, despite the fact that they are intended to be in accessible public places. There have never been sufficient resources to properly catalog the collection. (WSAC's strategic plan has called for placing it all on-line, but the resources to make this possible have never been available.)

Making the situation even more difficult is the fact that although WSAC is legally responsible for the care of the collection, the percent for art funds that flow to WSAC from the state's capital budget may not be used for the conservation of the collection. In July 1994 the Legislature finally designated \$50,000 of state general funds specifically for the maintenance

and conservation of the collection. This commitment has been maintained on a biennial basis by WSAC—no longer as a line item but out of its general operating budget—but as the State Art Collection ages its conservation needs grow. Works disappear, they are stolen, or they are vandalized in addition to more normal wear and tear. There is a deaccessioning policy for works of art that are stolen or damaged beyond repair (beyond reasonable cost), or if the site changes. The Art in Public Places program is beginning to work with the sites where the works of art are located to enlist them as stewards.

When asked about the effectiveness of the Art in Public Places program, staff said, "We are meeting our legislative mandate. We are acquiring work. But it is not a wholehearted success." Reservations are particularly expressed about the portion of the program that purchases preexisting works of art. This part of the program was described as "desultory." Some are not comfortable with the role that WSAC has to play to facilitate these purchases.

In other states, percent for arts programs have run into difficulty with certain types of construction. In Massachusetts, for example, the percent for art program was discontinued when it was discovered that the only state facilities that were being built were prisons, and a public outcry greeted the installation of the accompanying works of art. In Washington, by contrast, state agencies have a considerable amount of flexibility in siting works of art. They can be sited on any public land,²⁸ and the Washington Department of Corrections has used this flexibility in a creative way. They split their allocation in half: 50 percent for the facility in question and 50 percent for the community in which the facility is located. A traveling exhibit that a number of our interviewees referred to, "Beyond the Blue Mountains," was paid for by Department of Corrections percent for art money. In a similar vein, the legislation has been amended to allow for pooling (within school districts, for example). To take but one example, a traveling exhibit was created for which

²⁸ Whether this flexibility was intended in the original legislation is the matter of some debate.

works of art were acquired, a catalog was created, and a tour to public schools was arranged. Now this exhibit is permanently sited after having traveled for ten years.

At the end of the day, however, the staff of WSAC are aware that a rather large percentage of their budget is tied up with a program whose parameters they have no power to change, yet they do enjoy the prerogatives involved in selecting juries, maintaining the Artist Resource Bank, convening art selection committees for each project, advising agency staff and committee members, and establishing the short list of artists/works of art from which the selection committees select. It is a complex and demanding program, but one over which staff feel that they have little influence, and the design of the program engenders the inevitable complaints from client agencies, selection committees, and individuals who feel that the program overly constrains their choices.

The fact that the Art in Public Places program has been sited within the state arts agency rather than elsewhere in state government makes it a bit clearer what the opportunity costs are of investing cultural policy resources in this way, though it is still funded through a separate budgetary source, the state's capital budget, which renders those funds unfungible.

Arts Participation Initiative: Wallace-Reader's Digest Funds

The newest program at the Washington State Arts Commission is fully funded by the Wallace-Reader's Digest Funds²⁹ under their initiative to increase participation in the arts. One element of that initiative is State Arts Partnerships for Cultural Participation, through which exemplary state arts agencies have been funded to enable them to adopt new, more effective guidelines, programs, and funding practices aimed at encouraging broader public participation in the arts. The key goal here is eventually to encourage state arts agencies to change their guidelines and grant stipulations so that all applicants will be more participation oriented. Washington is one of thirteen states to receive grants

under this initiative, a commitment of \$500,000 over five years.

The goals of this program go well beyond audience development to greater direct involvement of artists, stewards, donors, and the audience in the entire artistic experience. WSAC's proposal focused on encouraging greater arts participation in traditionally underserved populations: the disabled, ethnic minorities, rural citizens, and low-income people. WSAC expects to award grants of up to \$10,000 a year for three years to approximately ten nonprofit organizations that have a history of working with these target populations around arts and cultural issues.

The Wallace-Reader's Digest Funds funding is accompanied with a requirement that grantees participate in professional development opportunities related to these participation grants. In addition, the funding requires that each funded program be evaluated with an evaluation component to be designed by WSAC staff. The hope is that the evaluation design will provide grantees with useful information on the relative success of their initiatives and with the skills necessary to apply evaluation methods to their other activities and will provide WSAC redesigned evaluation methods that will be able to guide such initiatives over the long term.

While hoping to build a better track record at working with these target populations, WSAC also hopes that this initiative will help it to better understand the needs for cultural programming throughout the state and that a case will be able to be made for an increased state commitment.³⁰

WSAC staff are now traveling around the state encouraging local arts organizations to apply for funding from this program and providing technical assistance to smaller organizations interested in preparing a grant application. The guidelines have only recently been issued. Curiously, they state that an organization has to have a history of working with the target populations, but they do not have to propose a new initiative. Thus, an organization could, presumably, receive funding for doing

²⁹ The DeWitt Wallace-Reader's Digest Fund and the Lila Wallace-Reader's Digest Fund, known collectively as The Wallace-Reader's Digest Funds, have recently been merged and renamed The Wallace Foundation.

³⁰ This is made quite clear on the Wallace-Reader's Digest Funds website, which describes the grant to Washington as follows: "The Washington State Arts Commission will develop, implement and assess the impact of new and expanded grant programs that increase arts participation in currently underserved communities. The commission will strengthen its skills and capacity by developing new tools and criteria for measuring arts participation. Documented results of this program will be used to justify requests for budget increases from the Legislature." [<http://www.wallacefunds.org/frames/framesetart.htm>]

what it is already doing. Furthermore, it appears that the grant will come with essentially no strings attached so the money can be spent on any program area (except capital expenditures). The fact that the grant guidelines allow an agency to apply based upon its past record—it does not necessarily have to propose a new initiative to receive funding—complicates the evaluation task as it becomes more difficult to know exactly what to evaluate.

While this grant was a welcome addition to WSAC's budget and its programming, it reveals some interesting attributes of the commission's work. In the implementation choices that have been made so far, it looks as though this money will be used to allow some organizations to do more of what they have been doing already. There is nothing wrong with this; indeed, the desire is very strong to help a small number of organizations do better work, to help a program or project "from good to great." But seen from another perspective, one must note that even with these extra resources WSAC seems unwilling to part very dramatically from recent practice. Here is an opportunity to stake out new policy directions, and if that opportunity is not embraced when new resources are brought to the table, how could one ever expect new directions to be chosen within the agency's normal budget cycle?

Put another way, WSAC already funds projects specifically for these target communities. To be sure, many of the projects are not designed to promote arts participation. But the isolation of this program from the rest of WSAC grant programs suggests that this program is likely to have relatively little impact on WSAC or its other programs. If, on the other hand, this program were to result in increased training of and interaction among agency staff and an increased appreciation of evaluation as a tool to advance the work of the agency, it will have proven a major success. This program also raises the question of what a private foundation can reasonably expect to be the outcomes of a program of this nature and scope.

In Summary

By being the most easily identifiable state cultural agency, the Washington State Arts Commission finds itself at the center of state cultural policy. But it has not generally embraced that ground. Rather, it seems that in order to achieve stability in its budget and in its relationships to the Legislature, the governor, and its various constituencies, WSAC has evolved a method of working that involves a series of well-defined and separate programs that function more or less smoothly with little consideration of new directions or policy options.

The programs that arouse the most excitement among WSAC's staff are those that allow new directions to be pursued, even if in relatively limited ways. Interestingly, these initiatives tend to be funded either through federal money, which offers more flexibility or which comes with policy direction attached to it, or through private money. One wonders what would happen if the allocation from the state's operating budget were to begin to increase once again after recent budget cuts. Would WSAC choose to do more of the same but with somewhat higher funding levels—as is suggested by much of its strategic plan—or would it choose to become more proactive in shaping and following a new policy direction? There are powerful forces on any state arts agency to maintain the status quo, not the least of which is the lobbying of those who consider themselves to be its (major) constituents.

As we interviewed the staff of each program area, we asked how they evaluated the work of their programs. With the exception of the Arts in Education Community Consortium Grants, which had commissioned an outside evaluation, the answer was always couched in volumes: number of organizations funded, numbers of artists involved, number of people in attendance, and number of dollars spent. At times this approach is taken to extremes, as is the case on the commission's website, which reported that in fiscal 2001 the Awards Program benefited precisely

9,886,326 individuals—67 percent higher than the entire population of Washington!—and 79,825 artists. It is not easy to assess the work of arts councils, but that does not mean that it would not be worthwhile.

Our descriptions of the Arts in Education initiatives and the Community Arts Development Program, in particular, both suggest that the idea of mapping could be usefully extended to a detailed analysis of such programs. Such an exercise would identify program components, funding streams, staffing, allied networks, intended outcomes, appropriate evaluation methods, and the like, so that benchmarking and comparison would become possible and the possibility of experimenting with program design could be seriously considered.

Should state arts funding parallel other sources of funding or complement them? Should it endeavor to bring resources to bear on new initiatives, or should it work to sustain some sort of equilibrium? Should the state arts council assume a leadership position in state cultural policy, should it enter into a partnership with the other state cultural agencies, or should it operate more or less on its own? Would fewer, but larger initiatives be more effective than a program of many small grants? Would a structure centered around programmatic initiatives (such as is the case in the Folk Arts Program and the Community Arts Development Program and with Centrum in the Cooperative Partnerships category) be more effective than a structure centered around re-granting? All of these questions and many more were raised in our interviews.

Building for the Arts Office of Community Development

Building for the Arts is the second key element in the arts component of state cultural policy in Washington. In contrast to the Washington States Arts Commission, Building for the Arts is a *program*, not an *agency* in its own right. It is administratively located within the Office of Community Development (OCD), one of two offices of the Washington State Department of Community, Trade and Economic Development (CTED) whose charge is to “(assist) in the building and sustaining of strong social, environmental and economic foundations.” Within that broad context, the mission of the Office of Community Development is “to provide financial and technical resources to build livable and sustainable communities.”³¹ OCD’s program array ranges from farm worker housing and domestic violence prevention to historic preservation, community development block grants, support for early childhood education, and growth management.

The Building for the Arts program awards grants out of the state’s capital budget to performing arts organizations, art museums, and other cultural organizations to defray up to 20 percent of the capital costs of new facilities or major renovations. Working through a citizen advisory review board, the program conducts a competitive grant process every two years to solicit and select the worthiest projects from throughout the state. From the program’s inception in 1991 through the end of 2002 the Legislature has appropriated nearly \$32 million for seventy-eight projects statewide.

Perhaps the most novel feature of this program, and one that has attracted considerable attention, is that organizations apply for funding *before* the annual capital budget appropriation for the program is approved by the Legislature. During our field interview Dan Aarthun, capital projects manager, described Building for the Arts in the following way: “We aren’t

³¹ These statements are drawn directly from the website of the Department of Community, Trade and Economic Development.

running a program. We're simply bringing capital development project opportunities to the Legislature." Understanding this way of framing the program is crucial to understanding its design. The program has an interesting and critical property: it is the Legislature that ultimately can take direct credit for the funding decision because it is the Legislature that approves explicit line items for the recommended projects as part of its approval of the state's capital budget.³² Thus, the ultimate decision rests with the Legislature and not with the advisory panel or with the staff of any state agency.

During each funding cycle, the advisory board reviews applications and creates a list of recommended projects. The list is then included in OCD's capital budget request, which is forwarded to the governor's office for inclusion in the governor's biennial capital budget request. Criteria that are used during the review process include an applicant's capacity to carry out the project, documented need, local community support, history of service to a broad range of constituencies, geographic distribution, and a fair representation of artistic disciplines among the recommendations in the aggregate. Many of the people serving on the advisory board are themselves museum directors and corporate giving officers. When these associations create a conflict of interest or the possible appearance of conflict, the individual in question recuses himself or herself from the process. Thus, this process parallels the peer panel review process used in other cultural agencies, particularly WSAC.

In our interviews, a number of individuals claimed paternity for the Building for the Arts program. What does appear to be clear, however, is that the Corporate Council for the Arts (CCA) was a key proponent of the program, perhaps seeing the proposed program as a way to further define the various funding pools for the arts in the state, perhaps seeing it as a way to leverage its own operating support with state money on the capital side, or perhaps seeing it as a way to regularize the

process of searching for capital grants from the state, moving it away from the random process of one-off lobbying that had been the case previously whereby individual arts organizations requested capital support for arts-related facilities directly from the Legislature and succeeded in rough proportion to their political clout rather than to their contribution to state cultural policy. On this latter point, the design of the Building for the Arts program was characterized by one of our interviewees as "programmed pork."³³ Whatever term one uses to capture this unique feature of the program, almost everyone we interviewed expressed the opinion that it had made the process of seeking capital grants from the state much more rational and much more transparent, attributes which were widely seen as desirable.

Representative Val Ogden from Vancouver was a key early player in establishing the program. She served on the House Capital Budget Committee and, in tandem with Peter Donnelly, president of Corporate Council for the Arts, and Joe Taller, then in charge of corporate giving for Boeing, was instrumental in setting up the procedures by which both arts and heritage organizations seeking state support for capital development, renovation, and restoration projects could pursue such grants without getting caught up in the rough-and-tumble world of internal legislative politics. Prior to that period, she said, decisions about which projects got funded depended much more upon which party was in the majority at the time and which influential individuals had which legislator's ear.

Corporate Council for the Arts led the push for the creation of the Building for the Arts Program in 1991. It did so by creating its own suggested list of capital projects that it felt the state should support. CCA compiled a recommended list of capital projects from arts organizations around the state, gathered those organizations to contribute to the cost of a lobbyist, and then approached the Legislature for a capital request for the entire list. This strategy was successful and the

³² If there were ever a controversy surrounding one of these capital grants decisions, it would also be the Legislature that would have to bear the downside of that decision.

³³ Max McCortle, a political strategist who has consulted with The Pew Charitable Trusts, has characterized a similar program in Florida as "sweet pork." M. Christine Dwyer and Susan Frankel, *Policy Partners: Making the Case for State Investments in Culture* (Philadelphia: The Pew Charitable Trusts, 2002).

Legislature appropriated \$11,250,000 for the 1991-1993 biennium.

In 1993-95, Corporate Council for the Arts repeated the process of compiling a list of recommended projects, gathered the recommended applicants together, calculated the cost of hiring a lobbyist to help assure that the recommendations were ultimately voted and prorated those costs across the recommended applicants according to the relative size of the grants being recommended, secured the lobbyist, and successfully convinced the Legislature to reauthorize the program for another two years. \$6 million was appropriated for that biennium.

For the 1995-96 biennium the application review process was moved from Corporate Council for the Arts to the Office of Community Development, which was designated as the agency responsible for publicizing the program, receiving applications, and screening the proposals for basic eligibility. A citizen's advisory panel was established to develop a ranked list of worthy recipients according to the program's established criteria. But Corporate Council for the Arts has continued to be involved in assembling the biennial lists of recommended recipients and managing the advocacy effort, securing a lobbyist paid with prorated contributions from the recommended applicants. In 1999 the Legislature enacted further legislation authorizing the program on a more permanent basis (through 2007).³⁴ When this legislation was passed, the Legislature specified that the list of capital projects could not exceed \$4 million in the aggregate in any biennium (but that it could include a list of alternates for another \$1/2 million should some of those recommended at the top of the \$4 million list drop out before they received their funds).³⁵

One might have expected that program administration would be assigned to the Washington State Arts Commission—the parallel capital grants program for heritage organizations (discussed in Chapter V) was assigned to the Washington State Historical Society for managerial

purposes at the same time—but at that moment in time it was felt that WSAC was not in a position to assume such program responsibility. One interviewee described WSAC during this period as having been beset by “mild internal anarchy” and “poor leadership.” Another described it as “effectively dysfunctional.” By all accounts WSAC has since successfully resolved these issues, but they were a major factor in the decision to leave Building for the Arts under the aegis of Corporate Council for the Arts at the outset and then subsequently move it into the Office of Community Development (OCD) within the Department of Community, Trade and Economic Development. When OCD finally became the home of this program, administrative responsibility was assigned to the state's capital projects manager.

Today an individual arts organization may apply for up to \$1 million in a single biennium. The Capital Projects Office is authorized to draw down 1.57 percent of current appropriations to offset its administrative expenses related to this program. Because of the constitutional restrictions already mentioned above, funds are payable on a reimbursement basis only, so that participating organizations must submit proof of actual building costs to receive funding. The program manager reported during our March 2002 field interview that of the ninety-three projects funded to date, only one has failed to fulfill the terms of its agreement with the state. The proposed projects of twenty-one organizations were approved by the Legislature for a total of \$4,100,000 in capital funding through the program for the 2001-2003 biennium (Table III.5).

The diversity of the artistic aims of the various 2001-2003 program participants speaks for itself. Several of them are based in the Seattle/Tacoma area, and they received some of the largest allocations among the grantees. However, the list also includes a number of organizations located in central and eastern Washington—two in Spokane and others in locales such as Pullman, Harrington,

³⁴ RCW §43.63A.750

³⁵ Appropriations leveled out at the \$4,000,000 level in the 2001-2003 biennium. Prior to the stabilization and formalization of the program, appropriations had generally been higher: \$11,250,000 in 1991-93, \$6,000,000 in 1993-95, \$3,000,000 in 1995-97, \$6,000,000 in 1997-99, and \$5,600,000 in 1999-2001.

Table III. 5: Capital Budget Allocations, Building for the Arts Program 2001-2003 Biennium

Project Name	Location	Project Amount
Orcas Theatre	Eastsound	\$400,000
Empty Space Theatre	Fremont	\$29,000
Music Works Northwest	Bellevue	\$475,000
Hands On Children's Museum	Olympia	\$130,000
Spokane Symphony	Spokane	\$230,000
Mount Baker Theatre	Bellingham	\$128,000
IKEA Performing Arts Center	Renton	\$135,000
Seattle Art Museum	Seattle	\$1,000,000
Town Hall	Seattle	\$175,000
Gladish Center	Pullman	\$29,000
Broadway Center	Tacoma	\$50,000
CREATE	Newport	\$21,000
Spectrum Dance Theatre	Seattle	\$78,000
Gallery One	Ellensburg	\$225,000
Lake Chelan Bach Fest	Chelan	\$38,000
Historic Seattle Preservation	Seattle	\$390,000
Historic Everett Theatre	Everett	\$350,000
Holy Names Music Center	Spokane	\$50,000
Youth Theatre Northwest	Mercer Island	\$67,000
Arts West	Seattle	\$87,000
Harrington Opera House	Harrington	\$13,000
Youth Theatre Northwest [Alternate]	Mercer Island	[\$158,000]
Total		\$4,100,000

Source: Capital Budget of the State of Washington, 2001-2003 biennium.

Chelan and Ellensburg. The \$400,000 approved for the Orcas Theatre in Eastsound—a small community on Doe Island not far from the Canadian border—was third largest of the projects approved, and the \$230,000 allocated to the Spokane Symphony for that biennium ranked fourth. This list suggests that due attention is being paid to issues of geographic distribution, a factor less likely to be recognized in a “free-for-all” system in which the most influential organizations would be able to achieve greater success in getting line item support from the Legislature.

Moreover, the size of any given allocation is not in itself an accurate gauge of the prospective impact of any given project. The \$21,000 allocated to CREATE in Newport, for example, supported the development of a theater facility in a profoundly rural setting north of Spokane at the Idaho-Washington border, on the southern tip of the Kaniksu National

Forest near the Little Pend Oreille Wildlife Area. The region is home to the Kalispel Indian Tribe, which has historically been isolated from the rest of the population of approximately 11,200 people. The area has at various times had the highest levels of unemployment in Washington. A modest investment of capital in this instance has had a significant impact on CREATE’s capacity to use theater arts to build community and improve the quality of public education.

By most accounts, the Building for the Arts program is working effectively. Among the evidence offered for this conclusion were the following:

Cost efficiency. Program funds are used exclusively for construction or renovation, expenditures that are subject to (not exempted from) sales taxes. If Building for the Arts contributes its maximum contribution—20 percent of the total capital costs—to a project, thereby leveraging the

remaining 80 percent of total project cost, the return on the original “investment” of state funds is perceived by its proponents in the following way: the tax receipts on the immediate investment—the sales taxes that are applied to all professional services and materials—have, in effect, been multiplied by five, resulting in a 32.5 percent “return” on the state’s investment (the 6.5 percent sales tax rate multiplied by five, equaling the sales tax on the entire capital investment). Moreover, the sales tax rate is as high as 8.9 percent when local sales taxes collected in certain localities by the state are added in; the “return” in this case would be perceived as 44.5 percent! Not a bad investment over one year—though, of course, this “return” is limited to a one-time payment and is not recurring.

The rationale for the program would become even more compelling if the longer-term impact of capital projects on related local economic activity were factored into the calculus. However, we were told that the advisory board has elected not to formally collect and disseminate data to support this rationale for the program, despite the fact that it is located in the Office of Community Development, because the “low profile, below the radar screen” strategy has worked well on its own. Thus, this program seems to be an example of the “less-said-the-better” approach that characterizes a good deal of the strategy that informs the investment of public resources in the arts and culture in Washington.

Rationalized Decision Making. This process for making capital grants goes a long way toward establishing a rational basis for the distribution of targeted capital development dollars. Since the Legislature has a vetted list of projects in hand when it authorizes funding, since that list is constructed to simultaneously address the interests of so many different locales, and since the benefits to be realized by each community are so explicitly understood by everyone involved, the political risks and costs to any given legislator associated with approving the recommendations in their entirety are virtually nonexistent

and the political benefits to the Legislature and the financial benefits to the recipients are quite high. This program design is ingenious and effective.

Simplicity. The process is straightforward and transparent, with extremely limited bureaucratic involvement in the review and ranking of applications and the development of recommendations to the Legislature.

This said, there are a number of attributes of the program that do raise eyebrows.

While Corporate Council for the Arts was an important actor in the initial years of the program, it has retained some fair measure of influence on the program, even though day-to-day management has been turned over to the Office of Community Development. It appears to be active in the process of advisory board review of project proposals, though the extent of its influence in this regard is unclear. In the earliest phases of the program, Corporate Council for the Arts was directly instrumental in hiring a lobbyist who would then lobby the Legislature to assure that the recommended programs were ultimately included in the capital budget. The role of lobbyists persists even today. Once the list of approved projects to be recommended to the Legislature has been compiled by the advisory board, the recommended applicants are invited to a meeting by Corporate Council for the Arts where they are informed that they are expected to contribute in proportion to the size of their expected grant to a pool for the hiring of a lobbyist who will work to assure that the Legislature approves the recommended line items as part of the capital budget. This is what might be expected with any government grant program—possible recipients lobbying on behalf of their own interest—but in its “List of Lobbyist Employers,” the 2001 *Pictorial Directory of Registered Lobbyists* for the State of Washington identifies Building for the Arts, which is a state program, as employing a lobbyist (though, curiously, the address that is given is an address for The Empty Space Theatre in Seattle).³⁶ This arrangement gives the

³⁶ The Public Disclosure Commission, *Pictorial Directory of Registered Lobbyists 2001* (Olympia, WA: Public Disclosure Commission, 2001), 99.

impression of a state program lobbying on its own behalf.

This procedure has had repercussions elsewhere in the arts system. The Washington State Arts Alliance is an advocacy organization that represents the interests of the arts organizations who are its dues paying members. Some organizations are reportedly reluctant to pay dues to the alliance, arguing that they have already paid for lobbying through the Building for the Arts program. While these transactions are, in some sense, outside of state cultural policy, they illustrate how one part of the funding system can have an impact on other components of the system.

Corporate Council for the Arts also enters the picture when it comes to official recognition of grants from the Building for the Arts program. When we interviewed at the new Museum of Glass: International Center for Contemporary Art in Tacoma we noted that their donors list included recognition of “Building for the Arts/Corporate Council for the Arts.” The museum had been instructed by the Building for the Arts program that this was the appropriate manner in which to recognize a grant from the Building for the Arts program. What is striking is that the grant is entirely state money; no Corporate Council for the Arts money is involved. Why then should a state program insist on this form of recognition?

Corporate Council for the Arts was an early advocate of the Building for the Arts program and its continuing involvement may well have helped to keep the program alive and funded through successive governors and legislatures. Public programs surely require advocates, and good programs inevitably attract ardent advocates. Yet, it would seem here that Corporate Council for the Arts is being positioned in a manner that is misleading and confusing. Indeed, the recipients of Building for the Arts grants, themselves, were puzzled as to why they had been instructed to use this attribution.

Corporate Council for the Arts does not fund capital projects as part of its own

operations (though it does provide considerable unrestricted operating support for arts organizations), and its grant-making programs are restricted to King County and Pierce County, while the Building for the Arts program operates statewide. In our view, when state tax revenues are at stake they should be recognized as coming from the state’s taxpayers; more complicated, ambiguously clever attributions strike us as inappropriate.

It should also be noted that the formalization of the Building for the Arts program has not entirely eliminated the temptation to lobby the Legislature for line item capital grants. A careful reading of the state’s capital budget will reveal that other arts projects are funded from time to time through line items that do not appear within the Building for the Arts program.

In a sense, these observations are nothing more than observations of the politics that surround any state program, but because of the unique nature of the Building for the Arts program (and its sister capital grants programs) these observations have a bit more traction. In some sense they work to undo the transparency that is one of the hallmarks of the intended design of this program.

It is also worth noting that as the state has implemented dramatic budget cuts, the Building for the Arts program has so far been left alone. Partly this may be due to the impression that it is rather small on the overall scale of the state’s budget, and partly this may be due to the fact that the capital budget is funded through borrowing rather than through current revenues, but it also may be due to the fact that the explicit attention paid to geographic distribution within the program makes it an attractive bargaining chip when budgetary decisions are being negotiated.

In the end, what is significant here is that the State of Washington has made a commitment to capital funding as well as operational funding. The decision to separate the two has been the subject of much discussion: Should the same agency oversee both so that capital investment does not

get too far ahead of the ability of organizations to support the ongoing programming that those new or renovated facilities can afford? Or should different agencies oversee the two sides of the coin, keeping the different intents of the two sources of funding clear? What does seem clear is that the particular formula that Washington has hit upon, whether by intent or by chance, is an innovative approach with interesting and unique characteristics.

The Arts in Education

The place of the arts in education as a component of state policy has been assured by two different agencies, the Washington State Arts Commission, whose Arts in Education program has been discussed above, and the Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, which oversees K-12 education in the State of Washington.

The Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction

The expression of OSPI's commitment to the critical role of the arts in the educational experiences of students in the public schools of Washington could not be more explicit:

The arts are an essential part of public education. From dance and music to theatre and the visual arts, the arts give children a unique means of expression, capturing their passions and emotions, and allowing them to explore new ideas, subject matter, and culture. They bring us joy in every aspect of our lives. Arts education not only enhances students' understanding of the world around them, but it also broadens their perspective on traditional academics. The arts give us the creativity to express ourselves, while challenging our intellect. The arts integrate life and learning for all students and are integral in the development of the whole person. The arts communicate and speak to us in ways that teach literacy and enhance our lives. We must continue to find a place for arts programs and partnerships not only for what it teaches students about art, but for what it teaches us all about the world we live in.

Dr. Terry Bergeson,
State Superintendent of Public Instruction
November 2001

However, the extent to which this statement represents present everyday reality is subject to a fair degree of lively discussion. OSPI's Arts Program Supervisor AnnRené Joseph pointed to what she views as substantive examples of progress over the past five to ten years: the requirement that, beginning with the 2004 freshman class, all public high school students will have to complete a full year of arts instruction to graduate; and the fact that assessments of student mastery of essential academic learning requirements, now being developed for grades 5, 8, and 10, are expected to be mandatory by approximately 2010.³⁷ She also reported that Superintendent of Public Instruction Terry Bergeson could have eliminated the arts program supervisor position when her predecessor retired in August 2001. Instead, she appointed Ms. Joseph to the post and issued the above statement.

Ms. Joseph and her colleague Mickey Lahmann, assistant superintendent for curriculum and instruction,³⁸ pointed to the Legislature's inclusion of the arts among the "Essential Academic Learning Requirements" (HB 1207 Education Reform, 1993) that Washington's public schools are expected to assure that students fulfill. (The other requirements include more predictable and traditional components of the essential curriculum: English/language arts, mathematics, science, social studies, and health/fitness.) It is important to note here that, although included in earlier drafts, the humanities were not included among the final array; foreign languages also failed to make the final cut.

With "essential" subjects defined, the next critical task has been the development of standards for each of these subject areas. Standards at each grade level, specifying what students should know and be able to do, are now in place for every essential subject, including the arts. Arts standards are currently in place for dance, music, theater, and visual arts.³⁹ The next step in the process will be the development of assessments by which the extent to which students are or are not developing these

³⁷ Schools may, at their option, assess student mastery of arts subject matter during either the 10th or 11th academic year.

³⁸ OSPI employs two assistant superintendents, one for curriculum and instruction and one for assessment. AnnRené Joseph, program supervisor for the arts, reports to the assistant supervisor for curriculum and instruction and at the time of our interviews had held that position for just over a year.

³⁹ OSPI's arts program supervisor oversees the development of "framework" standards and assessments for these four arts disciplines. The frameworks format expresses grade-by-grade expectations for the Essential Academic Learning Requirements, e.g.: the student understands and applies arts knowledge and skills; the student demonstrates thinking skills using artistic processes; the student communicates through the arts; and the student makes connections within and across the arts to other disciplines, life, cultures, and work.

skills and gaining the knowledge outlined in the standards may be ascertained. Assessments were in place for reading/language arts and mathematics at the time of our interviews, and assessments for the sciences were being piloted. Assessments for social studies, health/fitness, and the arts were being developed. In 2001 the Legislature adopted an arts assessment timeline that included voluntary arts assessments in 2005-2006 and required assessments phased in through 2008-2010. The assessment design process is reportedly on or ahead of schedule. By May 2003, twelve draft items on the assessment instruments in all four arts disciplines for all three grade levels had been field tested in thirty-one school districts and had been scored and subsequently revised on the basis of early results. But additional funding from the Legislature will be required to finish the job.

Making any sort of objective assessment regarding the extent to which all this reflects real progress in making the arts an intrinsic component of public school students' academic experience is somewhat difficult, and depends to a significant degree on which benchmarks get selected for the purpose of analysis. One critic of Washington's arts education policy estimated that of 296 school districts, no more than twelve (4 percent) have arts directors. This compares to a nationwide average of 38 percent of school districts in 1994. Within the western region of the United States, 31 percent of districts employed arts coordinators or curriculum specialists in that year. And 36 percent of secondary schools nationwide and 35 percent within the western region employed arts curriculum specialists.⁴⁰ The system's critics report that most Washington public school systems lack music or art specialists at the elementary and middle school levels. Nationwide 92 percent of public elementary schools were served by music specialists in 1994, and 72 percent of elementary schools were served by visual arts specialists.

In responding to these comments regarding Washington's relative degree of arts

education support, Ms. Joseph suggested that no solid basis exists for comparing any one state to any other in this regard, since per capita wealth, geographic dispersion, population density, and other socioeconomic and demographic factors define the character of each jurisdiction to such a significant degree. She nevertheless reported that Washington is one of only sixteen states in the country currently mandating student assessment in the mastery of arts subject matter and is only one of five states actively developing assessment protocols. Moreover, she stated, each of Washington's 296 school districts specifically assigns the arts coordinator/arts curriculum function to *someone* in district administration. Who this person is and the extent to which that role has priority in the working life of that school district administrator are profoundly influenced by such factors as the number of students, schools, and classroom teachers in any given district, the expectations of parents and surrounding communities at large, and the availability of resources. "But someone is always there," Ms. Joseph said. "Someone in every district has the assignment. There may not be as much [going on] as we would like. But someone has the responsibility for carrying out the mandate."

Currently, expenditures for public K-12 education capture roughly one-third of Washington's general fund budget, but the fact that the superintendent of public instruction is a popularly elected official leaves both the governor and the Legislature with little power to influence public education policy directly. Furthermore, the State Board of Education, the main function of which is to establish high school graduation requirements, is an eleven-member body elected to four-year terms by local school boards, with one private school association representative, two students, and only one member appointed by the governor. In 1999, perhaps to some degree in response to this situation, the Legislature created an Academic Achievement and Accountability Commission (the "A+ Commission") with nine members appointed by the governor.

⁴⁰ National Center for Arts Education Statistics, 1994 *Arts Education Survey*.

The commission's charge is to oversee accountability throughout the entire K-12 educational system. Furthermore, in 2000 the governor and the Legislature created a 19-member Professional Educator Standards Board, to be appointed by the governor, which would oversee basic skills and subject matter assessments to be required of all new teachers for certification.

Over 70 percent of total school district education funding is provided by the state. Local property taxes make up the difference. Local school district levies must be put to the voters every year or two. Since levies require a majority vote and are therefore packaged to appeal to the voters, they reportedly have rarely specified the arts.

We encountered both optimism and frustration during our interviews as regards public arts education in the State of Washington. Both points of view appear to have merit. The current economic crisis and its inevitable impact on state revenues may well retard progress towards making the arts a truly basic component of the Washington public school curriculum. While arts education is now included among basic subjects with state standards, it is still the local district that must make final decisions concerning resource allocation. One of the people we interviewed pointed out that educational reform has resulted in at least one unintended consequence: districts now tend to focus on those subjects that are to be assessed (currently English/language arts, math, and science) at the expense of subjects that are not currently being assessed. As a result, some districts that once had quality arts programs are actually cutting back, since arts education assessments will not be in place until after 2008, if then.

The gloomy funding climate tends to exacerbate this trend. Said Ms. Joseph:

[Arts education] is mandated, required, important, and vulnerable. A lot depends on funding and on leadership in any given district. But we continue to ask the districts to tell us how they propose to fulfill the requirements of law and policy. How this actually happens in a tiny rural school district is going to be a lot different than in

a major metropolitan area. But we have the mandate expressed in Title V of the National Public Education Act. Arts are a required core subject area in the legislation. That offers us a major area of opportunity in all our conversations with district superintendents.

Other Actors

Policy development in the area of arts education is promoted by arts service organizations including the Washington Alliance for Arts Education and the Washington State Arts Alliance, as well as by various professional associations such as the Washington Music Educators Association, the Washington Art Education Association, the Washington Alliance for Theater Educators, the Dance Educators Association of Washington, and Very Special Arts.⁴¹ In 1989 six of these organizations convened their conferences simultaneously for the first time, establishing an annual combined arts education conference entitled "ArtsTime." They now meet every two years under the name "ArtsTime All the Time." This collaboration appears to have been good for arts advocacy and arts policy development. One interviewee commented, "Arts advocacy is huge. A very vocal group practiced in advocacy and promotion...they know how to communicate, and they are able to garner tremendous support from parents." By way of contrast she described advocates for world languages, or social studies, or the humanities as unpracticed and poorly organized. "The strength of the advocacy groups makes a difference—the most vocal and influential get attention." She said that heritage advocates are also active, but that "the action in preservation and local history education tends to be at the local level."

The Alliance for Arts Education, an arts education advocacy group, was created with start-up funding provided by the Kennedy Center Alliance for Arts Education Network. According to individuals affiliated with the alliance, it was an effective advocate until the Kennedy Center imposed a requirement that the alliance hire a paid director. The board reportedly

⁴¹ Considerable evidence from other states suggests that networking and collaboration are key to successful Arts in Education programs. See, Dawn M. Ellis and Craig Dreeszen, *For the Greater Good: A Framework for Advancing State Arts Education Partnerships* (Washington, D.C.: National Assembly of State Arts Agencies, 2003).

became less active as a consequence, and the organization is said to have since lost its grassroots focus. Former OSPI Arts Specialist Gina May has recently taken on the presidency of the alliance. She sees her immediate tasks as evaluating the potential of the alliance and determining what role the organization can and should play in the future.

In the meantime, the Washington State Arts Alliance appears to have filled this void to a significant degree. Under the leadership of Alliance Director Gretchen Johnston and with lobbying support, the alliance has now included arts education within its broader arts advocacy mission.

As has already been mentioned, the Washington State Arts Commission also plays a significant and visible role with respect to support for arts education in the public schools of Washington State. Its Artists in Residence Program, Arts Curriculum Grants, and Arts Education Community Consortium Grants, as well as its support for Centrum's school-based education initiatives, have been described in some detail earlier in this chapter. Of particular relevance to the current discussion is the fact that Arts Curriculum Grants are specifically designed to help communities build arts education programs that respond to the Essential Academic Learning Requirements in the arts currently being promulgated by OSPI. The commission awarded \$585,139 to twenty-eight consortia across the state for this purpose during the 2002-2003 school year. The commission is also a funding partner with OSPI in supporting Centrum—\$101,000 and \$175,000 per year, respectively. And the fact that Centrum's total annual budget is in the \$1.8 million range makes it a significant player in its own right.

AnnRené Joseph acknowledged the temptation that WSAC's arts education programs place in the path of school districts that are struggling to balance school budgets in hard times; it is all too tempting to let WSAC's resources stand in for what would otherwise fall to them. "But we work with all the districts to try to

make sure [WSAC] resources augment, rather than substitute for, what [the districts] do themselves."

The fact that Washington is one of only four states with a percent for art program that includes school construction is seen by some as also contributing to the goals of arts in education. Under the Art in Public Places program, $\frac{1}{2}$ of 1 percent of capital appropriations for school construction is dedicated to the purchase of newly commissioned or existing artwork to be displayed in the school.

Other Offices and Programs in the Arts Portfolio

Several other organizations with more limited scope in either the span of their activities or the subject matter of the work in which they are engaged contribute to the arts portfolio within the cultural policy of the State of Washington.

Washington State Film Office Office of Trade and Economic Development

The Washington State Film Office (WSFO) operates as a program division within the Office of Trade and Economic Development. It was established in 1972, but its current scope of activity reportedly dates from 1993 as part of a larger effort to target market sectors (e.g., recycling, food processing, tourism, etc.) in order to diversify Washington's economy and make it more productive. This office's specific mandate is to "promote, market, and encourage growth in the production of films and videos, as well as television commercials within the state."

Director Suzy Kellet estimated that over the last ten years the state's investment in the film office has returned over \$100 for each dollar of state funding invested. She said that in 2001, production spending brought in over \$50 million to the state and that out-of-state producers spent over \$377 million in Washington State during the last ten years. A typical major

television movie filmed in 2000 spent almost \$18 million on location, according to an expenditure breakdown provided by the office. Yet, the state's support for its film office is among the lowest in the United States and throughout the world. Initially earmarked for extinction by the governor's office in the fall of 2001, WSFO managed to survive with its \$371,000 budget intact. At that point the staff complement consisted of Director Kellet and two project coordinators, plus thirty-five unfunded film liaisons scattered across the state within organizations such as local chambers of commerce and visitors' bureaus that interact with the film office.

Ms. Kellet reported that getting films made in Washington is more difficult than in most other settings because many of Washington's regulatory policies that are aimed at preserving the state's quality of life are quite strict and others are antiquated. She cited as examples the fact that helicopters are prohibited from being brought low in certain areas in the interest of protecting the habitats of nesting eagles and the fact that film companies may not construct sets within 200 feet of the shore because of regulations intended to prevent debris from washing into the ocean.

The film office's activities fall into five domains:

- ❑ It markets Washington as a prime location for filming;
- ❑ It provides 24-hour response time to filming requests ("one-stop shopping");
- ❑ It provides location scouting throughout the entire state;
- ❑ It offers film makers information concerning the tax incentives for which they are eligible (see Chapter VIII); and
- ❑ It acts as a liaison with other state government agencies whose cooperation is often essential for filming.

WSFO works with the Washington State Department of Transportation, the

Washington State Parks and Recreation Commission, the State Patrol, the Army Corps of Engineers, the Association of Counties, and other agencies that must be consulted when location filming occurs—such as the Department of Ecology (when cars are to be driven off bridges, for example). It also works very closely with the Seattle Mayor's Office of Film & Music and the Seattle Film Festival.

The film office's program array includes the following:

- ❑ *The Washington State Screenplay Competition:* This competition provides prizes to winners out of 100-200 applicants (\$1,500 first place, \$500 each for two runners up, plus software, goods and services from sponsors, and an announcement in *Variety* and *Hollywood Reporter*). The purpose of the competition is to discover and encourage screenwriting talent outside of the Hollywood system. Every winner in the first five years has gone to contract, and two scripts have been optioned.
- ❑ *Locations Files:* The office maintains a research bank of images and information about possible locations for film companies looking for a particular kind of place in which to film.
- ❑ *Film Fundamentals Workshops:* These workshops are 2- to 3-hour meetings that are provided to rural communities; they bring together city managers, police, hotels, local businesses, etc. to help them prepare for productions, on the one hand, and to market their area as a film location, on the other.

State Arts Institutions

State cultural institutions are an important component of cultural policy in many states. In Washington, for example, the Washington State History Museum is an important component of state humanities policy (Chapter IV) as well as of state heritage policy (Chapter V); the Northwest Museum of Arts and Culture (Chapter V) spans all three areas of state cultural policy. Within the arts portfolio, however, there

are no stand-alone arts institutions, though some have been moving in that direction. In the Washington case these institutions tend to be located within the state university system rather than being freestanding (as a state performing arts center or a state art museum might be in other states). Washington has quite a few such institutions, including: the Burke Museum of Natural History and Culture, the Henry Art Gallery, the Simpson Center for the Humanities, and Meany Hall for the Performing Arts, all at the University of Washington; the Museum of Arts at Washington State University; the Evergreen Gallery and the Longhouse Education and Cultural Center at The Evergreen State College; and the Eastern Washington University Gallery of Art and the EWU Digital Gallery. Taken together these institutions might be considered to be “state arts institutions” in much the same way that the Washington State History Museum is a state history museum or the Northwest Museum of Arts and Culture is a state art and history museum. In the current study, we are interested in these institutions primarily because of their contribution to the cultural life of the state outside of whatever role they play in the curriculum and teaching of their respective host institutions.

For logistical reasons we have chosen to discuss only a few of these institutions. In the section that follows we consider those that are part of the University of Washington and the Longhouse Education and Cultural Center at The Evergreen State College. (Longhouse is also mentioned in Chapter VII, in which the relationships between the state’s Native American tribes and state cultural policy are further explored.)

The College of Arts and Sciences at the University of Washington is the administrative unit responsible for the Simpson Center for the Humanities, the Henry Art Gallery, the Burke Museum, and Meany Hall for the Performing Arts. (The Burke Museum might also have been discussed in Chapter V with respect to heritage policy; the decision to discuss it here is

somewhat arbitrary.) The Simpson Center is treated separately in the humanities chapter of this report.

The Burke Museum of Natural History and Culture

The website of the Burke Museum of Natural History and Culture describes its purposes as follows:

The Museum exists to encourage understanding of, and appreciation for, the natural and cultural history of Washington, the Pacific Northwest, and the Pacific Rim. The Museum preserves the natural and cultural record by developing and maintaining comprehensive, comparative collections and by conducting and encouraging research. Engaging exhibits, public programs, and publications educate and inspire the diverse and multicultural community that the museum serves, promoting a commitment to a better stewardship of natural and cultural heritage.

Members of the Young Naturalists Society founded the museum in 1885 and erected a museum building on the campus of the University of Washington. In 1899, the Legislature designated the museum as the Washington State Museum. The Burke acquired its current name and building in 1962 through a bequest from the estate of Judge Thomas Burke, who was an advocate of promoting understanding of the cultures of the Pacific Rim.

Originally, the museum sought to collect everything and anything having to do with Pacific Rim cultures, reflecting Judge Burke’s interest in trade. Within that mandate, the Burke sought to build collections, document them, make them accessible, and provide educational services. Early on, however, legislation was passed that narrowed its mission by requiring historically significant materials to be collected by the State History Museum. The Burke’s once singular mandate to curate and celebrate Native American history is now shared to a significant degree by the Northwest Museum of Art and Culture in Spokane, which is operated on behalf of the state by the Eastern Washington State Historical Society, and the Washington State History Museum in Tacoma, which is operated by the Washington State Historical Society. Both

currently enjoy more significant funding than does the Burke Museum, even though the Burke's Native American collection is more extensive. The Burke also faces increased competition from the Seattle Art Museum, which has begun to collect and exhibit ethnographic art. Even as the market for its own collections has grown, the Burke's "market share" of museum visitors has fallen despite the fact that the university (i.e., the Legislature) subsidizes a portion of public admissions.

Director George MacDonald reported that responding to these challenges has been made more difficult by the museum's structural subordination within the University of Washington system. The museum has always been administered by the University of Washington; its director reports to university administration. While university affiliation gives the museum access to faculty who lend its programs educational credibility, the museum staff feels that the museum is "low on the UW totem pole" as regards university funding and fundraising. In an effort to address this, the museum solicited a governance study from a group of professors and community leaders led by Karl Hutterer. The "Hutterer Report" called for privatizing the museum and moving it off-campus. Although the curatorial staff's refusal to leave the university resulted in the proposal being rejected, the museum did reorganize as a 501(c)(3) non-profit organization in 2002. This has enabled the museum to seek foundation support on its own more easily and allows it to avoid some of the bureaucratic requirements associated with being inside the state system, such as the requirement that all printing jobs be done by the state printer.

The museum is conscious of its obligation, as a de facto state institution, to provide service throughout the state. According to the museum's director, the museum is trying to "get across the mountains"—to reach the population east of the Cascades—and to make the museum's collections more accessible to Native Americans. For example, the Burke was the first museum to put its collections on disk to enable

them to be shared with tribal groups. Its educational programming has been directed at both adults and children, conveying the cultural and natural history contained in its collections and the curatorial staff's expertise. Nevertheless, MacDonald reported that the museum has had difficulty persuading legislators that it serves the entire state. This is exacerbated by the fact that the museum suffers from space constraints that greatly limit its capacity to fulfill its educational mission. Five times more students want to use the facility than can be accommodated with the available dates and space, he says.

Today, roughly 40 percent of the costs of building and curating the museum's collection are underwritten by state funding administered by the University of Washington. The balance is supported by gifts, revenue, and interest on its endowment. The university also provides in-kind assistance: faculty, shared facilities, access to its libraries, and free legal assistance. External funding, including visitor admissions, supports the museum's public programs. Thus, outreach has, in some sense, been privatized rather than being picked up as a component of state cultural policy.

The Burke's main activity is the collection, preservation, interpretation, and display of zoological, geological, cultural, and anthropological materials. The aim is to reach researchers and the general public alike. (In one controversial case—the storage of Kennewick Man, the remains of a man estimated to be some 9,000 years old—the museum has also provided the courts with a neutral curator, keeping the remains secure until the court determines its ultimate disposition in the face of conflicting demands from Native American tribes and scientists.)

A wide range of exhibitions has been created by the museum—for example, "The Chinese Cultural Revolution," "Pacific Voices," and "Kennewick Man." They are often developed with input from advisory boards from the communities being represented. In the late 1980s the museum established advisory boards to

give greater input to curators. The first of these was made up of Native Americans who helped design “A Time of Gathering,” a breakthrough exhibit that included tribal members who participated in the exhibition itself. Traveling exhibitions are also brought to the museum from other locations.

The museum is now planning for a major expansion and is hiring consultants to help review its policies. One major question is whether the museum should broaden its focus to include other cultures not currently represented (such as Europeans).

The Burke’s programs include educational activities on the museum premises targeting school-age children and families:

- *“Days”*: During these special days—e.g., “Dinosaur Day,” “Artifact and Specimen Identification Day,” and “Bug Day”—museum volunteers display and talk about fossils, do dinosaur face-painting, and teach how to do fossil rubbing.
- *Traveling Study Collections*: Portable boxes of scientific specimens and multicultural artifacts are designed by the museum for display and use at schools. The program is targeted at school children—particularly those in schools not directly accessible to the museum—and is intended to supplement the study of various topics in cultural and natural history. Each collection includes background information and a description of the artifacts or specimens included. Some collections include additional books or audiovisual resources. Collections are available on Pacific Northwest cultures, multicultural studies (non-local cultures), archaeology, earth sciences, and life sciences.

The Burke Museum’s primary external relationships are with other museums. It participates in museum consortia in developing and maintaining virtual collections and databases and has mounted joint exhibitions with the Seattle International Film Festival and the Pacific Science Center (IMAX). The Convention Bureau has sponsored a cooperative program in

which evening tour buses bring visitors from downtown to neighborhood cultural institutions such as this one. The Burke also collaborates with Native American groups and cultural institutions in pursuit of federal grant support to enable the presentation of materials on Native American history and culture. It supports the work of other University of Washington cultural organizations such as the Simpson Center for the Humanities, which has put together symposia using the Burke’s curators as presenters. Although it participates in the Heritage Caucus during sessions of the Legislature, it reports no ongoing interactions with either the Washington State Arts Commission or Humanities Washington.

The Henry Arts Gallery

The Henry Arts Gallery is also a hybrid—it is both a university subsidiary and a 501(c)(3) nonprofit organization. Founded in 1927 with a gift of 170 paintings plus \$100,000 for the building, “The Henry” was the first public art museum in Washington. Although its collection was then regarded as relatively conservative, until the 1970s it remained the only museum in the state specializing in contemporary art. Until the 1960s, it had been a unit of the University of Washington’s School of the Arts, whose head served as the museum’s director. At the time of the 1962 World’s Fair in Seattle a cultural elite interested in supporting contemporary art emerged, and the Henry was finally assigned an independent director. At around this same time, a group of “friends” was formed who arranged for the museum to be incorporated as a 501(c)(3), making the Henry the only university entity other than the medical school to take advantage of independent nonprofit status until the recent decision of the Burke to move in this direction.

By 1986 the museum employed six to eight staffers, all but one of whom were state employees, and it derived 75 percent of its operating budget (about \$350,000) from state funding. The current budget is \$3 million, 82 percent of which is gleaned

from non-university sources (primarily endowment income and gifts). The gallery receives less than \$50,000 from grants, and the university's contribution remains flat. Today the Henry employs fifty-five FTEs, all but six of whom are employed not by the state but by the nonprofit Henry Gallery Association. Nevertheless, the state has remained a major source of assistance and support. The Henry completed a \$24 million renovation and expansion in 1997 with the help of an \$8 million allocation from the state's capital funds and a \$5 million gift from Paul Allen.

The Henry's mission is to provide an educational resource for university students and to present contemporary art to the public, a mission which increasingly involves funding the creation of new art. One of the most interesting features of the Henry is a program in which, at a cost of \$10,000-\$50,000 per year, two to four works are commissioned from artists in residence, some of whom actually create their work in public in the gallery.

The Henry pursues its educational objectives by operating a study center that enables classes to examine contemporary artworks closely, and by putting on special promotions to attract the university community. Typically, about half the attendance is university-related. But gallery director Richard Andrews seemed much more excited about his institution's commitment to broader public participation. The Henry runs a film series, hosts Town Hall meetings (with support from the Animating Democracy Initiative of the Americans for the Arts Institute for Community Development), organizes cooperative public programming to promote learning and dialogue in diverse communities, and conducts school programs. Most of these programs leverage the academic resources available at the university. For example, for the Henry's "Gene(sis)" exhibition, scientists and artists were recruited to speak to each other, and the university helped supply the technology. The Henry targets people of high school age or older because it

feels that the work it exhibits requires some life experience in order to be understood, and because high school students and college students are traditionally neglected by arts funders.

The Henry works with the Simpson Center for the Humanities on joint programming and receives some funding from Humanities Washington, the Washington State Arts Commission, the public library system, Seattle-based arts organizations, and even the University of California at Berkeley. The major challenge facing the museum at present is building the endowment to provide greater financial stability over time.

Meany Hall for the Performing Arts

Meany Hall is the performing arts facility of the University of Washington College of Arts and Sciences. The facility was built in 1974 and substantially renovated in the late 1980s. Since July 1, 2001 Meany Hall has functioned as two separate organizations, both of them within the administrative framework of the university: Facilities and Operations (F & O) and World Series. F & O is responsible for the operation and maintenance of the facility, while World Series sponsors its own extensive and diverse performing arts series. At this point Matthew Krashan, previous director of the Meany, became the director of World Series, and Rita Calabro, a professional arts administrator, was brought in to direct F & O. This change reflected a desire to make the management of Meany Hall more businesslike, but perhaps most significantly, the organizational split enabled a refinement of internal accounting procedures, so that the World Series is now formally charged for its usage of the facility and other related support services. This arrangement reflects the goal of eliminating or at least making transparent the cross-subsidies intrinsic to Meany Hall's operations.

Meany Hall has always seen its primary mission as serving the academic units of the university—primarily dance, drama, and music. Its second priority has been to

serve the broader community. This community obligation is fulfilled through World Series events and rentals to community groups. World Series events have included piano recitals, dance, an international chamber series, and educational outreach featuring an artist-in-residence program for schools in the Seattle area. The hall is not a commercial facility and strives to avoid direct competition with the several nonprofit and for-profit facilities in Seattle.

The hall has had difficulty over time keeping up with its capital maintenance and renovation due to limited state funding. Generally, it has relied primarily on state funds for capital purposes rather than on donated support from the community at large. External fundraising is made more difficult by the built-in disincentive for donors to support a public facility that is a line item in the university's operating budget.

The F & O annual budget is approximately \$900,000, while the annual World Series budget is in the \$1 million range. Roughly \$300,000 of F & O's income each year is provided via fund transfers from World Series for its use of the facility. Hall usage breaks down roughly as follows: 45 percent of occupancy is by academic units, 30 percent by community rentals, and 25 percent by World Series events and programs. Conflicting pressures to serve the academic units while also paying for the center's operations through World Series events, as a favored tenant, have meant that community rentals have been constrained, even though these rentals help underwrite the overall cost of running the facility as much as do World Series events.

The Longhouse Education and Cultural Center

The Evergreen State College is a state-supported comprehensive institution, founded in 1967. Its 1,000-acre residential campus is located outside Olympia. It is co-educational, with 3,900 undergraduate students of whom 87 percent are full-time. Significantly, the campus sits on reservation land belonging to the Squaxin

Island Tribe. The Longhouse Education and Cultural Center was founded by a Native American member of the faculty, herself a member of the Squaxin Island Tribe, who sought to establish a facility that would function as a bridge between the college and the native communities, serve as a welcoming place for Native American students, and house the college's Native American Studies Program. It was strategically located on a site between the reservation and the college.

With initial support from nearby tribes and a cluster of small start-up grants, the founders approached the Legislature to obtain an appropriation for classroom space. A Native American architect was hired, and he designed a cultural center inspired by a tribal longhouse. The Burke Museum contributed indigenous materials and architectural elements for its construction. The Quinault Tribe gave cedar. Woven cedar mats and welcome figurines, funded through a combination of student fees and the state's Art in Public Places program, were commissioned from Native American artists.

The Longhouse Education and Cultural Center, built at a cost of \$2.2 million, opened in 1995. The Northwest Area Foundation initially funded the public service component of its programs with a grant to the South Puget Intertribal Planning Agency to oversee a "National Economic Development Arts Program" as its primary initiative.

The center's mission is to promote education in the arts and culture, cultural preservation, and arts-centered economic development for Native American artists and tribes in the northwest. The center continues to collaborate with the Burke Museum, with the State Capital Museum and with other smaller museums in the region. Director Tina Kuckkahn, who assumed her position in 1996, has been able to obtain program funding from the National Endowment for the Arts, the Washington State Arts Commission, and the tribes themselves. The commitment of state money to Longhouse, however, has been complicated because it flows

through The Evergreen State College and because it is unclear as to whether this funding should respond to arts and cultural policy imperatives or Native American policy imperatives—in which case some would choose to see it more as a multi-tribal institution than as a state institution—or both.

Observations and Conclusions

The arts policy portfolio of the State of Washington goes well beyond the programs of the Washington State Arts Commission. While WSAC continues to have a symbolic importance, signaling that these matters “are an appropriate matter of concern to the government of the State of Washington,” it is rather constrained in its ability to pursue meaningful arts policy. To be sure, this is largely due to budgetary constraints, but it is also due to the role that WSAC must play in implementing and operating policies that are conceived elsewhere. One of its major programs, Art in Public Places, is budgeted off of the state’s capital budget and administered according to specific rules and policies. It is responsible for maintenance of the resulting State Art Collection but without the resources to fulfill that role responsibly. Its Awards Program is constrained by the necessity of providing grants to the influential major institutions of the state; by its own practice much of its grants budget has been “ring fenced” and reserved to preferred clients. Interestingly, it is when the commission undertakes programs of its own that the sparks of creative public policy are most evident; this is most clearly seen in WSAC’s commitment to Centrum and to its Folk Arts Program, which, to be sure, rely more on non-state sources of funding than one might have expected. Its new initiative in arts participation relies entirely on external foundation funding.

Atypically among states, Washington has implemented a program of capital support for arts and cultural organizations (as well as heritage organizations), and even though Building for the Arts was imple-

mented in large part to rationalize what would otherwise have been a highly political process of seeking capital grants directly from the Legislature, it provides a model for what is possible. Should this program have been situated within WSAC rather than in the Office of Community Development? Those who would argue for greater policy coordination might have preferred greater centralization, but those who see room for flexibility in arts policy (and cultural policy more generally) tend to support the fact that different initiatives with different goals and objectives can be productively situated in different places within a state’s bureaucracy. Either way, this program has become an ingenious way to provide capital funding to the state’s arts organizations and, at the same time, a solution to the threat that pork barrel politics pose to policy-based decision making.

But arts policy does not end with these two programs. In any state, arts in education is an important element in arts policy, and this is no less true in Washington. Indeed, because of the greater degree of curriculum centralization and control by Washington’s independently elected superintendent of public instruction, the potential exists for a serious statewide commitment to the arts in education. This is reflected in the fact that all public high school students will have to complete a full year of arts instruction to graduate, and the fact that assessments of student mastery of essential academic learning requirements—including the arts—are now being developed for grades 5, 8, and 10.

WSAC, unwilling to leave all of the policy initiatives in this area up to the Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, maintains its own Arts in Education program, which is increasingly moving toward a model of funding consortia rather than freestanding programs with little link to the communities in which they take place. There is clearly room for an alternative view of what Arts in Education should entail, but the temptation always exists for either OSPI or

WSAC to let the other agency take up the bulk of the responsibility. In such a situation, quite a bit can fall into the bureaucratic gaps between the two.

Increasingly, the for-profit cultural industries have come under the umbrella of cultural policy. In Washington this has been limited, for the most part, to attention to the filmmaking industry. Like many states, Washington provides a series of incentives to film and video production companies and endeavors to simplify the permitting and licensing process through a central state office.

Finally, the state has fostered a set of state cultural institutions, even though they have not usually been conceptualized as such. These institutions, mostly located on various state university campuses (the exceptions being the Washington State History Museum and the Northwest Museum of Arts and Culture) contribute in important ways to the cultural life of the state. In recent years, most of these institutions have, however, been reevaluating their relationships to the state, relationships that have typically been mediated through their respective univer-

sity's administrations. A number of them have now created nonprofit 501(c)(3) affiliates or have taken the larger step of becoming nonprofit institutions themselves. They have not completely privatized as they still rely heavily on state budgetary support and they still reside in state buildings on state property. At the moment it is probably more appropriate to conceive of these institutions as organizational hybrids, part public and part private, trying to balance the advantages and disadvantages of each organizational form. Not surprisingly, these changes, which have been made for budgetary and logistical reasons, also have important cultural policy implications.

Our inquiry has shown that cultural policy at the state level goes well beyond arts policy. In the chapters that follow we explore other themes in state cultural policy as they are evidenced in the State of Washington, but the theme of arts policy recurs throughout these later chapters, demonstrating how intertwined it is with other forms of cultural expression and how key it is to state cultural policy more broadly construed.

The Humanities and State Cultural Policy

Lawrence Rothfield and David Karraker

If direct state support for the arts is relatively meager, direct independent state-level support for publicly oriented humanities programs is almost non-existent. The reason for this is not, as some might argue, that Americans are anti-intellectual. The public is not antagonistic to the work that scholars and intellectuals do, merely indifferent. Apathy is fostered by the nesting of much humanities work within institutions—the university, the library, and the museum—that subordinate the interpretive functions of the humanities to other ends. Those other purposes (scholarship, education, providing access to information, representing heritage) are recognized as public concerns, leading states—and Washington is no exception—to promulgate education policies, information policies, and heritage policies that apply to and affect the humanities. In mapping state cultural policy it is tempting, therefore, to simply dissolve the humanities into these other policy domains, especially given the absence of statements of legislative intent or even legislative attention to the humanities *per se*.

But as the presence of an agency like the National Endowment for the Humanities shows at the federal level, the work of the humanities serves public purposes distinct from those of educating, informing, or representing the past. If there is no state-level equivalent of the National Endowment for the Humanities in Washington, there is nonetheless an assortment of state-sponsored (or at the very least, state-identified) entities that promote public engagement with the humanities. By analyzing the missions, organizational structure, and policy mechanisms of these entities, which range from independent

commissions to programs embedded within agencies to university-based centers, we should be able to bring into focus the implicit humanities policy of the state.

Humanities Washington

As its original name implies, the Washington Commission for the Humanities (WCH) was the designated state-level entity charged with fostering the humanities, defined in its mission statement as “the stories, ideas, and writings that help us make sense of our lives and enhance our ability to think creatively and critically about the world.” The public programs offered under its aegis were to be designed to “interpret culture and provide a forum for civic dialogue.”

Humanities so conceived would, one might suppose, be of particular interest to state government; after all, civic dialogue and critical thinking about the world are crucial to deliberative democracies. Yet the Washington Commission for the Humanities, recently renamed Humanities Washington, is supported by the state in name only. It receives no direct funding from the Legislature.

This strange feature is an artifact of history: like other state humanities commissions, Washington’s was founded in 1973, at a time when Congress was urging both the NEH and the NEA to establish state affiliates. In every state but one, arts agencies were created as agencies of the state government,¹ but the humanities were already receiving institutional support from state governments through state universities and colleges, and the single existing state humanities council that had been created under Governor

¹ In two states, arts councils already existed: the oldest, the Utah Arts Council, had its origins in the Utah Arts Institute founded in 1899; the more influential one, the New York State Arts Council, created under Governor Nelson Rockefeller, became the model for the other state arts councils and the National Endowment for the Arts itself. In the 1970s, with NEA’s encouragement (and with the requirement of a financial match from the state), state arts councils were created in all of the other states, with all but one becoming an agency of state government. Vermont is the sole state in which the state arts council is a private, nonprofit organization. By contrast, all of the state humanities councils are private, nonprofit organizations.

Rockefeller in New York State was not eager to become so closely tied to the federal government. To avoid creating a competition for state funding between state universities and state humanities agencies while maintaining the relative autonomy of the state humanities councils from the federal government, NEH opted not to promote the creation of state humanities agencies but rather to encourage states to establish volunteer citizens' councils, incorporated as 501(c)(3) nonprofit organizations, that could be funded by grant applications to the endowment itself. Washington was one of the first ten states to establish a humanities commission of this form, spurred by Dave Barri, provost of The Evergreen State College, where the organization's headquarters was located for fifteen years before it moved to its present Seattle location.

The Washington Commission for the Humanities began as an exclusively grant-making operation, with two staff members disbursing up to \$800,000 annually to scholars and organizations. The major shift in the organization has been its transformation, from a steward distributing NEH funds to scholars, into an organization centrally concerned not just with grant making for public programs but with operating its own public programs and actively seeking funding for them. The link between fundraising and self-administered programming with more direct public punch is not accidental. Until the early 1980s, the commission did not need to appeal to state-level constituencies for support. Karen Munro, spouse of recently retired Secretary of State Ralph Munro, worked for WCH for about five years during its early days. She recalled: "We became complacent at the start because we had so much NEH money. We should have laid the groundwork years ago for state funding, but we didn't do it." But it would have been difficult to lay such groundwork, given the requirements imposed by the NEH at that time. "When we started," Munro explained, "we could only do projects on the humanities and public policy—they couldn't express any one particular point

of view. We had people who just wanted to do the humanities and others who wanted to do public policy and bring in humanists as token. But gradually NEH loosened up. We wound up involving a lot of very interesting people."

What led NEH to loosen up were the drastic cutbacks of federal funding in the 1980s. In the wake of these cuts, NEH began to encourage state humanities councils to approach state legislatures for funding. Until only a few years ago, however, the board of WCH opposed this because it feared the state might choose to reduce the commission to an inconsequential sub-entity within a major state agency.² Recent efforts to convince state legislators to provide some modest funding have not succeeded—this despite the fact that many of the legislators with whom we spoke thought that WCH had actually been receiving state funding.

Now named Humanities Washington, the state humanities commission continues to be funded primarily through grant applications to NEH, with reauthorizations every five years. NEH provides annual direct unrestricted grants in the \$600,000 range. The quest for other, non-governmental funding streams for general operating support has been long and rather dismal. It first looked for funding help to the scholars and organizations that had formerly benefited from its support, but it got little from them, so it established a staff position in public relations and encouraged the formation of two support organizations, the Friends of the Humanities (1983) and the Washington Endowment for the Humanities (1989). At some point in this period the commission moved to Seattle with the hope of attracting more donations. Though the "Friends" recruited a large constituency of supporters, they failed to reach their fundraising goals, and in 1995 they merged with the Washington Commission for the Humanities. The Washington Endowment for the Humanities, initially funded with \$300,000 from WCH's reserve fund (with no restrictions placed on its use, however), raised funds for only

² Most recently, the state library has been placed under the control of the secretary of state's office. Earlier the State Capital Museum had been merged into the Washington State Historical Society and legislation introduced that would have moved the state historic preservation program under its aegis as well, so it was by no means a paranoid fantasy to imagine the Washington Commission for the Humanities being folded into a large state office. What the implications of that would have been are less clear.

two years, and in 1998 it merged with WCH as well. The endowment is currently valued at \$600,000, of which 92 percent is set aside as a reserve fund.

To pursue private support more effectively, Humanities Washington has launched a major donors' club and has undertaken a Campaign for the Humanities, aimed at "making the humanities a household word." It is also building a coalition to publicize humanities opportunities. (Other players include the Seattle Public Library's Center for the Book, the Simpson Center for the Humanities, the Washington State Historical Society, and the Bumbershoot Festival—Seattle's arts festival.) In 2001, the board of trustees established a special fund, the Delma Tayer endowment fund, to hold monies in trust to ensure continuation of humanities programming despite fluctuations in federal appropriations.

Because the funding available for general operating support is relatively small, Humanities Washington depends on dedicated forms of payment to underwrite particular programs. Some programs charge fees to participants, generating approximately \$100,000 per annum in fee-based revenues. But it also relies on restricted funding from governmental sources including NEH, the Cultural Development Authority of King County,³ the University of Washington's Scandinavian Studies Program, and even the Consulate General of Sweden. Non-governmental sources—foundations, corporations, and individuals—contribute approximately \$400,000 yearly in support of its programming efforts.

Policy Objectives

The commission's board members, who do not vote on specific programs but set policy objectives by approving the commission's moves into different areas, guide programming. While the mission statement mirrors those of other state humanities commissions around the country, the board's policy objectives are more specifically determined by the peculiarities of Washington as a state. What are these objectives?

The primary aim of Humanities Washington—or at least the one about which our interviewees had the most to say—is to promote a sense of shared identity among the citizens of the state. Jack Faris, vice president for university relations at the University of Washington and chairman of the board of Humanities Washington, emphasized that because of Washington's east/west divide and weak state government, Washingtonians have little sense of identity as compared to Texans or New Yorkers. In his view, there is a liberal readiness to denigrate rural inhabitants and vice versa, especially with regard to environmental issues. There is also a more profound problem of political culture in the state. Washingtonians have become alienated from government and community, with a strong anti-tax distrust reflected in the passage of the tax inhibiting/cutting Initiatives 601 and 695, and, not coincidentally, with no tradition of state investment in research in the humanities. Extremist phobias on both right and left make it very difficult to sell the idea of the value of humanities research. The bumpiness of the state's transition from fishing, logging, and aerospace to a knowledge-based economy has aggravated this distrust. Yet Washingtonians share a profound, albeit vague, attachment to this part of the world, and it is that sense of attachment that state cultural agencies, and especially Humanities Washington, seek to foster. As Faris put it, the goal is "to make one Washington." To do this means deliberately using humanities organizations and programs to overcome the regional divide. Because

³ This includes funding from a variety of programs that were part of the former King County Office of Cultural Resources: the King County Cultural Resources Fund (itself supplied by the hotel-motel tax), the King County Arts Commission, and the King County Landmarks and Heritage Commission.

these organizations must often locate themselves in a major city in order to survive, funding tends to be Seattle-centric. But Humanities Washington hopes to create a sense of shared experience across the state.

It is worth noting here that the obstacles to a sense of shared civic identity so often cited by cultural theorists—differences of race, ethnicity, class, and gender—were hardly mentioned by those we interviewed, and would appear to play little part in the framing of this policy objective. Our interviewees did not talk about overcoming racism, homophobia, sexism, or the split between rich and poor. But each of these issues has an urban/rural as well as an east/west dimension in Washington, and the programs supported by the commission do address many of them directly, albeit within the overall context of making one Washington.

Along with promoting a sense of Washington identity, Humanities Washington also seeks to enable individuals to live fuller lives and to help communities become stronger, more connected and more capable. These three objectives—creating civic identity, enriching individual lives, and empowering communities—are lofty goals, but also necessarily rather hazy, not immediately translatable into a robust or pointed set of programs and outcomes. The commission's objectives leave undefined the media—storytelling? academic historical monographs? documentary films? book clubs? talk shows? newspaper reviews of new books, exhibitions, or films? library acquisitions?—on which its programs should focus as it seeks to promote the “stories, ideas, and writings” referred to in its mission statement. Nor does it stipulate in advance whether it is most interested in enhancing the supply, the distribution, or the demand for these stories, ideas, and writings.

The generality of the commission's policy objectives has two consequences. First, the policy directions the commission actually takes, and the means by which it pursues its goals, are defined not by the trustees but by the director and her staff.

At least in our interviews, this was the case. In describing the commission's objectives, Margaret Ann Bollmeier, its president and CEO, linked each of its three objectives to a discrete means (though not a specific medium):

- To help communities become more connected and capable, it works with organizations that reach people who do not normally go to libraries and therefore lack access to the humanities.
- To get more people to participate in the political life of the state, it provides programming using the humanities to create dialogues between groups in conflict. (For example, it has run programs on the environment in the timber communities bringing together loggers and environmentalists.)
- To enrich individual lives, it works together with social service organizations helping disadvantaged families and non-traditional students.

The second consequence of the absence of specific policy objectives is that decisions about program priorities are made, in practice, with the expressed interests of humanities providers and consumers firmly in mind. The people and organizations that might be predisposed to make use of the commission's programs and services play an active role in framing and choosing programs and services that further their own policy objectives. As Margaret Ann Bollmeier explained, “Much of what we do is the result of a request or a series of requests from individuals and institutions who seek us out. [For example,] we worked with twenty organizations in Seattle on the nature and dimensions of social change.” This is, in and of itself, not a bad thing, and indeed might generate valuable programming, but it does call into question the relevance of the commission's own policy vision.⁴

⁴ It has not been uncommon among government cultural agencies in the United States to project a reactive rather than a proactive policy profile. This has often made it difficult to defend these agencies' activities on policy-related grounds.

Programs

Aside from its Media Center, Humanities Washington runs very few direct service programs, instead choosing to partner with other organizations. Some of these organizations, such as the Washington State Historical Society, local libraries, or Bard College, are directly interested in the humanities, but the commission also works with a surprising number of social-service-oriented groups: Rotary Clubs, the Junior League, Head Start/Even Start. Such partnerships might include working with community-based organizations to test and tailor programming ideas or responding to their ideas for programming.

The ideas that actually translate into new programs, however, come most often not from below but from elsewhere and above, replicating programs fostered by national entities and underwritten by non-governmental philanthropies. These include:

- ❑ *Motheread/Fatheread*: A statewide family reading and literacy program that uses quality children's literature to improve adult literacy generally and to encourage parents to read to their children. Materials are obtained from the founding national Motheread/Fatheread organization, a private non-profit entity. The commission collaborates with other organizations such as Head Start/Even Start welfare-to-work programs—those already working with parents—to identify high-risk families (particularly those receiving Temporary Assistance for Needy Families), and with elementary schools to maximize parent participation.
- ❑ *The Bard College Clemente Course in the Humanities*: Developed by essayist-novelist Earl Shorris, this program offers opportunities to non-traditional students—generally those from low income or otherwise disadvantaged circumstances—to read and study literature, philosophy, history, and art. The program, hosted by El Centro de la Raza, a Chicano/Latino civil rights organization, targets individuals 17 to 35 years old living in households with income no higher than 150 percent of the poverty line. The ethnic mix is one-third black, one-third Latino, and one-third white. The course provides a bridge from the students' present circumstances to four-year college and further humanistic studies by educating not in the narrow set of employable skills but in conceptual skills and sophistication. The expectation is that rigorous exposure to materials and ideas from these various domains will exert transformational effects upon those selected to participate. Tuition, books, bus fare, and childcare are provided free of charge, and six transferable credits from Bard College are awarded if the course is completed at a high level of achievement. Thirty people have graduated from the program so far. An alumni organization is being formed, and the program plans to try to help graduates make the next step by encouraging college admissions officers to talk to them, and by creating (in response to a student suggestion) continuing book clubs.
- ❑ *Smithsonian Traveling Exhibits*: This program is a partnership with the Smithsonian Traveling Exhibit Series. The focus is on providing small and rural museums traveling exhibitions. Humanities Washington pays a fee to access materials and exhibits. It selects museums (six in the last round) from a larger cohort of applicant organizations. Six months before the exhibit opens in the host community the commission hosts a workshop, to which Smithsonian staff come to present the exhibit to the sponsor and help develop ways to make the program locally relevant. The Smithsonian staff returns a week immediately prior to the opening of each exhibition to install the exhibit. A commission staff member provides ongoing support to the local sponsor throughout the preparatory process.

Because the goods provided through these programs—literacy, education, and

access to heritage—are relatively stable, well defined, and utilitarian, and the programs themselves are already vetted and approved by national organizations, they are attractive to funders.

It has proven more difficult for Humanities Washington to raise money for programs that aim to promote civic dialogue, such as *Inquiring Mind*. The primary purpose of *Inquiring Mind* is to provide publicly accessible opportunities for lifelong learning, and to explore the questions integral to the humanities—Where have we been? Why did we go there? Where are we going? For this program, speakers on various topics in the humanities are recruited and assigned to various local libraries, historical societies, senior centers, and museums, which must contribute a co-payment (not for financial reasons, but to give these local organizations an incentive to treat the program seriously and to recruit audiences). The true program cost to the commission is \$500 per event. Presentations help vitalize community gathering places by providing a free public program that can engage the entire family, and by offering the chance to publicly explore issues that have divided many communities, such as growth management and community development. The target audience of *Inquiring Mind* is rural communities (agricultural, manufacturing, timber, and government). At the time of our interviews, Humanities Washington was recruiting speakers associated in the public mind with the September 11th tragedy—experts on Arab culture, Islam, and comparative religion. Said Bollmeier, “We mount programs in large part as a response to events as they occur, like 9/11. We also did a series of programs in timbering/logging communities on environmental issues.”

Despite the timeliness of these sorts of events, which reach the broadest audiences of any of the commission’s programs, they are, paradoxically, less attractive to private givers than pre-packaged, social-service-oriented programs. This is for reasons not of ideology but of pragmatic utility. “Funders like to know where their

money is going,” Bollmeier pointed out, and the range of *Inquiring Mind* subject matter is so broad and develops so frequently in response to breaking events, that it is difficult to articulate the outcomes the program seeks to achieve. Those who have faith in the less-easily assessed value of civic dialogue—public libraries and junior colleges, in particular—ultimately are the best advocates and financial supporters for these programs.

None of the above-mentioned programs is directed at what might be called the “supply” side of the humanities. Humanities Washington does not provide any funding for scholarly research or grants to individual humanists to help support the publication of books, leaving these tasks to the universities, NEH, and the marketplace. The only direct financial assistance given to individual humanists is to those hired on a contract basis to give talks or run courses. Instead, the commission targets grants to organizations, offering, for example, “quick grants” of up to \$500 on a year-round basis to small or rural organizations for planning or program implementation and awarding project grants through a twice-yearly competitive review process for larger projects. Even the Washington Humanities Award, presented annually to an individual (and organization) for outstanding achievement in the humanities, is organizationally focused: the award of \$1,000 goes to support public humanities programming at an organization of the winner’s choice.

While Humanities Washington does not play any direct role in supporting better or more literary art criticism, philosophy, or history, there is one area of the humanities in which it has chosen to encourage production: the new media, including documentary film, video, and the Internet. The commission supports documentary projects through direct grants (a total of \$10,000 per annum) to groups such as schools, museums, libraries, community cultural groups, local governments, and arts clubs. But the commission also supports the documentary-creating community in Washington more directly by

owning and operating the Media Center, a video production center providing a site with equipment, training, and technical assistance at an affordable price. Modeled on a program started in Virginia in the early 1990s, the center rents its equipment at \$425/week (with one free week), and runs workshops on the use of the equipment and on interviewing techniques. Social service organizations help find applicants for the program, for which there is a very short waiting list. The program claims to be content-neutral, and the range of themes is wide: one documentary, produced by the Southwest Seattle Historical Society, used their oral histories archive; another dealt with the histories of Japanese internment veterans; a third with “deadbeat” fathers. Future plans for the center include going regional by pooling money with Oregon to create a single \$10,000 grant to encourage excellence, building a new facility, developing an employment database of those involved in film production, and even moving into sales and representation, possibly in coordination with one of the state’s film festivals.

Although Media Center Director Lyall Bush described the center’s purpose in cultural-industry terms—ultimately, he said, the aim is to help make Washington a hotbed of documentary production—the Media Center’s publicity materials connect this objective with the commission’s overall distributive mission. Strengthening the capacity of documentary-makers helps “to broaden and deepen public awareness of humanities issues through newer methods of inquiry, such as film, video, and the Internet,” Bush said. The public awareness side of the center’s work is accomplished through its documentary film festivals, which have had an ethnic focus (Irish, Northwest, and, in the most recent biennial, Scandinavian) and have been sited downtown and on Capitol Hill.

The Media Center’s funding streams are as distinctive as its profile within Humanities Washington. Startup funding was provided by the Allen Foundation and the

King County Cultural Resources Fund (which is supplied by the hotel-motel tax). The program’s ongoing costs (including \$3,000 per faculty quarter taught) are defrayed by the fees paid by participants (\$425 per week for equipment use; \$400 for workshops). The Media Center has also received funding from the King County Arts Commission and the King County Landmarks and Heritage Commission (both now restructured into the new Cultural Development Authority of King County), the University of Washington Scandinavian Studies Program, and the Consulate General of Sweden.

What is missing from this otherwise impressively variegated list of local, county, and even international partners for the Media Center as well as for the commission’s programs as a whole, are state-level agencies with whom one might expect some collaboration. Although Humanities Washington has worked successfully from time to time with the Washington State Historical Society—they have even funded each others’ programs on occasion—it is reluctant to become involved in too many joint undertakings, which, it fears, could lead to calls to consolidate the two agencies. Interagency collaboration is discouraged, as well, by the fear that one agency may poach the other’s funding. It is striking that it works with neither the Washington State Arts Commission nor the Washington State Historical Society to lobby for joint funding. The only successful instance of interagency collaboration reported by our interviewees in this realm was one in which Humanities Washington filled a niche at the behest of a sister agency: the Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction hired the Motherhead/Fatheread program to provide literacy training focusing on using stories to promote family (rather than child) literacy.

Impact

What impact has the programming of Humanities Washington had on the state's cultural life? Has it been effective in enriching individual lives, empowering communities, promoting civic awareness? The evidence, as it must be with respect to such amorphous yet highly-valued objectives, is difficult to come by—all the more so given the ratio of programs to budget size and the need to spend scarce dollars delivering programs to hungry and deserving constituencies. As Margaret Ann Bollmeier somewhat ruefully admitted, “The content of our programs is excellent. But we don’t have the resources to fully respond to demand. We can’t fully analyze the impact of our programs or hire outside consultants to evaluate and assess program effectiveness.”

In the absence of benchmarks or third-party program evaluations, the success of Humanities Washington can be measured only by the backlog of demand for most or all of its programs, and by anecdotal evidence. The “Barn Again” traveling exhibit, a Smithsonian project brought to Washington by the commission, for instance, generated moving testimonials from small town residents attesting to its success in revitalizing communities that had been on the verge of extinction. Similarly, a community conversation series bringing together an ad hoc group of attendees in Spokane spawned a listserv that continues to hum along. And the Media Center reports individual successes of a more concrete kind: a film focusing on Irish issues was picked up by the 911 Media Arts Center, while another on Scandinavian subjects was optioned to the Nordic Heritage Museum.

The Washington State Historical Society

Within the framework of this report, the efforts by the state to collect, preserve, and restore its heritage are treated as distinct from the state's efforts to interpret it. The task of interpreting Washington's heritage is, like the task of interpreting its

art, values, and personal experiences, a prerogative of the humanities. For that reason, some of the Washington State Historical Society's activities are analyzed here and some are analyzed in Chapter V as part of state heritage policy. For although WSHS devotes much of its budget to operating the Washington State History Museum, and the museum's heritage function is primary, its *1999 Annual Report* emphasizes that it “collects, preserves, and interprets [emphasis added]” the state's heritage, and the society takes this interpretative function very seriously.

The Washington State Historical Society is an interesting hybrid, combining aspects of a state agency—it operates the state's history museum and a number of related programs on behalf of the state—with aspects of a private nonprofit organization—it is also incorporated as a private 501(c)(3) nonprofit organization. Both a state agency and a nonprofit organization, it is positioned to take advantage of the duality of that status by wielding the resources and influence imparted by each side of its organization.

The historical society is a hybrid in another sense as well: it bridges the cultural policy field between heritage policy and humanities policy, incorporating elements of both. The mission statement of the historical society reflects this bridge:

The...Society is a nonprofit membership organization operating throughout the state, designated in statute as a trustee agency of state government.

The Society collects preserves and interprets materials and information that exemplify the history and culture of Washington within the context of the American West and the nation as a whole.

The Society provides educational and research opportunities to individuals, families, scholars, teachers and school students, plus leadership and technical assistance to other heritage organizations.⁵

The fact that the historical society has the status of a “trustee agency of state government” means that its powers and duties (as well as the powers and duties of its sister trustee agency, the Eastern Washington State Historical Society) are defined by state statute:

⁵ Washington State Historical Society, *1999 Annual Report*.

- *To collect, catalog, preserve, and interpret objects, manuscripts, sites, photographs, and other materials illustrative of the cultural, artistic, and natural history of th[e] state;*
- *To operate state museums and assist and encourage cultural and historical studies and museum interpretive efforts throughout the state, including those sponsored by local historical organizations, and city, county, and state agencies;*
- *To engage in cultural, artistic, and educational activities, including classes, exhibits, seminars, workshops, and conferences if these activities are related to the basic purpose of the society; [and]*
- *To plan for and conduct celebrations of significant events in the history of the state of Washington and to give assistance to and coordinate with state agencies, local governments, and local historical organizations in planning and conducting celebrations.*

All objects, sites, manuscripts, photographs, and all property, including real property, now held or hereafter acquired by the state historical societies shall be held by the societies in trust for the use and benefit of the people of Washington state.

Revised Code of Washington, §27.34.070

“Trusteeship,” as used here, is a complicated arrangement, indicating that although the society is incorporated as a 501(c)(3) non-profit organization, it is also treated as an agency of government in that it receives direct biennial appropriations from the Legislature. In return, it operates the Washington State History Museum and collects, preserves, and maintains the important historic artifacts of the state. Because of its hybrid nature, it also must raise a substantial portion of its operating budget from private sources, including museum admissions. (Trustee status was conferred on the society in 1909 at the time the Legislature established this category of organization.) Even though more than 70 percent of the society’s operating budget is state-funded, it has an independent board of directors. Yet, all society employees are employees of the State of Washington.

We did not have access to the directors or managers of the society’s operating divisions during our field visits, so much of the discussion below (and the later

discussion of WSHS in Chapter V under the rubric of heritage policy) relies on published materials, particularly the society’s *2001 Annual Report*, for the descriptions of program activities.

The terms in which those we interviewed defined WSHS’s mission show the society’s fundamental affinity with the humanities. Like Humanities Washington, which sees itself representing what Jack Faris called “the stories of us,” WSHS seeks to provide citizens with what Executive Director Dave Nicandri called “meaningful storytelling”: “There’s a sense of historical consciousness and awareness in this state. The idea is to place the experiences of individuals in the State of Washington in an historical context.” Moreover, both organizations claim, in Nicandri’s words, to “focus on the entire range of experience of the State of Washington...to tell stories about the whole state.” Where the two organizations differ is in what counts for them as the experiences most worth interpreting. Humanities Washington deals with experiences that are essentially personal, often mediated through the arts, while WSHS deals with experiences that are first and foremost historical. It specializes in “big blockbuster documentary storytelling” that promotes what David Lamb, past President of WSHS’s Board of Trustees, called “historical pride.” Where Humanities Washington speaks of generating “critical thinking about the world” and “promoting civic dialogue,” WSHS is, Lamb said, “in the Washington patriotism business.”

It was precisely to promote such pride in the accomplishments of Washingtonians that the society was founded in 1891. It was a moment in the state’s history when a major influx of new residents was underway, and the pioneer generation that preceded them wanted, in Nicandri’s words, “to memorialize their own experience.” The society was located in Tacoma in that year because it was founded during a brief span of time during which Tacoma’s population exceeded Seattle’s.

Until just a few years ago the society’s offices and exhibition space were located

in a small building approximately two miles north of its present location, encompassing a total of 45,000 square feet. David Lamb, who joined the board of directors in 1984, described the organization in those days as “a pretty moribund institution,” a conclusion that Nicandri reported was supported by a legislative study conducted during the same period. Within twelve years, WSHS would be moving into a \$40.8 million building (with 70 percent of these capital funds coming from public sources). The society’s building represents an astonishing commitment of state resources to a cultural agency—a commitment all the more astonishing when compared, for instance, to the complete absence of state investment in Humanities Washington. How was such an audacious objective accomplished?

WSHS’s achievement was the result of the serendipitous confluence of a number of factors. First, when Nicandri and Lamb began working at the society, “the economics for the state as a whole were very positive,” said Lamb. Even so, Lamb continued, “It was unimaginable in those days that the present facility could ever be built. I was a young trustee and Nicandri was new, and we lobbied the Legislature hard for support for the history program.” The trigger for the development of the current facility, which opened in 1996—an immense edifice with several floors of interactive multi-media exhibits and programs—was a move begun by Tacoma preservation advocates in 1985-86 to rescue and restore a railway station immediately to the north. A range of proposals for its reuse were mounted, including shared occupancy by the museum with the federal courts. As David Lamb noted,

All the local and state level political actors and factors were favorable at that point. A lot of wealthy and influential people in Tacoma wanted to raise the community’s self image above its grubby paper mill smelly image. We had the beautiful old train station the preservationists were out to save. The movement to put the museum and then the courthouse in there really got us going.

At the same time, the state’s centennial celebration was being planned, putting the

state’s heritage on the radar of politicians, and no organization was better positioned to benefit from this attention than WSHS. As Lamb pointed out, “If you are going for public money there’s an immediate link between historical pride and why someone might run for the legislature.”

WSHS urged the Tacoma preservationists to expand their campaign’s aims to encompass both the redevelopment of the station and the construction of a separate but immediately adjacent state-of-the-art museum. Advocating for such a grand expansion was no easy task, raising as it did the risk of antagonizing other heritage (and other cultural) groups. As Lamb pointed out, “We were new players and we were emerging from the group of smaller heritage organizations. We put ourselves forward but we needed to assure all the others that a rising tide would lift all boats.” Ultimately, Nicandri and Lamb succeeded in convincing preservation advocates to work together with them. Said Nicandri: “[The preservation advocates] were amazingly successful. They talked to the Congressman, who ultimately arranged for it to become a federal courthouse.”

Financing

None of this would have been possible were it not for the society’s hybrid status, which enables the society to raise money from both public and private sources, a major advantage compared to most state agencies.⁶ The society’s other structural advantage, especially compared to humanities organizations such as Humanities Washington and the Simpson Center for the Humanities at the University of Washington, is its possession of material physical assets that need to be exhibited. Consequently, it is easier to raise money for physical manifestations of the society’s work—buildings or exhibits—than for its other programs.

Commenting on the readiness of the Legislature to appropriate capital funds for development of the present facility, one interviewee observed that public capital development projects in Washington

⁶ Although state agencies can, in theory, solicit donations that are tax deductible under the federal income tax laws, donors are reluctant to make such donations fearing that the legislature will find these revenues too tempting, substituting them for allocations that they would otherwise have had to make and using the “freed up” money for other, unrelated purposes.

Table IV.1: Washington State Historical Society—Receipts Operating Accounts: FY 1999, FY 2000, FY 2001

Source	Fiscal Year 1999		Fiscal Year 2000		Fiscal Year 2001	
	Amount	Percent	Amount	Percent	Amount	Percent
State Appropriation	\$2,810,582	73.6%	\$2,708,936	69.8%	\$3,073,022	74.5%
Federal Service Agreement	\$0	0%	\$89,202	2.3%	\$113,839	2.8%
Other Earned Income ^a	\$829,710	21.7%	\$902,458	23.2%	\$845,789	20.5%
Contributions	\$178,463	4.7%	\$182,857	4.7%	\$94,358	2.3%
Total Operating Income	\$3,818,755	100.0%	\$3,883,453	100.0%	\$4,127,008	100.0%

Notes: Percentage columns may not add to 100.0% because of rounding errors.

^aOther Earned Income includes admissions, membership dues, business income, conference income, and other sources of earned income except income under a federal service agreement.

Source: Washington State Historical Society, *2001 Annual Report* (Tacoma, WA: Washington State Historical Society, 2001), 3.

tend not to be immediately affected by the sorts of constraints increasingly associated with general fund appropriations for operations. The process of conceptualizing, planning, and contracting a building project is lengthy and such projects generate a great deal of political momentum as they move forward; unlike programs, they are very difficult to bring to a halt. Moreover, the fact that the state's bonding authority provides the basis for financing capital projects enables costs to be stretched out over a period of years, and the fact that construction materials are not exempt from the state's retail sales and use tax means that much of the cost will be recouped by the state in any event in the form of increased tax revenues.

Appropriations from the state's general fund are the largest source of support for the historical society's operational budget (Table IV.1). State appropriations typically provide between 70 percent and 75 percent of total operating income; earned income is typically around 20 percent of total operating income; and financial contributions (as distinguished from contributions of objects for the collection) provide less than 5 percent of total operating income. Even so, it is important to remember that all exhibits are supported in their entirety through grants, gifts, and awards from institutional and individual donors.

Complete comparable figures for fiscal year 2002 were not available, but the state appropriation for the Washington State Historical Society was eventually set at

\$2,873,000 for fiscal year 2002 (including \$90,000 dedicated to Lewis and Clark bicentennial activities) and, after having been originally set in the biennial budget at \$3,129,000 for fiscal year 2003, it was decreased to \$3,035,000 (including \$285,000 dedicated to the Lewis and Clark bicentennial). Both of these appropriations heralded the beginning of even greater cuts to come as the state budget situation worsened.

The Washington State Historical Society has a full-time staff of just fewer than forty people, with an additional twenty-five to thirty-five part-time people and approximately 150 volunteers.

The Washington State History Museum is undoubtedly the society's flagship, and its activities—as well as those of its sister museum, the Washington State Capital Museum—are arguably more engaged in heritage than in the humanities. Thus, the society's Museum Services division is discussed in Chapter V, in which we explore the relationship of WSHS to state heritage policy. Our focus in this chapter is on the society's Outreach Services division, the operating division that most centrally engages in the discussion-based programming that is the lifeblood of the humanities; this division is discussed a bit later. But we turn first to Institutional Advancement, the division in which the society's fundraising functions are handled.

Institutional Advancement

The Institutional Advancement division is responsible for developing income streams on the private side including earned income from memberships, admissions, facility rentals, and catering, as well as income from all forms of fundraising. An important element in this mix is the museum building itself, particularly, the Great Hall of Washington History, which is rented out for a wide variety of events and promotions. The museum's privileged position as a state facility has led to a bit of controversy over the relationship between property tax exemptions and the use of nonprofit facilities for private events, a controversy that only grew as other new, nonprofit museums were developed in Tacoma and have gone into direct competition with the historical society with facility rentals. (This issue is discussed in detail in Chapter VIII.)

Institutional Advancement is also responsible for the full range of visitor services provided in the society's two museums—the Washington State History Museum and the State Capital Museum (discussed below). The number of members of the historical society has recently been in the vicinity of 3,500. The *2001 Annual Report* reports the following visitor volumes: 112,172 (fiscal year 1999), 121,394 (2000), and 102,867 (2001).

Because new programs and new exhibits are not funded out of general operating support but are only funded as contributed income makes them possible, Institutional Advancement plays a key role as the central actor in the fundraising and grant-seeking effort.

This division also brokers a wide variety of community partnerships, in which the museum seeks to leverage its programs by developing programs and initiatives with others. Examples include a joint promotion with the Tacoma Sabercats ice hockey team and a set of collaborations with the Northwest Folklife Festival, the Experience Music Project, and the University of Washington, Tacoma, all of which developed programs around the

major exhibit, "This Land is Your Land: The Life and Legacy of Woody Guthrie." Among the state's cultural policy agencies, the Washington State Historical Society is the one that is most proactive in building such partnerships and engaging fully in collaborative efforts. Undoubtedly, this is both encouraged and facilitated by its status as a hybrid, trustee organization, which makes it a more credible bridge across the public-private divide.

Outreach Services

Both of the society's museums and all three of its divisions are, of course, involved in its humanities programming. Museum Services, which is discussed further in Chapter V, has, for example, supplemented a Smithsonian traveling exhibit on Woody Guthrie by producing its own show about the author of the quintessential labor union song, "Solidarity Forever," and the museum's History Lab Learning Center offers students a hands-on experience of how historical inquiry is carried out. Indeed, both museums house a wide variety of humanities-based activities, but the key division in humanities programming is the Outreach Services division.

For years, WSHS has provided services throughout the state to a wide range of individuals and organizations interested in history. Services have been provided to laypeople interested in local history, to heritage advocates, to local historical societies and museums, to teachers and school systems, and to professional researchers in a wide variety of disciplines. In 2001 the staff structure was modified to create an enlarged Outreach Services division, which now includes the Education Department, the Heritage Resource Center, the Center for Columbia River History, and the Washington State Capital Museum.

The Education Department provides school tour programs to an estimated 30,000 schoolchildren per year in addition to providing services and in-service training to teachers throughout the state. As a result, it is well known among Washington history teachers of all grade levels. Through the Education Department the society

participates in the annual Washington State Council for the Social Studies Conference and the National History Day Conference, which give the society and its museums and programs considerable impact and visibility. It is worth noting here the contrast with Humanities Washington and the Simpson Center, neither of which has robust links to English teachers or much impact on schoolchildren.

Like Humanities Washington, the society's Outreach Services division provides support through its Heritage Resource Center (HRC) for local organizations throughout the state, but unlike Humanities Washington, the society's support is primarily in the form of technical assistance rather than as grant aid. Established as part of the 1989 celebration of the centennial of Washington's statehood, the HRC was originally named the Centennial Resource Center and had strong support from the Washington Centennial Commission, which wanted to provide assistance to heritage efforts throughout the state. Since that time, the technical assistance initiative created to prepare smaller museums and heritage organizations for the statehood commemoration has evolved into a permanent program of the Washington State Historical Society.

HRC offers technical assistance workshops, conferences, consulting services, and collaborative programs, and publishes the *Heritage Bulletin*, a quarterly newsletter. HRC staff have worked with almost all of the nearly 460 museums and heritage organizations in the state. Their workshops are intended to promote a level of professionalism among community heritage advocates. Through these workshops, HRC staff and consultants help the staff and volunteers of these local institutions and organizations develop their skills. HRC staff and consultants routinely visit the state's many community heritage organizations to provide consulting advice on a wide range of subjects, from organizational and funding concerns to program and exhibit design. They provide an assessment service to help these local organizations diagnose their needs.

HRC's most important humanities events are its Pacific Northwest History Conference, targeted at an academic/research audience, and its much larger annual Heritage Conference, which brings together representatives from many disciplines, professions, and organizations to explore and discuss current issues and to exchange innovative programming ideas. The 2001 conference was a joint effort between Washington and Oregon, which pulled together a wide variety of organizational sponsors including the Oregon Heritage Commission, the Washington Trust for Historic Preservation, the Oregon State Historic Preservation Office, the Washington State Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, the Tourism Development division of the Washington State Tourism Office (Department of Community, Trade and Economic Development), the Oregon Museum Association, the Washington Museum Association, Humanities Washington, the Oregon Humanities Council, the Oregon Historical Society, the Washington State Historical Society, the Washington State Department of Transportation/Heritage Corridors Program, and the Pacific Northwest Regional Office of the National Park Service. This effort is one of the clearest examples we found in Washington of a cross-agency and cross-field—heritage and humanities—cultural policy initiative. It is interesting to note that this effort flowed out of the work of a hybrid private/public agency. It is also interesting to note that the initiative in question is content-neutral; it makes no deliberate effort to shape or direct the field in a particular way from a single viewpoint.

In these ways, the work of the Heritage Resource Center is similar in intent to the work of the Community Arts Development Program of the Washington State Arts Commission (discussed in Chapter III), but it appears that the program of technical assistance to local organizations is much better developed in the heritage sector than in the arts sector. The choice to implement policy through technical assistance rather than through grants is noteworthy. It may well be that a mainline

cultural agency (e.g., WSAC) is under more political pressure to distribute its resources through grants than to use them in programmatic initiatives such as technical assistance than is a trustee agency that bridges the governmental and nonprofit sectors. Or it may be that the programmatic tradition is simply different with respect to the heritage than with respect to the arts and humanities.

Finally, on behalf of the state, the Heritage Resource Center administers the Capital Projects Fund for Washington's Heritage, which is discussed separately in Chapter V.

The component of Outreach Services that draws most directly and most efficiently on the academic humanities is its Center for Columbia River History (CCRH), a consortium of WSHS, Washington State University Vancouver, and Portland State University. The consortium was founded in 1990 to combine scholarly capacity from the two collaborating universities with the curatorial and administrative resources of the Washington State Historical Society. The center has no independent corporate status, operating instead through a memorandum of understanding that defines the respective roles and obligations of each of the partners. WSHS provides financial support for a full-time program manager while the two university partners underwrite a part-time executive director (Portland State University) and a project historian (WSU Vancouver). The center is not itself a destination point. Instead, it periodically organizes exhibitions at the Clark County Museum and at other locations in its region (southwestern Washington and greater Portland, Oregon). CCRH also conducts interdisciplinary research projects, publishes material in text and electronic format, sponsors seminars for teachers and free public programs, and develops curricula. It collaborates with a range of historical and cultural institutions, offering its programs to schools, libraries, historical societies, and public groups throughout the Columbia River Basin.

As its name and consortium partners indicate, the center's focus is the history of

the bi-state Columbia River Basin. That history is not uncontroversial, for, as the center's mission statement notes,

Although humans have lived along the river for more than 10,000 years, modern engineering in the 19th and 20th centuries has dramatically altered the Columbia. Some scientists believe that today the river is environmentally threatened and that drastic action should be taken to reverse the changes made to the Columbia during the last 150 years.

CCRH is dedicated to examining the "hidden histories" of the basin and to helping people think about the historical record from different perspectives through creative public history products and direct engagement with Columbia River Basin communities. It is worth noting here that the center's modestly funded efforts to get at hidden and sometimes difficult historical issues—for instance, an oral history project on African Americans in World War II Vancouver—sets it apart from the bulk of the WSHS's large-scale heritage-oriented programs such as the upcoming Lewis and Clark bicentennial (discussed in Chapter V), which have more of a patriotic and celebratory focus; the relative predominance of academic humanists in this particular program may explain its distinct tone.

Two other aspects of the operations of WSHS deserve mention: their publications and awards programs.

Publications

The historical society publishes a wide range of books on Northwest history as well as on the history of the society itself. Members receive *Columbia Magazine*, a highly regarded quarterly journal that includes forty-eight pages of articles, photographs, illustrations, and "viewpoint pieces" by noted historians. An "Education Update" newsletter and special project packets are produced for teachers. A Washington History Poster Map that identifies many of Washington's historic locations is available for students.

Awards

The Washington State Historical Society presents a number of annual awards to recognize individuals and heritage efforts throughout the state. From the standpoint of state cultural policy, the most notable are the Governor's Awards for Teaching History in Washington State. Each year one such award is presented to a teacher from an accredited K-12 school and another is given to a non-profit organization honoring effectiveness and excellence in teaching Northwest history.

Impact

A further discussion of the impact of the Washington State Historical Society on heritage policy is reserved for Chapter V, but with regard to its impact in the domain of the humanities a few observations can be made here.

Compared with its counterparts, the historical society has in place a much more robust self-assessment regime, including both visitor response and broader public surveys. It produces periodic reports assessing its multi-year performance in fundraising, operating fund development, energy utilization efficiency, and customer satisfaction. School groups visiting the History Lab are asked to fill out and submit ratings of their experiences. More broadly, public surveys measure brand awareness, visitor satisfaction, value for the admissions dollar, entertainment value, educational impact, exhibit quality, cleanliness of the facility, and employee courtesy. Rankings on compilations of survey responses are very respectable—for example, 68 percent of visitor respondents in 2001 rated the overall experience excellent as regards value in relation to the admission fee. Seventy-three percent of respondents in that year ranked the educational experience excellent, and these levels have held for the past several years.

These surveys, however, do not assess how effective the society is in promoting the goals of the humanities, or for that matter the deeper goals of heritage

preservation. They measure brand awareness rather than awareness of cultural difference or history; entertainment value rather than intellectual, personal, or patriotic value; the excellence of the overall experience rather than the civic empowerment or sense of pride the experience might have provided. What the society is assessing is not outcomes but outputs, and it is doing so for entirely justifiable strategic reasons: whatever the impact of participation, levels of public participation and satisfaction help determine levels of funding.

Other Offices and Programs in the Humanities Portfolio

Office of the Secretary of State: State Library

On the face of it the state library, housed administratively—along with the state archives and a small Oral History Program⁷—in the Office of the Secretary of State, would appear to have no connection with humanities policy. The library devotes much of its resources to serving the needs not of the public but of the Legislature; it devotes considerable budgetary resources to responding to requests for information and documents from legislative staffers (and to overseeing the Regional Book Depository). And the way in which it understands itself as serving the public is not particularly based in the humanities: its mission statement describes the library as “a leader in information policy” whose responsibility it is “to provide ready and equitable public access to information.”

Notwithstanding this rather gray and content-neutral self-description, the library, along with the archives and the Oral History Program, bear special responsibility for information that is culturally relevant: historical documents, records, newspapers, and recollections. Moreover, these state agencies do more than simply store these written materials and make them accessible; they also run public

⁷ The secretary of state's Oral History Program records and transcribes the recollections of legislators, state officials, and citizens who have been involved with the state's political history.

programs that encourage the public to engage in historical research and to read Washington authors. And, as overseer of the state's library system, the state library in particular plays a vital role supporting what are, for the humanities, the equivalent of what local historical societies or performing arts centers are for the heritage and arts sectors: local libraries and the myriad book-reading activities they promote.

History and Mission

The state library is older than the state itself, established by the Organic Act of the Territory of Washington in March 1853. This act stipulated that a library was "to be kept at the seat of government" and provided for \$5,000 to be spent on books for a territorial library. The books purchased—mostly law textbooks, science books, and novels—together with documents and published archives solicited from the executives of each state and territory of the United States and from a number of learned societies, formed the core of the collection until Washington became a state in 1889.

In 1907 legal materials (including items from the original territorial collection) were moved to the state law library. In 1905 it became a clearinghouse for old magazines and collected issues indexed in *Poole's* and the *Reader's Guide* from libraries in the state. In 1933 the Legislative Information Service was made available at the library to help Washington lawmakers prepare legislation. In carrying out its mission to preserve the state's written record, the Washington State Library began the Washington Author Collection in 1940 and in 1952 began to microfilm early state newspapers. Currently the Washington State Library offers interlibrary loans, full-text databases, and online search capabilities to state employees; provides consulting, administrative, and other services to aid the planning and development of libraries in the State of Washington; serves as a Regional Federal Depository Library and Washington State Publications Depository; and provides a gateway

to information on the Internet through its website.

The authorizing legislation for the library has gone through a number of revisions over the years. Until 2002 the library functioned as an independent agency governed by a state library commission appointed by the governor, with the proviso that its membership consist of one certified librarian, one member of the general public, one representative from the executive branch, one library trustee, and one educator with expertise in library and information technology policy. (This last position, by the way, marked a departure from the *status quo ante*, in which the educator was statutorily defined as the superintendent of public instruction.) The commission set general policy and strategic direction, appointed the state librarian, recommended budgets to the governor, accepted and allocated grants, contracted with public libraries for service to the disabled, and established content-related standards for formatting and indexing state information. The commission also appointed an advisory council to represent the library community, whose interest, as spelled out in the Washington Administrative Code (WAC) §304.12.047, was understood to be that of helping the library "to promote access to library service and information resources for all people in Washington."

It is worth noting here that no provision was made to require the presence of a historian or author on the commission or the council, perhaps indicating the relatively minor importance of humanistic as opposed to informational policy issues in the library. The real struggle would seem to have been over the degree of independence of the library from oversight by either the Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction or some other state agency. The most important moment of the state library's history was probably the fall and winter of 2001-02, when the state's budget crisis led the governor to threaten to close it. Ultimately the library was spared, but it was merged into the

Office of the Secretary of State as of July 2002, curbing its autonomy.

That autonomy was managerial rather than substantive, for the library's mission was narrowly defined by statute, albeit framed in grand language: "In a free and open society the mission of libraries is to be aware of individuals' need for knowledge and personal growth and to respond to those needs by providing access to the wisdom, experience and imagination of mankind" (WAC §304.12.125). The key word here is not "wisdom" or "experience" or "imagination" but "access," and what "access" means is spelled out with great specificity in the statute's criteria: 90 percent of requests must be met for specific titles, or for works by a particular author, or for materials on a specific subject, or for information. Moreover, whether or not they request books, 90 percent of the people in a library's service area must be aware of what their library has to offer, and "the percentage of use by each demographic group as defined in the Library Services and Construction Act regulations is the same, +/- fifteen percent."

Programs

The statutory language leaves undefined what functions public access should serve or what policies and programs the library should pursue to achieve such access. And until it was threatened with closure, the library did not feel compelled to develop policy statements that would offer rationales or justify the public programs it was running. In the aftermath of the merging of the library into the secretary of state's office, the library's efforts are difficult to distinguish from those of the state archives and other state services to which the library's website links. It is clear, however, that the library and its sister agencies have not devoted major programming resources to meet access goals by seeking out underserved demographic groups in a targeted way, with the exceptions of the Washington Talking Book & Braille Library (administered by the Seattle Public Library), the Washington State Library branches serving mentally ill citizens at Western

State Hospital and Eastern State Hospital, a "Baby Read" program at the state library at the Washington Corrections Center for Women, and the Cultural Diversity Initiative described below. For the most part, it has been the general public, not demographic groups, that has been the focus of programming efforts.

Services for the general public provided by the state library, the state archives, and the Oral History Program fall into two major areas:

- ❑ Self-administered programs. These programs include a Washington History website and newspaper collection; online genealogical and historic records search capabilities; a Territorial Commission that asks communities, historic organizations, tribal groups and others "to reflect on the era and develop ways to commemorate Washington's past, present and future"; book signings and displays; a collection of historic photographs; and hosting events produced by Humanities Washington, such as "Arts of the Raven Coast."
- ❑ Support of local library service statewide. The state library acts as a "library development agency" providing grants, technical expertise, and consultation and research assistance to 2,100 public and nonprofit libraries (including academic libraries, school libraries, tribal libraries, and other specialized libraries).

Though the programs listed above clearly have a cultural and humanities bent, the library's second area of service, as a "local libraries development agency," is probably the most relevant to cultural policy, since it affects the public more broadly (including tribal, special, public, and academic libraries—especially small ones). Much of what the library provides to local libraries is technical assistance, but some of its grants programs have a public cultural emphasis. These include:

- ❑ *Early Learning Initiative*. This program provides funding for 31 libraries (public and tribal) to purchase a core

collection of books and materials for use with children up to five years old, as well as for training on improving brain development skills in that age group. Five libraries received grants to develop programs—in collaboration with local community agencies—for children up to five years old. The most recent grants cycle for demonstration projects is budgeted at \$420,000. One of the products of this initiative, which is funded with federal money under the Library Service and Technology Act (LSTA) through the Institute of Museum and Library Services (IMLS), is *Read to Your Baby*, a booklet available from the state library in Russian, Chinese, Korean, and Japanese, as well as English and Spanish.

- *Connectivity.* This program also provides federal assistance, in this case to public libraries to connect to the Internet, through grants to purchase computer hardware and for the installation of equipment and training of library staff. These grants are also subject to the Library Services and Technology Act, which requires participating libraries to certify to the Washington State Library that the applicant is in compliance with the federal Children’s Internet Protection Act (CIPA). The state library has not taken a position on this requirement, which is a major censorship issue. Applicants are simply referred to the IMLS document, *Complying with the Children’s Internet Protection Act*, as well as to the American Library Association’s CIPA Litigation page. (As of this writing, CIPA has just been ruled constitutional by the U.S. Supreme Court.)
- *Information Literacy.* This program is designed to help library staff teach students and the public effective analysis and use of electronic information; it is coupled with a public service announcement campaign. About 500 librarians have received training.

- *Serving Culturally Diverse Populations.* Also funded by federal LSTA funds (\$325,000 in the latest reported year), the Diversity Initiative assists libraries in developing effective programs to serve diverse ethnic populations. Grant programs, limited to \$50,000 per project with local matching funding preferred, emphasize effective needs assessment, building community partnerships, and developing outreach programs. This is one of the few programs that is explicitly presented as fulfilling a policy objective: “The diversity of the population of the state of Washington demonstrates that there is a need for the multi-ethnic programming to be funded by this Initiative grant cycle.”⁸

Despite the direct local public benefit of library development (exercised through the State Library Administrative Agency), Washington is one of only three states that provides no state funding for library development. The funding for the SLAA staff and activities, \$3 million per year, comes entirely from the federal government.

One other point deserves mention with regard to the state library’s impact on humanities policy through its relationship to local libraries. The single most powerful humanities program ever developed in Washington—inside or outside of libraries—is the reading program created by the Washington Center for the Book in 1998. Initially called, “If All of Seattle Read the Same Book,” the program was a tremendous success, spawning “One Book” programs across the United States and Canada. Washington’s Center for the Book is one of fifty state affiliates of the Library of Congress’ Center for the Book. Unlike a number of other state affiliates, however, Washington’s is not located in the state library but rather in the Seattle Public Library, and it receives almost no state-level support.

⁸ <http://www.statelib.wa.gov/libraries/projects/diversMain.aspx>

In Summary

As the overseer of publicly controlled venues, the state library might be expected to assume a leadership role in humanities policy equivalent to that of the Washington State Historical Society in heritage policy. Indeed, local libraries are the humanities equivalent of the museums, local historical societies, and historic sites administered and advised under state heritage policy. Yet, far from leading the way, the state library has found itself threatened with closure and been subsumed within the secretary of state's office. The reasons for this are primarily structural. The library's divided mandate to serve the informational needs of legislators as well as the library-going public makes it more difficult for the state librarian to focus on policy initiatives aimed at library development. And the state's failure to provide any funding whatsoever for library development, despite strong signs at the local level that Washingtonians are avid readers, means that federal funding drives the state library's public humanities policy (as is also the case for Humanities Washington).

Simpson Center for the Humanities, University of Washington

For reasons discussed in the introduction to this volume, we have chosen not to include academic humanities units in state universities (departments of English, for instance) under the umbrella of state agencies that serve the public interest in the humanities. University-based humanities disciplines produce scholarship and liberally educated graduates, but neither of these impacts the public through direct public policy. Indeed, until relatively recently, universities—even publicly-funded universities—were at best indifferent to their impact on the public, at worst hostile to the notion of public engagement. Since the 1980s, however, the ivory-tower vision of the humanities has been to some extent displaced by a more *engagé* view of the role of the academic humanities in public life.

The driving force behind this shift was not ideological or moral, as one might expect, but straightforwardly material, at least in Washington State, according to Michael Halleran, the University of Washington's divisional dean of Arts and Sciences. The University of Washington only gets 15 percent of its budget from the Legislature, the lowest level of public support for higher education in the country. "The opening to the public is not a matter of altruism," Halleran told us, "but a realistic response to the need to raise funds as the state retreats from its commitment to higher education." To develop public support for increased university funding, presidents of state universities, including the University of Washington, are increasingly asking the humanities to provide a public face for the university. The primary university organization to be enlisted for this purpose has been a relative newcomer on the academic scene: the humanities institute or center.

As originally conceived and encouraged by the Carnegie Foundation in the mid-1980s, humanities centers had no such direct public orientation. Rather, they were imagined—and many still primarily function—as research incubators aimed at promoting interdisciplinary exchange. The Walter Chapin Simpson Center for the Humanities at the University of Washington, established in 1987, followed this model until 1997, when a university task force recommended broadening the center's mission, a broadening evident in the mission statement on the center's website:

The Walter Chapin Simpson Center for the Humanities is dedicated to fostering creative and interdisciplinary research and teaching in the humanities, and to stimulating exchange and debate on related intellectual, cultural and educational issues, both on and off the Seattle campus. Its broader goal is to knit the academic and the civic communities through a shared fostering of education and culture.

In urging that the Simpson Center aggressively develop its public programming, the task force noted that pursuing this policy would give the center—and, by extension, the humanities at the University of

Washington—a profile unlike that of any other such university center in the country. As its present Director Kathleen Woodward noted, “The distinction here really is the public scholarship. Success will mean that we can be known as a campus where public scholarship is an important value; our graduate students can leave with the expertise, and we can attract a faculty with a strong interest in engagement.” While this is surely an overstatement—other humanities centers were also beginning to move in this direction—the Simpson Center has undoubtedly been a leader in taking the academic humanities public. Woodward is recognized as one of the most enthusiastic proponents of public humanities programs in the country (she serves on the advisory board of *Imagining America*, the national consortium of university-based arts-and-humanities groups pursuing civic purposes), and she has vigorously pursued the mission laid out in the task force report.

For the Simpson Center, the university’s backing for a public focus translates into increased campus visibility, more respect, and higher morale for the humanities. This has encouraged the sense that the humanities are at least on the radar screen of the university, as the center is mentioned in presidential speeches and has been invited to give a presentation to the board of the university’s foundation. The shift in mission also, of course, translates into increasing pressure to devote budgetary resources to public programming rather than humanistic research. The center has tried to keep the relative proportion of public-oriented and research-oriented allocations in balance, but there is a hope that as funding increases, the percentage (if not the absolute amount of resources) devoted to public programs will decline.

It is not clear whether the center has succeeded in buttressing public support for the University of Washington. But with regard to raising funds for its own efforts, the Simpson Center’s public turn has been extraordinarily successful. The university gave its stamp of approval by

providing the center with funds from a newly created Initiatives Fund (a tax on all units that gets reallocated competitively, enabling interdisciplinary centers to emerge); this allocation helped to leverage a \$5 million endowment. At that point the operating budget went from \$40,000 to \$750,000 per year, and programming has ramped up accordingly.

Policy Objectives

At the Simpson Center’s inaugural forum, Diana Behler, then acting director of the center, clarified its policy objectives, given its new public reach. Behler emphasized “the university’s role in the public sphere,” a role which, she suggested, went beyond the traditional conception we have seen elsewhere in this chapter of the humanities as contributing to “the idea of the educated citizen, and the aesthetic education of a community through shared learning.” In a formulation that the center’s external reviewers, writing three years later, cited approvingly, Behler argued that the arts and humanities should also play a role in shaping public policy. Hammering home Behler’s point, the reviewers declared that, properly conceived, humanities projects of this sort produce a “public good.”⁹

Most academic humanists would probably find it difficult to accept the notion that their work is policy-relevant or that it might constitute a public good. Language of this sort reflects the degree to which the Simpson Center envisions itself as converting academic research into what the center’s current director calls “public scholarship.” This means more than simply serving as a bridge between the disciplinary humanities and the public sphere. As the center’s latest policy initiative recognizes, it means transforming the disciplinary humanities themselves so as to make them more responsive to public needs and interests. In the interest of public programming, the center is now attempting to establish a certificate program in public scholarship to ensure that graduate students attending the University of Washington graduate with expertise in both their own discipline and in writing to and for a broad public.

⁹ <http://www.washington.edu/uif/uif1/humancenter.pdf>

To reach that public, the task force report called for the Simpson Center to cooperate with institutions and groups who share the aim of stimulating interest in the humanities throughout the state—including public schools as well as Humanities Washington. The first step was to establish a Humanities Forum in Seattle, with a longer-term objective of helping establish similar programs elsewhere in the state. It is not clear whether the statewide goal has been achieved, but in Seattle the forum initiative has been a resounding success, with events planned together with Humanities Washington, the Seattle Art Museum, the Richard Hugo House, and the Museum of Glass: International Center for Contemporary Art in Tacoma, among others. The center continues to collaborate with Humanities Washington on the Clemente courses.

In other areas, the center has been less collaborative, for reasons that remain unclear. The center chose to do part of its public work directly with the public schools (because, as one interviewee noted, the one area of education that the state government has supported is improving K-12 results on standardized testing; it is a sign of the state's disregard for the humanities, the interviewee added, that the state's educational standards do not include any humanities requirement). It has worked effectively with high schools, developing a Teachers as Scholars Program. Yet this was accomplished without any contact with the Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction. The center has had no dealings with the Washington State Arts Commission. And neither the task force report nor the center's subsequent activities have involved the two other state-level agencies with a public humanities focus, the Washington State Historical Society and the state library. The task force spoke of community centers, churches, and museums as sites of public humanities programming, but did not mention local historical societies or libraries. The only time that Assistant Director Margit Dimenti recalled even meeting anyone from the Washington State Historical Society was at a meeting

held to discuss the possibility of establishing a Regional Humanities Center, a failed Clinton administration initiative.

Programs

We list here only those programs that have a public aspect, leaving out the very rich array of programs the Simpson Center provides that serve the university community exclusively.

- ❑ *Seattle Humanities Forums.* As mentioned above, the Simpson Center organizes forums in cooperation with various arts and cultural organizations in Seattle. As the center's website describes, the goal of these forums is "to share humanistic learning broadly, to extend the teaching mission of the university outside the campus to the community and the polis as a whole, and to urge on scholars a renewed sense of civic responsibility and participation in the public sphere." Topics range from the timely—"Emerging Views on 9/11: A Philosophical Forum"—to belletristic—"A Conversation with A.S. Byatt."
- ❑ *Internships.* With support from the Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation, the center places two graduate students currently enrolled in University of Washington humanities programs in paid positions with arts and cultural organizations, businesses, and government agencies.
- ❑ *Teachers as Scholars.* The center runs a professional development program for K-12 teachers that provides content-based seminars led by university faculty. The Teachers as Scholars program is sponsored jointly by the Simpson Center for the Humanities and Seattle Arts & Lectures.
- ❑ *The Wednesday University.* The center offers courses open to anyone, with classes held at the Henry Art Gallery on the University of Washington campus, for a course fee of \$70. This program is also supported by Seattle Arts & Lectures.

- *The Bard College Clemente Course.* This program has already been described above in the discussion of the activities of Humanities Washington.
- *Public Humanities Projects.* The center funds a wide range of faculty-designed projects that “combine research, teaching, and public events to share humanistic learning broadly, extend the teaching mission of the university outside the campus to the community and the polis as a whole, and urge on scholars a renewed sense of civic responsibility and participation in the public sphere.” Recent projects include a public lecture series linked to an exhibit at the Burke Museum of Natural History; a combination of new theatre, dance, or music performances with lectures and colloquia; a panel linked to an exhibit at the Henry Art Gallery; and Texts and Teachers, a curriculum development program in which University of Washington literature professors and local teachers plan courses that they then teach in tandem.

In Summary

The Simpson Center for the Humanities has been successful in raising its own profile and consequently its funding level, and it has developed quite rapidly a robust array of programs. By 2001, the latest year for which figures were readily available, 200 teachers from eleven school districts had participated in the Teachers as Scholars Program, the Wednesday University’s first five courses had reached 2,300 people, and the Seattle Forum had attracted 1,000. These are small figures when compared to the state’s total population, to be sure, but the humanities is a labor-intensive activity and these are very respectable figures indeed. On the other hand, with the exception of the Bard Clemente course and the effort to work with high school teachers, the center’s public programming has not yet found ways to reach publics beyond those that already are interested and invested in the humanities. Most of its public programming occurs in venues either on the university campus (the Henry Art Gallery, the

Burke Museum) or in downtown Seattle, rather than in community centers or churches throughout the state as envisioned in the center’s mission statement. Nonetheless, there is a strong base on which to build.

Observations and Conclusions

The most striking feature of humanities policy at the state level is how little interest the state has in it, and how paltry are the state resources devoted to humanities programming. Indeed, with the partial exception of the Simpson Center and the Washington State Historical Society (both of which are, in different ways, hybrid institutions), public programs in the humanities are almost entirely products of federal—or, in the case of the Washington Center for the Book’s “One Book” initiative, local—action and subsidy. (The Center for the Book is itself a creation of the federal government!)

Another striking feature of the humanities policy landscape is the limited and ad hoc nature of collaboration amongst entities whose policy objectives are similar. State-level humanities agencies display an impressive, albeit uneven, degree of interaction with local, county, national, and even international partners on individual programs. In a few instances, such as the Center for Columbia River History (CCRH) and the Heritage Conference, more permanent consortia have been established between arms of state humanities/heritage agencies and entities in the educational sector. But it is the absence of linkages, both to potential collaborators in other sectors (most strikingly, given the educational tenor of the humanities, the Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction) and to other agencies within the cultural sector (such as the Washington State Arts Commission) that stands out. Most surprising, even agencies with a shared public humanities focus have not developed consistent, effective linkages to one another.

Yet each of these entities would have much to gain from developing hybrid programs that would draw on each other's assets. Humanities Washington has programming savvy, links to non-academic humanists such as writers and documentary film-makers, and strong community-level connections; the Simpson Center has a stable of academic humanists who can bring their innovations and expertise to bear on issues in the public arena; the Washington State Historical Society and the state library possess materials that demand interpretation by humanists and offer venues for the readings, discussions, and debates that constitute the public humanities. The most effective agency in this regard has been the Washington State Historical Society.

The barriers to joint efforts are no doubt partly structural—heritage programs that focus on the built environment may rely on federal matching funds that define the scope of their activities as not including the humanities, for instance—and partly conceptual—K-12 education or documentary production may be seen as outside the box of the humanities, libraries may not be considered possible or appropriate venues for talks by academics, or heritage sites and occasions may not be recognized as opportunities for discussing values. It may well be the case, however, that what is keeping policy actors from acting together is something as simple as a failure to come together to think jointly about what they are trying to do to promote the humanities, and how to do that better by tapping one another's resources.

The Heritage and State Cultural Policy

David Karraker and J. Mark Schuster

The legislature hereby finds that the promotion, enhancement, perpetuation, and use of structures, sites, districts, buildings, and objects of historic, archaeological, architectural, and cultural significance is desirable in the interest of the public pride and general welfare of the people of the state; and the legislature further finds that the economic, cultural, and aesthetic standing of the state can be maintained and enhanced by protecting the heritage of the state and by preventing the destruction or defacement of these assets; therefore, it is hereby declared by the legislature to be the public policy and in the public interest of the state to designate, preserve, protect, enhance, and perpetuate those structures, sites, districts, buildings, and objects which reflect outstanding elements of the state's historic, archaeological, architectural, or cultural heritage, for the inspiration and enrichment of the citizens of the state.

Revised Code of Washington, §27.34.200

This statement of legislative intent, signed into law in 1983, is as explicit an expression of a state's commitment to heritage activity as anyone could hope for. Indeed, this statement seems to reflect the fact that state support for heritage work appears to enjoy broader public approval than does state support for the arts, which is perceived, at least in some quarters, as the provenance of cultural elites whose interests and concerns are less immediately tied to the well being of the general population. So it is not surprising that the mechanisms of heritage policy are different in character from those for arts policy or that they are differently organized and configured. Nevertheless, heritage policy in Washington, like state cultural policy overall, is promulgated through a diffuse array of entities and actors. Indeed, a good deal of heritage work taking place in Washington occurs almost entirely outside the framework of formal state policy

through the activities of local historical societies and museums.

This chapter is structured around the seven most important and most visible state-level actors engaged in heritage and historic preservation policy. The chapter opens with a discussion of the one actor clearly organized as a state office within a state agency: the Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation (OAHP). OAHP's mission statement envisions it as an "advocate for the preservation of Washington's irreplaceable historic and cultural resources—significant buildings, structures, sites, objects and districts—as assets for the future. Through education and information sharing, OAHP provides leadership for the protection of our shared heritage." This is followed by a description of a program in a state agency: the Heritage Corridors Program of the Washington State Department of Transportation (WSDOT)¹ These two state programs are discussed in tandem because (1) both focus on the built environment; (2) both are administratively located within public agencies whose purposes and functions are not immediately linked to or associated with what is commonly understood as "culture" or "the heritage"; and (3) the resources and policies of both are closely tied—and owe their existence and character in large part—to federal preservation law and policy.

We turn next to a very influential organization within state cultural policy, but an organization that because of its special trustee status straddles the boundary between state agency and private organization: the Washington State Historical Society. Seen from one perspective, the Washington State Historical Society is

¹ With respect to the structure of this report, the Heritage Corridors Program might also have fallen easily into Chapter VI, "The Land-Based Agencies and State Cultural Policy." We have chosen to discuss it here because of these parallels with OAHP.

entirely a creature of state policy, yet it is also a private nonprofit organization. Its unique legal status was established by the Legislature early in its history, and, while private contributions play an important part in financing its activities, it relies for the lion's share of its operating budget on biennial legislative appropriations.

As has already been made clear in Chapter IV, the Washington State Historical Society is an actor in both humanities policy and heritage policy. In this chapter we focus, for the most part, on its latter role. In addition to its own heritage activities, WSHS administers a capital grants program, the Capital Projects Fund for Washington's Heritage, on behalf of the state. This rather unusual arrangement, which is similar in conception if not identical in implementation to the Building for the Arts Program (considered in Chapter III), is discussed next. This section is followed by a discussion of the Washington State Historical Society's sister trustee agency: the Eastern Washington State Historical Society (The Northwest Museum of Arts and Culture). This organization straddles all three of the areas of state cultural policy—the arts, the humanities, and heritage—and because of the broad range of its activities its inclusion in the current chapter is, to some degree, arbitrary.

One other state-level organization is also discussed here: Humanities Washington. Although its major contributions to cultural policy are in the domain of humanities policy—it is discussed in that context in Chapter IV—its programs also have meaning in the heritage realm.

The final state-level component of heritage policy that we discuss in this chapter is the Heritage Caucus, an informal gathering of legislators, agency representatives, and representatives of a wide variety of interested groups and organizations, all of whom are engaged in the heritage and cultural life of the state. In the last section of this chapter, we take a quick look at several examples of heritage policy at the local level in order to better understand the impact of state-level policy.

The Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation

The Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation (OAHP) is the state-level office most directly and immediately responsible for preservation and conservation of the built environment. OAHP is currently located within the Local Government Division of the Office of Community Development, which is, in turn, part of the Department of Community, Trade and Economic Development. OAHP is the state's primary agency with knowledge and expertise in historic preservation, though increasingly there is an appreciation of the fact that many state agencies own important heritage properties that are related to their own operations.

OAHP was established in 1967 following the 1966 passage of the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA). NHPA established a national historic preservation program that was designed as a partnership between the federal government and the states. The act provided for the creation of state historic preservation programs and the designation of a state historic preservation officer (SHPO) by the governor of each state. If approved by the secretary of the interior, a state historic preservation program would receive a matching grant (required to be matched by state money) from the federal government to support activities laid out in the federal legislation. Thus, emerging federal policy became the trigger for state action. OAHP was Washington's response to this offer, and its work continues to be closely tied to federal programs, federal policies, and federal funding; thus, much of its work is shaped by the parameters of these relationships to the federal government.

The Legislature established OAHP as part of an effort to deal with both history and historic preservation:

The legislature finds that those articles and properties which illustrate the history of the state of Washington should be maintained and preserved for the use and benefit of the people of the state. It is the purpose of this chapter to designate the two state historical societies as trustees of the state for these purposes, and to establish:

- ❑ *A comprehensive and consistent statewide policy pertaining to archaeology, history, historic preservation, and other historical matters;*
- ❑ *Statewide coordination of historical programs; and*
- ❑ *A coordinated budget for all state historical agencies.*

Revised Code of Washington, §27.34.010

Roughly speaking, these three points correspond to OAHP, the state historical societies, and a now defunct “Heritage Council.”² The roles and responsibilities of OAHP are set out in three chapters of Title 27 of the Revised Code of Washington: State historical societies—Historic preservation (Chapter 34), Indian graves and records (Chapter 44), and Archaeological sites and resources (Chapter 53).

While OAHP serves as an advocate for the preservation of Washington’s historic and cultural resources, it also maintains the Washington Heritage Register, manages nominations from Washington to the National Register of Historic Places, establishes programs of matching grants for preservation projects, issues permits for the excavation of archaeological sites on both private and public lands, and spends funds when necessary (and when available) to assist the tribes of Washington in removing prehistoric human remains for scientific examination and reburial if the human remains have been unearthed inadvertently or through vandalism.

OAHP works with the State Advisory Council on Historic Preservation (which functions in ways similar to the commission of the Washington State Arts Commission). The council votes on nominations to the state and federal registers and advises on heritage policy. Recently the council has become more active in giving policy advice.

Historic Preservation Planning

One of the main stipulations for the receipt of federal historic preservation money is the requirement that a state historic preservation plan must be developed every five years. This plan is intended to “set forth a direction for the state’s

historic preservation community”³ taking account of likely demographic, economic, and social trends.

Five goals are identified in Washington’s most recent historic preservation plan:

- ❑ To support and strengthen local historic preservation efforts;
- ❑ To enhance historic preservation education and outreach efforts;
- ❑ To form new partnerships to expand the historic preservation community;
- ❑ To incorporate cultural resource protection as part of land use planning processes; and
- ❑ To stimulate economic development and revitalization through historic preservation

For each of these goals, a set of objectives is spelled out with identified tasks, a proposed timeline, and a list of potential participants. The latter is quite ambitious, suggesting that dozens of other agencies, organizations, institutions, and informal entities are to be engaged in the implementation of the plan. The plan ties historic preservation to issues of quality of life, and emphasizes education and communication as an important part of OAHP’s work. The focus on “protection of our shared heritage” seems to express an intent to move beyond the elements of the built environment that are typically the focus of any historic preservation agency.

While the plan is essentially optimistic, as all plans should be, it is aware of a number of threats to the heritage resources of the state. It points out—and rightfully so—that since historic properties are land-based resources, they are owned and managed by a large number of different property owners. Neither OAHP nor other federal, state, or local regulatory agencies have substantial control over how these properties are protected or managed. In Washington, where attention to private property rights is especially important as a political theme, this creates the potential for conflict rather than

² The Heritage Council was created by the Legislature to bring together the various heritage agencies and establish cooperation, communication, and efficiency. It had neither a clear mandate nor any authority and died in the early 1990s after languishing for a few years.

³ Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, *Historic Preservation Working for Washington: The State Historic Preservation Plan 2000*, 1985, 4.

cooperation. Thus, much of the work of historic preservation is in encouraging and aiding the stewardship of private owners.

This work is happening in a political context within which many voters hold strong anti-government, anti-regulatory, pro-property rights opinions, and it is clear that citizen referenda for tax cap initiatives have had an important influence on limiting the resources available to do this sort of work.

Growth pressure endangers historic resources, particularly in a political climate that is wary of land use regulations. The plan identifies, in particular, major concerns at the fringe of rapidly growing metropolitan areas, along major highway corridors, and along all shorelines. For example, when the King County Historic Preservation Office updated its inventory records in the early 1990s, it discovered that up to 40 percent of the historic resources surveyed in 1979 had been lost.⁴ OAHP is particularly cognizant of the importance of local implementation of the Growth Management Act. (In this regard, OAHP's location within the Department of Community, Trade and Economic Development may be advantageous, allowing it more latitude to influence growth management issues including housing and tourism, as well as other economic issues than it would have if it were located elsewhere in the state's bureaucracy.)

Finally, vandalism, on the one hand, and a simple lack of awareness or recognition of the presence and value of cultural resources, on the other, are both seen as further threats.

Administrative Location and Policy Function of the Agency

Beyond the regular stream of state historic preservation plans, another topic has engendered considerable debate over the years: the appropriate location of OAHP within state government.⁵ Initially OAHP was located within the State Parks Department. In 1976 it was moved to become a "small cabinet agency" in the

office of the governor, and in 1986 it was moved to the Department of Community Development, where it was originally under the director but was later relocated to become a unit under the assistant director for growth management. In 1994 the Department of Community Development and the Department of Trade and Economic Development were merged into the Department of Community, Trade and Economic Development, but in 2000 DCTED was internally split once again with OAHP ending up in the Local Government Division of the Office of Community Development.

This changing placement of the office has been problematic for OAHP as it has often been unclear what the chain of command was. OAHP would prefer to interact directly with the Executive Policy Office in the governor's office, but OCD would like OAHP to relate to the governor's office only by going through a direct line of authority. The perception of the staff of OAHP is that the upper levels of OCD and DCTED are not particularly committed to the work of OAHP, compromising their ability to carry out policy.

These organizational changes occurred as part of a broader debate on reorganization.⁶ Part of this debate focused on consolidation and coordination among state agencies in the realms of the arts and heritage. In 1982, for example, one of the options considered as part of the Legislative Budget Committee's sunset audits of the then three state historical societies was a proposal for OAHP to operate the state historical societies under an agreement in which it would serve as the parent agency. In 1983 the Legislature created the Washington State Heritage Council and charged it to adopt a statewide heritage plan, to monitor implementation of the plans of the state historical agencies, and to review and comment upon the budget requests of these agencies based on the plan. As it turned out, the council focused more on the problems and needs of the state's nonprofits than on the reform of state

⁴ Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, *Historic Preservation Working for Washington: The State Historic Preservation Plan 2000*, 1985, 43.

⁵ This summary is based on Task Force on the Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, *Recommendations of the Task Force on the Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation*, December 23, 2000.

⁶ Task Force on the Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, *Recommendations of the Task Force on the Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation*, December 23, 2000, 11-14.

heritage agencies, and it was disbanded in 1990.

In 1990-91 the Office of Financial Management discussed possible consolidation of state cultural agencies. In 1993 the Citizen's Arts, Heritage and Historic Preservation Task Force again called for inter-agency communication and cooperation. In 1997 legislation to create a new Department of Cultural Resources died in committee. Finally, in the context of a senate discussion of the creation of a "State Resources Department," Senator Bob McCaslin, chair of the senate's Government Operations Committee, initiated a study of the delivery of historic preservation services. This study concluded that OAHP was limited in its ability to reach and serve the public as the result of:

- ❑ Insufficient funding;
- ❑ Insufficient staff to meet constituents' demands for their services;
- ❑ Lack of outreach due to these funding and staffing issues;
- ❑ Inefficiency in the delivery of services due to the lack of funding;
- ❑ Its placement within a large government bureaucracy, diverting scarce staff time to intra-agency meetings and competition for funds from a disadvantaged position within the agency; and
- ❑ Insufficient publicity for OAHP because it was "buried" in a large agency.

Though not coming up with a single recommendation concerning the location of OAHP, the report discussed the pros and cons of six different relocation options:

- ❑ Leaving OAHP in the Department of Community, Trade and Economic Development;
- ❑ Placing OAHP in the Office of the Secretary of State;
- ❑ Placing OAHP in the Office of the Lieutenant Governor;

- ❑ Placing OAHP in the Washington State Historical Society;
- ❑ Restoring OAHP to its former status as a stand-alone agency; and
- ❑ Placing OAHP within the Washington State Parks and Recreation Commission.

Eventually bills were introduced to move OAHP to the secretary of state's office or the Washington State Historical Society, but both died in committee.

The post of state historic preservation officer (SHPO), required by the federal Department of the Interior, has also moved about, and not always in conjunction with OAHP. Originally the SHPO was the director of state parks. In 1975, however, the Seattle historic preservation officer was named the SHPO, even as OAHP remained within state parks. When OAHP became a small cabinet agency in 1976, the office of SHPO was also transferred. After OAHP was moved to the Department of Community Development (and its successor agencies) in 1986, the SHPO was located within that department but over time reported to a variety of different individuals within the overall agency structure. In 1996 after the then SHPO resigned, the post was left vacant for budgetary reasons, and two other employees shared the responsibilities. The post of SHPO was reinstated in 1999 when a new director was hired to head OAHP.

The most recent report to examine these questions was presented to Governor Locke at the end of 2000.⁷ While ostensibly convened to engage once again the question of location within state government,⁸ the Task Force on the Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation turned its attention more to issues of staffing and funding.⁹ It accepted the status quo in organizational structure and decided to stake a claim on a series of other issues. Its recommendations and their disposition were the following:

- ❑ OAHP should stay in the Office of Community Development, but the

⁷ Task Force on the Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, *Recommendations of the Task Force on the Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation*, December 23, 2000.

⁸ The committee looked at a number of other states with comparable populations, areas, and resources and asked where their historic preservation offices were located in the state bureaucracy. Some were in departments of natural resources, some were in parks departments, in some they were considered part of the museum sector, and in others they were under the Secretary of State.

⁹ Considerable discussion was devoted in its report to the question of how much overhead OAHP was being charged on its budget by state government.

SHPO should report directly to the director of OCD. [OAHP remained in OCD but without increased clarity as to appropriate lines of authority and reporting.]

- ❑ OAHP should have a strong and independent board appointed by the governor. [New nominations were made to the State Advisory Council on Historic Preservation with the goal of broadening its work from a focus on nomination review to a broader emphasis on policy discussion.]
- ❑ The physical location of OAHP should set an example as to the adaptive reuse of historic properties. [OAHP moved to a 1930s office building in spring 2001 with some measure of increased visibility.]
- ❑ OAHP should be staffed adequately to serve the entire state. [Little progress was made in this area.]
- ❑ OAHP should seek power from the Legislature to assess civil penalties with respect to violations of archaeological sites. [Legislation was passed in early 2002.]

Financing Agency Operations: The Federal/State Relationship

When Congress passed the 1966 National Historic Preservation Act, it created a program of matching grants to the states. To provide a regular source of revenue for these grants, the law established the Historic Preservation Fund in the U.S. Treasury with proceeds derived from the federal leasing of offshore oil drilling sites.¹⁰ These funds are distributed annually on a matching basis to state historic preservation offices. Washington applies for and has received federal preservation grants every year since the program has been in existence.

In recent years the biennial operating budget of OAHP has hovered around \$2,000,000 with approximately \$500,000 per annum from the federal Historic Preservation Fund and \$500,000 per annum from the state. The federal portion

is somewhat unpredictable, causing budgeting problems for the state's match. For some eight years the federal amount had been relatively constant. In fiscal year 2001, at the end of this period, the federal amount was \$520,000, but it jumped to \$908,000 in fiscal year 2002, and has fallen back to \$751,000 in fiscal year 2003.¹¹ This volatility, while welcomed when the federal contribution is going up, makes it difficult to plan for and to arrange the match that is expected from the state.

States are expected to match the federal allocation in the ratio of \$40 state:\$60 federal. In some states this ratio gets as low as 20:80; in Washington the state just barely meets the 40 percent requirement. When the federal share increases, OAHP goes to the Legislature for an increased allocation to make the expected match. If more cash is not forthcoming, it then turns to a "soft match" to meet the federal requirement. To do this it utilizes matches from local government. OAHP can use the local match that is provided to any grants it makes as part of its match to the federal government because its contract with its local grantees stipulates that OAHP has first claim on the local match for its purposes if this should become necessary. This soft match is then added into whatever hard match can justifiably be claimed.

Recently the matching requirement has been further complicated by the budget crisis in Washington. When the state budget was in relatively good shape, it was possible for the state's agencies to take all the federal money they could get their hands on and match it, but the state has now prohibited its agencies from seeking out and accepting new federal dollars that have a matching requirement. As a result, the state is no longer taking up the carrot of new federal programs structured around a match. Whether this attitude will eventually jeopardize existing matching relationships between the state and federal governments remains to be seen.

OAHP figures for fiscal year 2002, a year with relatively generous federal funding,

¹⁰ While the Historic Preservation Fund is authorized at \$150 million, it has never been appropriated at that amount. Appropriations have been anywhere between \$35 million and \$70 million. The money that is not appropriated goes into the federal government's general fund.

¹¹ One quirk of receiving federal money is that OAHP is required to obligate 75 percent of it by contract during the first year of each two-year award. ("The feds don't want any money back.") But OAHP has found this difficult to do. It has received two waivers, but the second one specified that this would not be allowed a third time.

show over half of the office's budget coming from the federal government (Table V.1). Federal influence turns out to be an important factor in the range of activities that OAHP can undertake and in the procedures that it is expected to follow.

Programs

The Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation administers six programs: listing on the National Register of Historic Places and the Washington Heritage Register; Environmental Project Review; the Certified Local Government Program; the Archaeology Program; the Inventory of Cultural Resources; and Preservation Works for Washington.

National Register of Historic Places/ Washington Heritage Register

Perhaps the most visible program of the Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation is its administration of the process by which historic and cultural resources are nominated to the state and national historic registers: the Washington Heritage Register and the National Register of Historic Places. These registers provide formal recognition for the historic and cultural resources in the state and may serve as the triggers for other government action with respect to historic buildings, structures, historic and archeological sites, cultural landscapes, or traditional cultural properties.

The work of OAHP with respect to these two registers is (1) to provide technical assistance to individuals, organizations, or lower levels of government who are preparing nominations and (2) to then ascertain whether the nominated property meets the criteria of eligibility.

Anyone can nominate a property to be listed. The application consists of two parts: an architectural description of the property and a discussion of its significance. If a property is deemed eligible, OAHP forwards the nomination to the State Advisory Council on Historic Preservation for its approval. Nominations that have been approved for the National Register of Historic Places will then be forwarded

Table V.1: Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation—Income Sources, Fiscal Year 2002

Income Source	Amount	Percent
State General Fund	\$658,198	42.2%
Federal General Fund	\$870,064	55.8%
Private/Local	\$32,310	2.1%
Total	\$1,560,572	100.1%

Source: Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation.

to the Department of the Interior. The National Register currently includes slightly fewer than 1,300 listings from the State of Washington; about forty are being added each year. (Note that a number of these listings are districts, which may include many individual buildings not separately listed.) Nominations that are not approved typically have incomplete paperwork, which can be rectified at a later date, or are of buildings or sites whose physical integrity has been highly compromised, in which case the nomination will never succeed.

OAHP oversees nominations to both the state and federal registers. Generally the Washington Heritage Register is a lower level of recognition. It is designed, in the words of one staff member, for “Johnny Homeowner.” It has lower requirements for entry. One can apply to be listed on one register or the other or both; if placed on the federal register, a site is then automatically reviewed for the state register, and listing is more or less automatic. In the case of the state register, the advisory council has the final vote. The state register might include sites that would not necessarily get onto the federal register—350 properties are listed only on the Washington Heritage Register; five or six are added each year (in addition to any properties that also qualify for the national register). With respect to the state register, no rules regulating the nomination process have been passed in 25 years, so OAHP has developed the procedures. All of the Washington sites that are listed on either the national or the state register are documented in Historic Places in Washington, an online searchable database of historic sites.

An important part of the American approach to listing at the federal level is that the owner can object to being listed. (In a historic district, whether or not owners object is determined by majority rule. If more than half of the owners object, the property will not be listed.) However, even if the owner objects to listing, thereby stopping a property from being listed, a determination is made as to whether a property is eligible (i.e. meets the criteria for listing). This is because federal incentives are offered to properties that are eligible to be on the list, not properties that are actually listed. Owners can object to being listed on the state register as well.

It is tempting to treat the effectiveness of a program such as this one in terms of the number of properties that are successfully nominated to one list or the other. Yet, the staff feel constrained in that they spend virtually all of their time reacting to nominations that come in over the transom. OAHP is unable to be proactive in assessing the importance of historic properties and in encouraging nominations to be brought forth for targeted properties. If the office had more resources it would like to offer more workshops to raise the public's awareness of the register and of the process of listing properties. They would also like to get the public more interested in significant buildings built in the 1940s, '50s, and '60s.

Among the properties that the staff feels should be on the list are properties owned by state agencies themselves. Generally, the state does not nominate its own buildings (though the Capitol campus is in a registered historic district). OAHP estimates that the Washington State Parks and Recreation Commission alone owns an estimated 900 historic buildings.

In short, the staff of this program feels caught in satisfying the requirements of a mandate passed down from the federal government; that job, narrowly defined, is being done well, but a lot more would be possible with some additional resources. This program is reactive rather than proactive in pursuing the policies that it is asked (and expected) to pursue.

The process of listing a property on a heritage register is not only important because of its signaling role; it is also important because it may trigger other interventions. An income-producing (commercial) property that is listed on the National Register of Historic Places can take advantage of the federal investment tax credit for historic preservation in one of two forms:

- ❑ A 20 percent tax credit for the certified rehabilitation of certified historic structures; or
- ❑ A 10 percent tax credit for the rehabilitation of non-historic, non-residential buildings built before 1936.

OAHP staff determine whether a property that is proposing to take advantage of the 20 percent tax credit is eligible for the National Register and whether the proposed rehabilitation meets the secretary of the interior's Standards for Rehabilitation and Guidelines for Rehabilitating Historic Buildings. To qualify, a rehabilitation project for a building on the National Register must be "substantial"—defined as a rehabilitation in which the amount spent on qualified project work is equal to, or greater than, the adjusted basis (value) of the building itself. OAHP functions as the agent of the federal government in providing initial certification. OAHP receives approximately fifteen such applications per year. The National Park Service is responsible for final review and approval.

OAHP is quite aware of the fact that many nominations come from developers who are interested solely in qualifying for the federal tax credit, and that developers have an additional advantage with respect to listing because they employ consultants who prepare their nominations. Nevertheless, OAHP staff would like to devote more of their time to promoting the federal tax credit program. Developers see the nomination process as arduous (which it is), but the staff feel that they can be helpful. They do not get as many applications as they would like; the western states have fewer properties on the National Register because they have had less of a

preservation ethic, but they are now experiencing more and more development pressure.

The State of Washington, on the other hand, offers its own tax incentive for the rehabilitation of any property (not just commercial properties) listed on the state or national registers. This incentive provides for special (lower) valuation for property tax purposes. If the cost of rehabilitation of a listed building is equal to at least 25 percent of the existing valuation of the building—in other words, if the rehabilitation expenses are quite substantial—the added value to the property due to the rehabilitation is exempt from property tax assessment for up to ten years. Thus, the taxable base is frozen at the lower, pre-rehabilitation value for that period of time. In exchange for this tax concession, if the property is not visible from the public right of way, the owner has to make the historic aspects of the property accessible to public view one day per year.

Environmental Project Review

Various environmental laws—most importantly the National Historic Preservation Act at the national level and the State Environmental Policy Act, the Shorelines Management Act, and the Growth Management Act at the state level—have implemented procedural requirements so that consideration must be given to protecting significant historic, archaeological, and traditional cultural sites from damage or loss during development. Generally this is required as part of a public environmental review process. OAHP participates in a wide variety of environmental project reviews, working with agencies, tribes, private citizens, and developers to identify and develop protection strategies to assure that Washington's cultural heritage is not lost.

Most important in this regard, perhaps, is Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act, which requires that all federal agencies consider the impact on cultural resources in all licensing, permitting, and funding decisions. As part of that

process, each agency undertaking actions in Washington must consult with OAHP to assure that cultural resources are identified and to obtain the formal opinion of the office on each site's significance and the impact of its proposed action upon the site. Various staff members of OAHP may get involved in a Section 106 review depending on the skills required (register eligibility, planning impacts, design impacts, or archaeological impacts). OAHP performs a similar role under the State Environmental Protection Act.

As is customary in American preservation law, Section 106 review encourages preservation through providing information to the public during the review process. Section 106 cannot mandate preservation; it is not regulatory, but it does ensure that preservation values are factored into federal agency planning and decisions in a more formal manner. The result is that federal agencies must assume responsibility for the consequences of their actions and be publicly accountable for their decisions.

The workload under environmental project review is tremendous; each year OAHP reviews more than 2,500 federal, state and local government projects for their effects on the cultural resources of the state.

The burden for a Section 106 review begins with the federal agency that is involved in the project under consideration. The federal agency is required to:

- ❑ Determine if Section 106 applies to a given project and, if so, initiate the review;
- ❑ Gather information to decide which properties in the project area are listed on, or are eligible for, the National Register of Historic Places;
- ❑ Determine how these historic properties might be affected;
- ❑ Explore alternatives to avoid or reduce harm to historic properties; and
- ❑ Reach an agreement with the state historic preservation officer or the tribe (and the advisory council in some cases)

on measures to deal with any adverse effects or obtain advisory comments from the council, which are then sent to the head of the federal agency.

When tribal lands or historic properties of significance to federally recognized Native American tribes are involved, federal agencies are required to consult with officials of these tribes. Some tribes have officially designated tribal historic preservation officers, who function as equivalents to the state historic preservation officer and conduct Section 106 reviews on behalf of their tribes,¹² while others designate representatives to consult with government agencies as needed.

In Washington OAHF has remained an important participant in the Section 106 consultation chain. Its comments carry substantive weight because its track record is good. Neglecting to consult with OAHF is generally considered a bad idea because any agency will always have additional projects that will need approval later.

For each Section 106 review the state historic preservation officer returns one of three possible findings: (1) no effect, (2) no adverse effect, or (3) adverse effect. Negative comment can present a roadblock though it cannot stop a project. The federal agency involved can still decide to fund and go ahead with a project for which there has been a finding of adverse effect. Nevertheless, appropriate accommodations are usually made before a finding of adverse effect is made.

An area that has created a lot of tension in Washington under Section 106, which one would not necessarily expect, is the weatherization of houses with federal money. Because federal money is involved, Section 106 kicks in, and individual homeowners are often surprised by what they consider federal (and state) meddling.

Resources in this program are stretched quite thin, as there are approximately 250 governmental entities in the state, all of whose projects might require environmental review. There are also twenty-nine federally recognized tribes plus other tribes in adjoining states and tribal nations

in Canada. The goal is to keep all of them operating within the guidelines and timelines of appropriate agency environmental review.

Certified Local Government Program

The Certified Local Government Program is another program that is the direct result of federal legislation. The National Historic Preservation Act provides for a process of certifying local governments and their historic preservation activities. Local governments that establish a historic preservation program meeting federal and state standards are eligible to apply to the state historic preservation officer (SHPO) for certification. Certification includes review by OAHF and the National Parks Service. A local government that receives such certification is known as a “Certified Local Government” (CLG). This designation qualifies CLGs for technical and financial assistance.

Certified Local Governments are required to maintain a historic preservation commission, survey local historic properties, enforce state or local preservation laws, and provide for public participation. They participate in the review of nominations to the National Register of Historic Places and participate in statewide preservation programs and planning. In Washington thirty cities and towns and five counties are Certified Local Governments at present.¹³ Many of these governments are in quite rural areas, which improves the geographic spread of this program.

The key idea here is that certification will provide an additional impetus to local preservation efforts, but certification also makes Certified Local Governments eligible for Certified Local Government grants. The 1966 National Historic Preservation Act authorized states to award 10 percent of their annual grant from the Historic Preservation Fund in the form of grants to Certified Local Governments. As with all funds provided to OAHF by the federal government, this grant money has to be matched by non-federal funds, and this applies both to the Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation and its sub-grantees. Currently, OAHF matches its

¹² This is spelled out in Section 101(d)(2) contained in the 1992 amendments to the National Historic Preservation Act.

¹³ Spokane City and County are considered together as one Certified Local Government.

annual grant from the federal Historic Preservation Fund through state general funds as well as through matches provided by pass-through grants to local governments. When it makes Historic Preservation Fund grants to Certified Local Governments, OAHP requires a match of 60:40, with the OAHP portion providing a maximum of 60 percent and the local government portion providing a minimum of 40 percent. Generally there is a \$50,000-\$100,000 grant pool available.

Because the Historic Preservation Fund grants are made to Certified Local Governments rather than to individual projects they are not used for bricks and mortar projects. They tend to be used for (1) surveys and inventories that result in the identification of historic properties, (2) preparation of nominations that result in the listing of properties in the National Register of Historic Places and/or the Washington Heritage Register, (3) planning activities that pave the way for the long-range preservation of historic properties, or (4) educational activities that target a large audience providing information about properties listed on the historic registers and about historic preservation in general. Through such grants, the Certified Local Government Program keeps the local machinery oiled in terms of the process of preparing and making nominations.

Historic Preservation Fund grants are competitively awarded. Applications are reviewed by staff and by the Grants Advisory Committee, an independent committee. This committee is made up of at least one member of the State Advisory Council on Historic Preservation as well as professionals in historic preservation or a closely related field.

The scale of this grant program is small, partly because the available resources are so limited and partly because the documentation required for any application is substantial. In any round OAHP is likely to receive eight to twelve applications; seven or eight will be funded. Grants are in the range of \$2,500 to \$25,000, but no single applicant can receive more than half of the available pool of money. Three or

four Certified Local Governments always get grants from this program; the other recipients vary from year to year. At the larger end of the range, for example, the King County Office of Cultural Resources (now the Cultural Development Authority of King County) has received \$15,000-\$25,000 on an annual basis as a Certified Local Government. This money is passed through to cities in the county to be used for designation and preservation activities.

Grant recipients are checked periodically. Grants are received in October, and there is a formal review of the grant in July when a first draft of the final report is due. OAHP looks at all products and has conversations with project staff along the way. As is required by Washington's constitution, these grants are paid as reimbursements for expenses incurred, so there is a guarantee that work is progressing.

Archaeology Program

Washington is one of the few states that require a permit process for archaeological digs on *all* lands, not just on *public* lands. OAHP staff is responsible for regulation and permitting of all archaeological digs with the intent of assuring that state and private actions will not have a detrimental effect on archaeological resources.

Because there is currently a strong conservation and preservation ethic among archaeologists, which leads away from excavation, there are very few archaeological digs at the present time. Only those archaeological sites that are in danger of being lost through erosion, vandalism, or development are excavated. Those that come to OAHP's attention usually come as the result of requirements of the State Environmental Protection Act, the Shoreline Management Act, or the Forest Management Act.

With respect to state projects that might impact archaeological sites, OAHP has the right to deny permits. It is up to each agency to study if archaeological resources are in danger. In private development it is the local government's role to detect impacts. Not surprisingly, some local

governments do a better job than others at detecting these impacts.

The tribes have their own tribal archaeologists and their own cultural staff. Interestingly, because they have more expertise than most county governments and often more than OAHP itself, they can dominate technical discussions. Moreover, their values are highly articulated; they are effective because they have a religious, spiritual conviction about their cultural resources. The tribal staffs are also important allies to OAHP; together they often play out a good cop/bad cop routine to protect archaeological resources.

To identify and inventory their cultural resources, a number of the tribes have been moving to cutting edge technology, which in some cases is well ahead of what has been available to OAHP. These tribes have all of their archaeological sites marked and digitized on aerial photo overlays, and they have combined digital elevation models with streaming video. This has proven very useful for emergency training and fire fighting. The best fire fighting crews are Native American, and a crew can be brought in and taken through their response virtually, identifying routes, base camps, and archaeological and cultural sites that need to be protected, prior to going out into the field to fight the fire

Washington has recently created a Committee on Archaeology and Oil Spill Response, which is unique to Washington. This committee is responsible for quick decision making concerning damage to and restoration of archaeological resources damaged by oil spills.

The Washington State Inventory of Cultural Resources

The State Inventory of Cultural Resources is, in theory, a collection of data on all of the important cultural resources of the state. OAHP collects site data on cultural resources from throughout the state, manages the database, and makes the data available for research and planning purposes.

Ideally, OAHP would conduct a complete survey of the state's heritage resources, compiling the resulting information in this inventory. However, budget restrictions have made systematic surveying impossible. Instead OAHP has had to rely on whatever information has been provided as part of the nomination process. On occasion OAHP has had some money available to sponsor survey projects that would search out particular types of resources thematically.¹⁴ The difficulty of maintaining the State Inventory of Cultural Resources is magnified by the fact that several state agencies own historic properties pertinent to their own operations, and they also are behind in cataloguing these resources.

OAHP currently has records on over 100,000 historic, archaeological, and traditional cultural properties located across the state. Researchers, project proponents, property owners, planners, and others use this collection of records as a planning and reference tool.

The inventory is now the place where a number of issues are being played out. While demand to consult the inventory grows, staff availability to service this demand has decreased. One partial solution would be to computerize the data and make them available electronically—they would become particularly useful if linked to a Geographic Information System—but this, too, has been hampered by limited resources. What progress has been made has been due to a T21 grant from the Federal Highway Administration rather than through any funds made available by the Legislature. As one-off grants become available, staff are hired to continue the work, but this happens in fits and starts.

The inventory includes five different types of historic properties: archaeological resources; historic resources (buildings, structures, sites, districts and objects constructed since European American contact with Native Americans); traditional cultural properties associated with the tribes of Washington and adjacent states and Canada; cultural/historic landscapes—a newly recognized property type, which

¹⁴ In particular, this has been implemented through the development of "historic context documents," which discuss historic themes that assist in the identification of important resources; the thematic link helps establish the significance of the property. Agriculture, transportation, and politics/government/law are three such themes that have been explored in historic context documents. These documents, in turn, have led to the identification of properties within specific sub-themes such as rural public education, movie theatres, and grain growing in Eastern Washington.

recognizes landscapes that are a “physical manifestation of important religious beliefs, traditional stories or legends, as well as traditionally recognized sources for materials important in Native American culture,”¹⁵ and historic shipwrecks and submerged aircraft.

There has been no systematic statewide survey or inventory of any of these resources. Instead, for the most part OAHP relies on information that has come through the door. Even so, it has been hard to keep up. Over 11,000 archaeological sites are registered with OAHP at the moment; each month between six and thirty more sites are discovered and filed with the office.

Like many of the other programs of OAHP, this program is currently unable to be proactive; systematic surveying and inventorying are simply not possible with current resources.

Preservation Works for Washington

In most years the federal money plus the state match is only enough to let OAHP function at a minimal level. Tasks with respect to nominations, certification, and permitting are completed, but there is very little room to be proactive about historic preservation. As a result, staff are not able to do what they are really in this business to do. Only on occasion is it possible to do something more. In fiscal year 2002 OAHP unexpectedly received a large increase from the federal Historic Preservation Fund. As a result it was able to put \$135,000 into the Preservation Works for Washington Rehabilitation Grant-in-Aid Program.¹⁶ This program, which was very popular among the staff, provided preservation grants for bricks and mortar projects. Even so, only nine grants were made possible with this additional money, and, unfortunately, the last time that the office had been able to mount this kind of grant program had been ten or twelve years earlier.

Allyson Brooks, the state historic preservation officer and director of the Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, pointed out that other states have pro-

vided more money so that their state offices can run grant programs. She cited the example of California where a bond issue that included \$285 million for preservation has been passed. The intent is to create a trust fund and to use the interest to fund bricks and mortar preservation grants.¹⁷

The State Advisory Council on Historic Preservation

The Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, while reporting to the Office of Community Development, also has an advisory council that oversees its work: the State Advisory Council on Historic Preservation.¹⁸ The advisory council, which has nine members including architects, historians, archaeologists, architectural historians, and laypeople, advises OAHP and the governor’s office on matters of historic preservation policy and votes on nominations to the state and federal registers.¹⁹ Until recently the advisory council had been primarily composed of academicians. But an attempt has now been made to make it more “user friendly,” to strengthen its role in policy formulation, and to establish closer ties to the governor’s office.

It has traditionally been the advisory council’s job to review nominations to the state and federal registers. In the past the council tended to focus more on “how well the forms were filled out.” Now it tries to focus more on the merits of each case. The staff makes a report to the advisory council on each nomination. The council’s style is to praise in public, condemn in private (in other words, the advisory council and OAHP work to make sure that nominations that actually come before the council will pass). In a sense, the advisory council is a rubber stamp, ratifying the result of nomination discussions between the staff and the nominator. Yet, the council insists that there be a reasoned justification for listing. It sees the final presentation of a nomination at one of its meetings as an opportunity to honor and give visibility to the property being nominated.

¹⁵ Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation: *Historic Preservation Working for Washington: The State Historic Preservation Plan 2000*, 1985, 35.

¹⁶ Concerning this decision, Jack Williams, chair of the State Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, pointed out, “When there was the big spike, we used the money mostly for getting our record keeping in order. We only put a small amount into grants because we did not want to raise expectations on which we could not deliver.”

¹⁷ Note that the State of Washington does also have the Capital Projects Fund for Washington’s Heritage (discussed later in this chapter), which is run through the Heritage Resource Center under the auspices of the Washington State Historical Society. This program has a biennial budget of \$4,000,000. Strictly speaking, these are not preservation grants; rather, they support museums and various information and heritage centers.

¹⁸ Note that in Washington State government there are three types of boards: advisory, regulatory, and policy-making. The State Advisory Council on Historic Preservation is of the first type.

¹⁹ Note that the advisory council does not get involved in Section 106 review, which is conducted by OAHP staff because it is quasi-regulatory.

When funding allows, the advisory council meets four times per year. It consciously tries to “go out and meet in communities around the state, have a reception, and brag a bit.” These meetings are often linked to a visit to a particular preservation project. Anyone can come before the council to present a nomination. (“We try to make everyone comfortable.”) To become even more visible the advisory council broadcasts occasional meetings on TVW, the state’s public affairs cable television station.

At the moment the advisory council is particularly concerned with the paths of communication to higher levels of authority that are available (or not) to OAHP. OAHP reports to the director of the Office of Community Development, but the advisory council is advisory both to OAHP and to the governor’s office. Moreover, the state historic preservation officer is appointed to that post by the governor, which also seems to legitimize direct communication with the governor’s office. Most importantly, the advisory council wants to get the agency “onto someone’s radar screen.” Recently, the director of the Office of Community Development left state government. Paying a courtesy visit to OAHP and the advisory council, his parting words were, “You will get more publicity. Be careful of what you wish for.”

That caution notwithstanding, Jack Williams, chair of the advisory council, sees six priorities for OAHP:

- ❑ Increasing resources so that OAHP can represent itself and its work better in the field;
- ❑ Increasing resources to hire a planner to work on community character and historic district issues;
- ❑ Obtaining an increase in grant money for planning of restoration as well as execution of restoration;
- ❑ Increasing resources to advise local individuals and communities on how to tap other resources in the state;
- ❑ Using the existing research agencies (e.g., the Washington State Institute for Public Policy and the Municipal Research and Services Center) within the State of Washington to help further the work of OAHP; and
- ❑ Increasing resources so that staff can spend more time on the road outside of the Puget Sound area.

The advisory council has looked at the possibility of implementing a loan program, but its investigations of such programs in other states (e.g., Missouri and New Mexico) suggest that there is lots of political pressure in those states to distribute loans to resources that are of relatively low priority. Moreover, Washington’s constitution makes loans very difficult, as they cannot be construed as purchases of goods or services. The advisory council has also looked (longingly) at alternative sources of dedicated revenues. The historic preservation agency in Colorado, for example, receives casino gambling revenues for its programs.

In Summary

The Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation is shaped, to a large degree, by its federal mandate and its federal funding. Much of its effort is dedicated to reacting to nominations to the federal or state historic registers. Environmental project review, particularly under Section 106, is described by the staff as “an overwhelming force.” The agency spends such a high percentage of its resources on these regulatory matters that it cannot get involved in policy initiatives like heritage tourism or growth management. It is forced into being reactive rather than proactive, which makes it very difficult to pursue a state-specific policy.

Because of the multi-level nomination process for listing on the historic registers, historic preservation is the one area of state cultural policy in which there is considerable interaction between the state and lower levels of government. This process has to be collaborative for a listing to succeed.

OAHP is configured around a fixed set of programs, which operate surprisingly well given the constraints within which they are expected to operate, but the structure that has evolved has made it virtually impossible for the office to set out new policy directions or to pursue new policy initiatives.

The staff has a long wish list: “We would like to have a grant program that would be not only a bricks and mortar program. We would like to have more staff for education and outreach. We would like to see more staff to develop and implement policy. We would like to have in-house expertise in graphic design, brochures, reports, presentations, etc. We would really like to operate a revolving loan program, but there is a constitutional prohibition in Washington. We would like to be offering incentives for preservation projects.” OAHP is supposed to be doing comprehensive surveying and inventorying of historic sites in Washington, but this is essentially an unfunded mandate. And, finally, OAHP would like to be able to prepare its own historic register nominations.

Interactions with other state agencies and with external organizations are surprisingly limited beyond interactions with Certified Local Governments. OAHP does interact with the Washington State Department of Transportation through its Heritage Corridors Program and other projects. In fact, the development of OAHP databases has been funded sporadically by WSDOT. OAHP has paid WSDOT and the Parks and Recreation Commission for training of their employees on cultural resource management issues. OAHP has links to the Main Street Program and the state archives. But, most importantly, many state agencies—Corrections, Parks and Recreation, Veterans Affairs, Agriculture, Banking, and General Administration, among others—own historic properties. Unfortunately, in the eyes of OAHP, some of these agencies are less concerned than others about the appropriate preservation and conservation of their cultural resources. A particularly vexing issue for OAHP is the state’s school

funding formula, which, they feel, advantages new construction over reuse and therefore works against the interest of historic preservation. In the view of OAHP, however, to change the funding formula away from favoring new construction would take far too much staff time and effort. Occasionally OAHP is able to tap some additional resources for preservation through interagency agreements. In such an agreement, OAHP gets authority for certain expenditures, spends against that authority, and then is reimbursed by the other agency.

One of our field interviewees focused on the state Growth Management Act as a vehicle for promoting preservation but characterized it as much too weak. “The land management agencies at the state are not following federal guidelines in this regard.” OAHP is the logical agency to have some influence over these policies, but its weak links to other departments, even those within the Office of Community Development, make it difficult to exert much influence.

The impression that one gets is that the ties between the Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation and the Washington State Historical Society (discussed below) are not particularly strong. It is interesting to note, however, that at the local level history programs and historic preservation programs tend to be combined in one local or county historical society, whereas at the state level they are separated into two specialized entities. In addition to maintaining local historical museums that often occupy historic buildings, local and county historical societies do get involved in the nomination process for historic properties.

A number of studies on possible interagency collaboration have been conducted with the idea that it would prove beneficial to get similarly concerned agencies together to coordinate their heritage programs. At one point a Washington State Heritage Council was created by the Legislature, but it was ultimately discontinued. Today there is a Heritage Caucus (discussed below), but it meets only when

the Legislature is in session for the purpose of exchanging information. Many of the individuals whom we interviewed would like to get agencies together to do “something great” with respect to the heritage. Mary Thompson, former state historic preservation officer and current president of the Washington State Trust for Historic Preservation stated, “We don’t really get together. There is no sense of community. We let the bureaucrats call the shots.”

Allyson Brooks, the current state historic preservation officer, also lamented the lack of external linkages: “Our great failure is not pursuing linkages with nonprofits such as environmental groups, land use and planning groups, and transportation groups. We should be working with growth management and ecology groups, but we cannot offer development bonuses. We are always on the defensive and not on the offensive.” To the extent that the bulk of OAHP’s work is regulatory rather than educational or promotional, ties with other agencies with a different primary mode of operation may always continue to be difficult to arrange.

Finally, one is left with the impression that much of OAHP’s work is under the radar screen. Whether this is intentional or unintentional is difficult to tell; what is clear is that this has both advantages and disadvantages. It is able to work quietly without undue scrutiny or influence, but its ultimate influence on the preservation of the historic resources of Washington may be limited as a result.

Currently it is very difficult for OAHP staff to get beyond basic day-to-day operations. They are not able to think about the big picture, even though that is what they would really like to do and what they are trained for. Recent budget cuts will not make this any easier.

The Heritage Corridors Program, Washington State Department of Transportation

As we have already seen in earlier chapters, state cultural policy is not only found in those agencies or offices that are clearly cultural in their mandate. A prime example of an element of heritage policy tucked away within a mainline state agency is found in the Washington State Department of Transportation (WSDOT). Here one finds a group responsible for the Heritage Corridors Program.

Operating at the seam between environmental policy and cultural policy, the mission of the Heritage Corridors Program is “to preserve the unique scenic character along Washington’s transportation corridors, to provide travelers with a continuing opportunity to appreciate and obtain information regarding unique natural, cultural, and historic features, and recreational opportunities, that are near to, or accessible from, transportation routes.”²⁰

The program’s rationale is expressed as follows:

The landscape, in the words of the cultural geographer J.B. Jackson, “...is a document of the shared aspirations, ingenuity, memories, and culture of its builders.”²¹ The landscape represents our heritage. Heritage transportation corridors can link individuals and communities to this heritage. The desire to preserve these special “places” requires that we protect and maintain their intrinsic resources and the experiences they provide. To accomplish this, there must be a coordinated effort. The Heritage Corridors Program will facilitate the sustainable management of our landscape heritage along transportation corridors, and build the relationships between individuals, groups, agencies, and governments who share this responsibility.²²

Chronology

This program, a small four-person program, is a unit of the Highways and Local Roadways Division of the Washington State Department of Transportation. It grew out of the national movement of the mid-1960s to beautify interstate and

²⁰ Washington State Department of Transportation, *Washington’s Scenic Byway Designation Process Report*, 2002, 7.

²¹ J. B. Jackson, *Discovering the Vernacular Landscape* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984).

²² Heritage Corridors Program, Washington State Department of Transportation, *Defining Washington’s Heritage Corridors Program*, Report to the Legislature and the Federal Highway Administration, April 1995, 3.

major state highways. The Washington program was established by the Legislature in 1967 when twenty-seven state routes were placed in the program.²³ The Washington Scenic Vistas Act of 1970²⁴ placed additional constraints on outdoor advertising, but the overall program reportedly lay mostly dormant from that point until 1991, when Congress passed the Intermodal Surface Transportation Efficiency Act (ISTEA) and created the National Scenic Byway Program. ISTEA required states to better define their roles and responsibilities under their scenic byways programs. The governor appointed a Highway Heritage Task Force to define a purpose and vision for Washington's participation in this program that would respond to the ISTEA legislation, and this task force developed the current mission statement of the Heritage Corridors Programs. By 1993, 45 percent, or nearly 3,000 miles, of Washington's state highways had been designated as "Scenic and Recreational."

The Legislature set aside \$1 million for the program during the 1991-93 biennium, and this money was used to establish clear cultural linkages. Said Program Director Judy Lorenzo: "That investment leveraged \$20 million in projects, one of which was a folk life project. There was a recognition that art is more than a painting."

In 1994, at the Legislature's request, the Heritage Corridors Program published a planning document recommending refinements to the program. *Defining Washington's Heritage Corridors Program* observed that many routes had been overlooked because they were not state owned. The report contained four major areas of recommended program development:

- ❑ The further establishment of Scenic Byways and Heritage Routes, expanding designation to other roadways, and establishing specific criteria for Heritage Routes;
- ❑ The creation of safety rest areas and viewpoints;
- ❑ The design and construction of signage and other interpretation markers; and

- ❑ Public outreach including the provision of public information, training, and customized workshops for local groups.

The report also developed other recommendations intended to make WSDOT's efforts more focused and systematic. Said Judy Lorenzo: "I felt like I had a statement of purpose—my goal was to sell it internally [within WSDOT], but we had to sell it to the Legislature as well." Implementation of the program was slow due to lack of staff and funding, but in 1998 the legislation for the Heritage Corridors Program was amended with the passage of Chapter 218, Laws of 1999 (SSB 5273).

The development of the program was the result of the efforts of a few key leaders, within both WSDOT and the Legislature. The turning point within WSDOT reportedly came when the Heritage Corridors Program was added to the department's list of priority deficiencies. Lorenzo said, with little sense of irony, "We had arrived because we made it onto the list of deficiencies — this gave us flexibility. [The list has different categories of deficiencies.] Our category of deficiency was economic development. [This was important because] our program is a non-traditional function within a mobility and safety agency. Washington was the first state to include byways on its deficiencies list."

At the time of our interviews the Heritage Corridors Program had 4.0 FTE staff and a biennial budget of \$5.5 million, of which \$2.5 million was for preservation programs along the Heritage Corridors. The operating budget was \$450,000 per biennium in state dollars, plus \$200,000 for operations from federal grants. Federal funds have been particularly significant in the development of large, visible projects such as the multi-state Pacific Coast Scenic Byway project and Washington's participation in the celebration of the Lewis and Clark bicentennial.

The process at the heart of the Heritage Corridors Program is, in a certain sense,

²³ RCW §47.39, the Scenic and Recreational Highway Act of 1967.

²⁴ RCW §47.42, the Scenic Vistas Act of 1970.

like the process for registering historic properties through OAHP. The Heritage Corridors Program responds to requests by regional groups and other advocates who are seeking Scenic Byway designation. The criteria for designation are set forth in the Federal Scenic Byway Program and the Washington Heritage Corridors legislation. The process for receiving Scenic Byway or Heritage Route designation includes a set of standard steps: (1) an application is filed and basic eligibility is assessed, (2) a community meeting is held to determine the level of support for designation among the participating communities, (3) a scenic assessment of the route is undertaken, (4) an inventory of the heritage resources along the route is completed, (5) the proposed designation is reviewed by a designation panel and a recommendation is made, and (6) the route is designated by the State Transportation Commission. Designation makes a route eligible for National Scenic Byways funds.

Applicants and advocates are offered technical assistance by the program staff throughout the designation review process. They are assisted in developing greater local awareness of resources, corridor management plans, identifying local resources, and creating and unifying local cultural tourism efforts. Thus, the program staff acts as a liaison, putting local proponents in touch with a variety of other agencies and programs.

Goals

The Heritage Corridors Program is intended to support local efforts to preserve local character and improve economic vitality, protecting these efforts and the local resources they identify from the ravages of state transportation policy and putting them in touch with a variety of state and federal programs. The goals of the program are:

- ❑ To develop a statewide network of Scenic Byways and Heritage Tour Routes, protecting a legacy of the best examples of Washington's landscapes and heritage resources;
- ❑ To maintain a program that is consistent with the goals and objectives of the National Scenic Byways Program;
- ❑ To advocate for a locally driven balance in preservation and promotion of the scenic and heritage resources found on designated routes in the system;
- ❑ To educate the traveling public by providing a comprehensive interpretive experience that tells the story of the route;
- ❑ To assist communities in developing sustainable tourism and recreation by showcasing and enhancing each corridor's natural, cultural, scenic, recreational, and historic resource sites;
- ❑ To provide a safe and enjoyable journey for travelers; and
- ❑ To achieve consistency with the Washington Transportation Plan.

Standards

In pursuing these goals, the Heritage Corridors Program is expected to meet certain standards of performance:

- ❑ Involvement in the Heritage Corridors Program should be in response to a community's voluntary desire to be in the program.
- ❑ Byways should be created and managed to serve their communities, but should serve travelers as well.
- ❑ Communities should form a byway advocacy or stewardship group that will be responsible for developing a Corridor Management Plan.
- ❑ A corridor's story should be developed by drawing together its outstanding resources and features. A plan for telling the story should be part of the Corridor Management Plan.
- ❑ The evaluation process should be fair, consistent, scientific, and as objective as possible. It should be flexible enough to apply equally to all routes and landscape types.

And Priorities

The program's current priorities are identified in *Defining Washington's Heritage Corridors Program*.²⁵

- ❑ *Protect and enhance the visual quality of Washington's transportation corridors and facilities.*
- ❑ *Avoid, minimize, or mitigate impacts of transportation projects on heritage resources.*
- ❑ *Assist where appropriate with preserving and enhancing heritage resources which are within transportation corridors or are an integral part of the traveling experience along a corridor. Significant proposed transportation projects relating to the preservation, enhancement, or interpretation of resources on the transportation system should be identified in regional transportation plans. In all cases, any contemplated project should be consistent with regional transportation plans.*
- ❑ *Commit state funding to leverage funding opportunities from other sources for transportation projects which preserve, enhance, and interpret heritage resources within transportation corridors. Innovative funding sources, both public and private, should be pursued. Transportation funding should only be made available where there are partnerships with resources managers who have pledged a public or private financial commitment.*
- ❑ *Provide directional signing and interpretive signing along the transportation system. Directional signing on the transportation system to access cultural, natural, and historic resources should be considered only when resources are identified as significant in regional transportation plans, or where there are clear economic benefits.*
- ❑ *Support the development of tourism and other Washington industries; support those aspects of the transportation system which enhance tourism; cooperate in promoting heritage resources to aid tourism and achieve economic benefits.*
- ❑ *Provide appropriate access to those resources which have been identified by national, tribal, state, and local resources management entities.*

Scenic Highway Designation Projects

The Heritage Corridors Program, by its very nature, involves multiple agencies in the implementation of its policy. Several examples make clear how the management of National Scenic Byway designation creates opportunities for multi-agency cooperation in special projects:

- ❑ *The Mountains to Sound Greenway [Interstate 90] from Seattle to Ellensburg.* In this initiative the business community, the government, and local residents worked together to protect a major piece of regional scenery and history. The Mountains to Sound Greenway Trust purchased land to create trails and parks along the corridor. Trailheads and visitor centers were created; students and citizens teamed with corporations to plant trees and restore vegetation. Interpretive signs were erected to tell the story of the corridor. WSDOT worked with the trust to create a plan that combines the various interests along the corridor, while also supporting economic development and safe and efficient transportation facilities. National Scenic Byway funding provided trailblazer logo signs, a corridor marketing plan, and preparation of a master site plan for the development of a viewpoint.
- ❑ *Strait of Juan de Fuca Highway [State Route 112] from Port Angeles to Neah Bay.* In this case public and private partners worked together to create the *Strait of Juan de Fuca Corridor Management Plan*, which emphasizes the economic development of local communities and strives to develop travel-related amenities in support of local community and economic development goals. Designation as a National Scenic Byway in 2000 triggered funding for projects along the corridor.
- ❑ *North Pend Oreille Scenic Byway [Star Route 31] from Tiger Junction to the Canadian Border.* In this project National Scenic Byway designation was used to foster rural economic redevelopment. A

²⁵ *Defining Washington's Heritage Corridors Program*, 56.

small National Scenic Byway planning grant leveraged \$500,000 and a Corridor Management Plan for seven historic/recreational interpretive sites.

- *Lewis and Clark Trail Highway*—*Washington's Southern Border along the Snake and Columbia Rivers from Clarkston to Long Beach and State Route 14.* In anticipation of the multi-state bicentennial commemoration of the Lewis and Clark expedition, an Interpretive and Tourism Plan was funded by \$90,000 in WSDOT National Scenic Byways federal funds, matching state funds, and an appropriation by the Legislature. The Washington State Historical Society is acting as the lead agency of a multi-agency collaboration that has secured \$615,000 in T21 enhancement funds for highway markers, traveler orientation and interpretation. As of summer 2001, the project had leveraged partnerships totaling over \$10 million.

As these examples suggest, each Scenic Byway or Heritage Tour Route requires a Corridor Management Plan, which results from the documentation that is prepared on the existing resources. The plan provides the blueprint for preservation, development, and promotion efforts.

Other Program Elements

The Heritage Corridors Program also has responsibilities with respect to safety rest areas and viewpoints. These interesting projects have led to increased visibility for the program. In 1991-93, WSDOT requested funding for the improvement of rest areas, which had been included on the agency's deficiencies list. The Legislature appropriated \$2 million to build unique rest areas. Two projects resulted. The Forest Learning Center was developed on State Route 504 near Mount Saint Helens in a partnership with Weyerhaeuser and the Department of Fish and Wildlife. A design competition was used to select the architect for this forestry interpretation center (and rest area). WSDOT invested \$1.2 million of the \$2 million cost; Weyerhaeuser provided the balance. The

second project was Washington Pass Overlook, completed in partnership with the United States Department of Agriculture Forest Service.

The Heritage Corridors Program is also responsible for signs, interpretation, and markers. Each designated byway has its own unique signage, and design guidelines have been established for Scenic Byways and rest areas. For example, the Lewis and Clark Expedition project has its own eighty-page design guidebook for all signage and interpretation.

Stewardship and interpretation of unique cultural and heritage resources also come under the purview of the Heritage Corridors Program. Interpretation efforts go well beyond signage to include interpretive maps and a wealth of materials produced in cooperation with other agencies. The most notable of these is the Northwest Heritage Tours program, which it has developed in collaboration with the Folk Arts Program of the Washington State Arts Commission (discussed in Chapter III). These driving tours include a booklet and a tour tape containing traditional regional music and narratives from local residents.²⁶

Finally, since the Heritage Corridors Program operates in partnership with local communities, public outreach is a major component of this initiative. Outreach efforts include the Heritage Corridors Advisory Committee, statewide communication networking, a *Corridor Management Planning Guidebook*, various outreach publications, and a document outlining the process for project identification and public involvement.

Through its work in the areas described above, the Heritage Corridors Program plays a stewardship role by offering an unusual venue through which to care for the unique cultural and heritage resources of Washington State. While its activities are perhaps more indirect than the work of the Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, they have much the same influence. This program provides an interesting example of pursuing cultural

²⁶ The tapes and tour guides that are available include Central Washington Heritage Corridor: Leavenworth to Maryhill; Central Washington: Othello to Omak; South-eastern Washington: Richland to Clarkston; and Western Washington: The Olympic Peninsula Loop.

policy through creative attachment to other state goals and policies. When cultural policy can be pursued under the auspices of other policy actors, it may well benefit from the greater societal consensus that characterizes those policies.

The Washington State Historical Society

Much of the activity of the Washington State Historical Society has already been discussed in Chapter IV in the context of its role in state humanities policy. Here we turn to the role it plays in heritage policy.

The flagship heritage activity of the Washington State Historical Society is the Washington State History Museum, but it is difficult to separate this museum and its sister museum, the Washington State Capital Museum, from the broader set of activities around which the society is structured. As has already been mentioned in Chapter IV, the society has three operating divisions—Museum Services, Institutional Advancement, and Outreach Services. Many of the activities of these divisions focus on the museums and their programs, and this is where the main relationship with heritage policy lies. In this section we focus on the Museum Services division, as well as on the State Capital Museum and the society's role in the Lewis and Clark bicentennial. The Outreach Services and Institutional Advancement divisions have already been discussed in Chapter IV, as they fit more appropriately under a discussion of humanities policy or a broader discussion of the society's operations. We discuss the society's role in administering the Capital Projects Fund for Washington's Heritage in a separate section of this chapter.

Museum Services

Museum Services is responsible for the permanent collection, temporary exhibits, and education programs—the core programs that one normally associates with a museum's activities. Now that the new Washington State History Museum is up and running, the attention of this division

has turned toward a wide variety of temporary exhibits and the materials and programs associated with these collections and programs. Still, the division remains attentive to the capital projects of the society including the completion (in 2001) of the seismic and systems renovation of the society's Research Center (housed in the original museum building), and post earthquake (February 2001) repairs to the State Capital Museum.

The mission of the Museum Services division has been articulated as “Inspiring all people to make history a part of their lives,” a mission that clearly mixes heritage with the humanities. From a heritage perspective, this begins with the management, inventorying, and cataloging of the permanent collections—the “movable heritage” objects of the State of Washington—and the design of exhibits and programs based on that collection, but it extends to a wide range of temporary exhibits at both museum facilities. The division also provides a wide array of ancillary materials and programs that interpret the history of the state and expand the impact of the society's work.

The Research Center, located within Museum Services, houses the artifact and archival collections of the society and provides services to researchers wanting to use the collections. In 2001, the History Lab Learning Center was completed. The History Lab is a series of exhibits with heavy emphasis on modern electronic media and a sprinkling of traditional museum exhibit technology to give a hands-on experience of how historical inquiry is carried out. The History Lab is supplemented by an online component and a book and CD-ROM set is envisioned.

The State Capital Museum

The State Capital Museum is a semi-autonomous unit of the Washington State Historical Society. It is located in the Lord Mansion, a former home located immediately adjacent to the campus of Washington State government in Olympia. The museum was founded in 1941 as an independent entity. The Lords, a locally

prominent banking family, donated the building and grounds to the state in 1939. The will deeding the property to the state specified that the property be used for cultural purposes. Director Derek Valley said that the mission statement from that era emphasized the preservation and exhibition of pioneer memorabilia. Today, the major focus of the exhibits, which occupy two floors of the building, is upon the political and governmental history of the state.

The museum functioned as a completely separate entity until 1989 when, as the product of a self-assessment by its board of trustees, it was determined that affiliation with the Washington State Historical Society would be in the museum's best interests. Director Valley explained that the decision was based in large part on the premise that "... (since) the historical society had both the ear and favor of the Legislature, it seemed more sensible to bring us in under their umbrella."

Museum exhibits focus on the political and cultural history of Washington. The museum offers interpretations of regional Native American history, and the gardens surrounding the Lord Mansion feature native Northwest plants and an ethnobotanical garden. The Heritage Resource Center (discussed in Chapter IV) is located in the Coach House of the Lord Mansion.

The Lewis and Clark Bicentennial

The Society has positioned itself at the epicenter of preparations for the upcoming Lewis and Clark bicentennial, to feature a broad array of events, exhibitions, celebratory activities, and programs dealing with the 1803 expedition, yet another effort mixing humanities policy with heritage policy. Director Nicandri reported in March 2002 that between \$9 and \$10 million in public funds had already been committed with another third to come; the state's general fund appropriation is the smallest component within the mix of sources of support for bicentennial activities.

Certain cities and towns find themselves very much bound up in the historical society's Lewis and Clark bicentennial planning effort. The City of Long Beach, Washington, is a municipality with a resident year-round population of roughly 1,400 that lies along the coast of the Pacific Ocean just north of Astoria, Oregon, about 15 miles from the Oregon-Washington border on State Highway 103. The coastal towns of Seaview, Ilwaco, and Chinook are close by. Separately and together, they strive to function as tourist destinations during the spring and summer months. Some months ago, representatives of WSHS visited the region to conduct an inventory of sites associated with the Lewis and Clark expedition.

As it happens, the expeditionary party encamped at the tip of the Long Beach peninsula during November 1805, from which location they conducted explorations of the surrounding area. On November 15 Lewis and Clark met with representatives of the Clatsop Indian Tribe, who helped them find game and assisted them in establishing their base, where they remained until November 25. This area has now been extensively surveyed, and a permanent state/national park is being established on the site.

The fact of the Lewis and Clark presence in the region is not news. But these municipalities have lacked the resources to establish the kinds of facilities needed to attract and sustain public interest. With the help of WSHS, however, Long Beach and neighboring communities have submitted a number of requests for grant support from corporations and foundations already predisposed to supporting the bicentennial celebration. Requests from Long Beach to Microsoft for \$125,000, to Weyerhaeuser for \$50,000, and to AT&T for \$35,000 were pending at the time of our visit to the area (in July 2002). An extensive "Discovery Trail" will lead the visitor along the route followed by the expedition as it entered the region of the peninsula, established its encampment, and explored the nearby area. A bicycle trail will be established and public

sculptures will be installed. The skeleton of a whale that recently beached near the site of the encampment—evocative of one the explorers actually came upon during their travels—has been preserved and is now being readied for permanent display.

Impact

Within the constellation of state-level policy actors engaged in heritage policy, the Washington State Historical Society is positioned somewhere between Humanities Washington and the Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation, but the taxpaying public knows it primarily as a museum—researching, curating, and placing on display the historical record of the people of the State of Washington.

In our interviews it was suggested that its success ought largely and fairly to be determined by the levels of public participation it has achieved and by the extent to which the governor and the Legislature value the program (as expressed by continuing general fund appropriations). By this standard WSHS would appear to be doing quite well, indeed. It also ought to be gauged by the visibility of its programs, and here, too, it is quite successful.

The society has a further role in administering the Capital Projects Fund for Washington's Heritage (discussed below). The fact that it has been delegated this responsibility, despite the fact that it is not a mainline state agency, is a product of the aggressive campaign mounted by its director and board to enhance its influence and its claim on both publicly appropriated revenues and private philanthropic support, something that it is uniquely able to do because of its hybrid status as a trustee agency of the state also operating as a nonprofit 501(c)(3) organization. It is not otherwise positioned to function as a grant-making entity in the manner of the Washington State Arts Commission, and no one with whom we consulted seemed to expect it to do so.

Certainly one significant way to consider the society's policy and program impact is to explore its relationship with the welter

of local historical societies and museums operating in virtually every locale. Its interactions with the City of Long Beach in connection with the Lewis and Clark bicentennial celebration have been described above. The links between state cultural policy activity—including the Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation, the Washington State Historical Society, and Humanities Washington—and local heritage programming are examined further below.

Capital Projects Fund for Washington's Heritage

In cooperation with the Office of the Secretary of State, the Eastern Washington State Historical Society, and the Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, the Heritage Resource Center of the Washington State Historical Society also administers a capital grants fund to which nonprofit heritage organizations, tribes, and local governments may apply on a competitive basis. This fund is properly understood as a state program that has been given over to another entity for purposes of administration, and, thus, it is a bit different from the other programs and projects of the historical society. Since its inception, the Legislature has been appropriating approximately \$4 million per biennium for the Capital Projects Fund for Washington's Heritage, an amount that is roughly equal to the amount appropriated for its sister program, Building for the Arts.

The Capital Projects Fund for Washington's Heritage provides capital matching grants to various construction, restoration, and renovation projects in the heritage field. Eligible projects include: construction or improvement of facilities; purchase, restoration, and preservation of large heritage objects such as historic buildings, themselves, as well as other structures, ships, locomotives, and airplanes; acquisition of unimproved property for new heritage facilities; acquisition, protection, stabilization, and development of historic or archaeological sites; physical improvement of interior facility spaces for

exhibitions, programs, and preservation activities; construction-related design, archaeological, and engineering expenses; landscaping; and purchase of equipment.

The Heritage Resource Center provides a series of pre-application workshops to potential applicants. Once proposals are submitted, an advisory committee screens and ranks them according to their merit. Operating in a manner similar to the Building for the Arts program, the selected applicants are then presented to the Legislature for inclusion as line items in the state's capital budget. Thus, the Heritage Resource Center's process is advisory to the Legislature, which makes the final decisions and garners the political credit (and responsibility) for these decisions.

The society's annual report for 2001 lists twenty-nine projects that were recommended to the Legislature for funding at a total of \$4,198,136. State funding for the approved projects ranged from \$8,292 to \$400,000. According to this report, each state dollar was matched by more than seven dollars in non-state funds. The society's participation in the projects ends with their production of the approved list that it presents to the Legislature and the governor's office. It does not administer the funds once the projects are approved.

Its stewardship of the Capital Projects Fund for Washington's Heritage is perhaps the most palpable example of WSHS's unique capacity to project its influence statewide, beyond the geographical constraints implied by its physical location in western coastal Washington. A former society trustee deeply involved in winning legislative support for the society's initiatives, pointed specifically to this program as an expression of the society's ability to position itself as the benefactor of more localized heritage institutions around the state with a limited investment of its own resources. Describing this fund as a "capital-flow-through process," he observed that the several million dollars in annual heritage-specific public capital development activity never comes to the society at all. Indeed, the funds for these projects

are actually appropriated only after the society's grants review committee annually develops its list of recommended projects and forwards it with proposed dollar amounts for each project to the governor and the Legislature. Yet, the society shares—and rightfully so—in the reflected credit for the program.²⁷

The list of recommended projects is always sufficiently comprehensive geographically as to immediately touch the localized interests of many legislators at the same moment, so that appropriations at least equal to the recommended dollar amounts are generally achieved with relative ease. In the end it is the Legislature, not the society's proposal review committee, that makes the final official determinations. But as a function of its role as a broker between the Legislature's funding authority on the one hand and the field of localized heritage organizations on the other the society is able to wield considerable influence over the distribution of public capital development resources.

The analogous capital program for arts organizations, Building for the Arts, is administered under Community Development Programs in the Local Government Office of the Washington State Office of Community Development (see Chapter III).

The Eastern Washington State Historical Society/ The Northwest Museum of Arts and Culture

If it is difficult to separate the activities of the Washington State Historical Society into the policy categories of arts, humanities, and heritage, it is even more difficult to separate the activities of the Eastern Washington State Historical Society in this way. Consequently, we have chosen to discuss all three aspects of its work together in this section.

The Eastern Washington State Historical Society/Northwest Museum of Arts and Culture is a hybrid trustee agency like its sister institution, the Washington State Historical Society. It was founded in

²⁷ In our view, the operation of the Capital Projects Fund for Washington's Heritage appears to be a more transparent process than the process associated with its sister program, Building for the Arts. The Washington State Historical Society is clearly responsible for the heritage program through its Heritage Resource Center, while the Building for the Arts program relies on a rather less transparent combination of the Washington State Office of Community Development, the Corporate Council for the Arts, and lobbyists. Yet, this difference may turn out to be unimportant in the grand scheme of things, as both cases are structured so that the final responsibility lies with the state Legislature.

Spokane in 1916 as a private nonprofit 501(c)(3) organization by a group of local educators and civic leaders interested in historic preservation. It was designated as a state trustee institution in 1925 and began receiving legislative appropriations during the mid-1930s. In several essential respects EWSHS enjoys the same favored relationship to state policy authority as does the Washington State Historical Society. Today, its mix of state and private funding is approximately 50/50 on a \$3.1 million budget.

Like the Washington State Historical Society, the Eastern Washington State Historical Society occupies an impressive new facility—the Northwest Museum of Arts and Culture. Indeed, according to a recent survey about 25 percent of the residents of Spokane County consider the museum to be their primary cultural venue. The collections and programs of the society dramatically expanded in 1990 when the society absorbed a Native American museum then housed at Gonzaga University as the consequence of management and tax problems affecting the latter museum. A private fundraising drive was launched in 1992 to provide a new facility for the merged collections. The success of the fundraising effort (resulting in \$10 million in new community support) enabled the society's leadership to approach the Legislature in 1998 for \$20 million in state funds to support construction of the building the society now occupies. The fact that state funds had underwritten a significant portion of the Washington State Historical Society's facility in Tacoma was used successfully by EWSHS leaders in persuading the Legislature to provide financing for a facility in Spokane in the eastern part of the state.

The Northwest Museum of Arts and Culture is an accredited museum, one of only eleven in the state to be accredited by the American Association of Museums.²⁸ This means that it meets national standards for all phases of its operations including programs, exhibitions, public service, and operations. NMAC's relatively

extensive collection of visual art distinguishes it programmatically from its Tacoma-based counterpart (which focuses more exclusively in the domains of the humanities and heritage) and brings it into the realm of arts policy as well.

The Northwest Museum of Arts and Culture is considered to be the major art museum in Eastern Washington. The museum undertakes between four and eight stand-alone art exhibitions each year and presents about fifteen arts lectures ranging from cutting edge contemporary art talks by artists in the community to art history lectures presented by scholars from the Smithsonian. Its joint art lecture series with Spokane Falls Community College and Eastern Washington University provides a public venue for art talks that would otherwise simply be limited to university students. Annual attendance at these lectures is over 1,000. For the past ten years, the museum has also offered a sales and rental function, which supports local artists by helping them sell or rent their artworks to buyers in the region. In 2002, the museum sold or rented over 100 works of art through this program.

With respect to heritage policy, EWSHS/NMAC has served as a primary resource for approximately seventy-five historical and preservation organizations in the eastern part of the state. Recently conferences have been held at the museum in conjunction with the Washington Association of Museums in order to provide smaller historical organizations with information on best practices for their operations.

EWSHS/NMAC is also directly involved in historic preservation through the Historic Campbell House, which is integrated into the society's facility. The society is responsible for its interpretation, and an estimated 40,000 individuals benefit annually from this interpretive program, which has been recognized by awards from the Association for Public History and has been featured in several professional meetings across the country as a benchmark interpretive program. EWSHS/NMAC also provides an annual series of workshops and lectures on

²⁸ The other accredited museums are the Burke Museum of Natural History and Culture, the Frye Art Museum, the Henry Art Gallery, the Museum of Flight, the Museum of History and Industry, and the Seattle Art Museum (Seattle); the Maryhill Museum of Art (Goldendale); the Naval Undersea Museum (Keyport); the Tacoma Art Museum (Tacoma); and the Whatcom Museum of History and Art (Bellingham).

historic preservation, as well as a walking tour that is held each Mother's Day weekend at various historic neighborhoods in Spokane. It is estimated that these activities reach over 3,000 individuals annually. The society's Historic Preservation Committee is a combination of volunteers, staff, and professionals who help guide preservation efforts in the area in conjunction with the Spokane Historic Preservation Department.

EWSHS/NMAC has formal agreements with five colleges and universities in the Spokane area to cooperate on a variety of activities including the sharing of collections, joint academic programs, and the formal education of history teachers, and regularly enters into partnerships with a variety of governmental agencies to bring historical programs to the people of the region. EWSHS/NMAC is also a major player in the presentation of humanities programs throughout the eastern part of the state; its formal partnership with the Smithsonian Institution, one of only two in the state, brings exhibitions and humanities scholars to the Eastern Washington region.

One of the most important resources available to the public related to historic interpretation and heritage is the museum's extensive historical photographic collections. These collections include over 200,000 photographs, about 120,000 of which document the life of Native Americans in the West. Each year, over 1,400 researchers access the collections, using the photographs in a variety of research and reference projects.

A related collaborative effort is underway between the Spokane Public Library, EWSHS/NMAC and the Cowles Publishing Company (owner of Spokane's newspaper, *The Spokesman-Review*). These three organizations will digitize their historical photographic collections (400,000 images total) and will make them available to the public through the library's public access catalog. Additional interpretive information will be available at the society's website. As part of this effort, the Cowles Publishing Company's collections

(180,000 images) will be donated to the society.

Another venture providing public access to historical materials and interpretation is the Star Nations Project. This effort, funded by a direct federal appropriation, has set the groundwork for the development of an interactive website related to the major Native American tribes of Eastern Washington. The goal is to develop public access sites, tribal access sites, and teacher curriculum sites that will allow individual users access to different parts of the database. This project will allow tribal members to pass on cultural history electronically and will be used to protect that information from the general public. The society has joined formally with the four major tribes of the region in this project. It has also partnered with the Kalispel tribe for a major technology effort to bring Internet services and training to urban and rural tribal members in an effort to help them communicate with each other and to use the Internet as a method to further broader educational goals as well as for cultural preservation.

The society operates its Native American programs with the advice and consent of the Spokane, Kalispel, and Coeur d'Alene tribes and the Confederated Tribes of the Colville Reservation. This formal agency-to-government relationship is meant to provide links between the society and the tribes that will further cultural preservation as well as foster a better understanding between Indian and non-Indian peoples. Interpretation and education are two important parts of this effort with the museum reaching over 1,200 tribal members with formal historical/cultural programs.

Finally, the museum's education department reaches 12,000 school children annually with programs, tours, and events that are all coordinated with the essential learning elements for each grade level in the state. The tour program helps teachers and students learn about state historical concepts, art history, and cultural concepts that relate directly to classroom instruction. The society partners with

eighteen school districts in the eastern part of the state to present this program. The society claims that the art history component is now the only formal art program that about 3,000 lower elementary grade children from very rural school systems receive due to the elimination of formal art instruction in their schools.

It is not surprising to find that in the eastern part of the State of Washington, the key trustee agency finds itself bridging all of the areas of state cultural policy. Perhaps the links are more apparent once one gets away from the dense and highly specialized cultural ecology of the western part of the state, but perhaps this is also being driven by budgetary implications and political necessity. There is a palpable sense that cultural policy decisions tend to be made in Olympia through personal contacts and well-developed networks rather than through policy decisions made by all stakeholders in a cooperative spirit. As Bruce Eldredge, executive director of the Northwest Museum of Arts and Culture, pointed out to us, “Oftentimes, when a seat at the table is offered, it is done late and with little understanding of the logistics or the costs of travel from the east to the west.” Often they feel that they are on their own.

Humanities Washington

This brief discussion treats the work of Humanities Washington in terms of its heritage activities. A comprehensive description of the organization and its role in humanities policy has already been given in Chapter IV. But “heritage” as it deals with the experiences of peoples and cultures is an inextricable component of the humanities and cannot be cleanly or neatly distinguished from them.

It is important to note again that Humanities Washington is a 501(c)(3) nonprofit organization. It is neither a trustee organization nor does it receive public funding at the state level to defray the costs of its operations. Indeed, as a matter of policy it has chosen not to seek state funding. However, it is similar to

humanities councils and commissions in other states in that it receives an annual allocation from the National Endowment for the Humanities, which it is free to use to offset operating activities according to its own priorities. Private contributions match the NEH grant.

Humanities Washington operates few direct service programs, choosing instead to engage in ad hoc partnerships with organizations such as the Washington State Historical Society in working with community-based organizations. It is with respect to this work that the humanities commission’s activities have meaning in a discussion of heritage policy. Among the most tangible manifestations of the approach is the *Inquiring Mind* program, in which speakers on various topics in the humanities are recruited and assigned to various local libraries, historical societies, senior centers, and museums. Humanities Washington recruits speakers, assigns them out, and pays their travel expenses. A co-payment, which is viewed by Humanities Washington as an incentive to local organizations to recruit audiences, is required from participating local organizations. The true program cost to Humanities Washington is approximately \$500 per event. *Inquiring Mind* is subsidized by the commission with foundation or corporate funding often used to offset all or a portion of the \$500 fee. Washington State Historical Society Executive Director David Nicandri has been a frequent presenter at *Inquiring Mind* programs sponsored by local historical societies and museums, and his work was mentioned in our interviews as a significant example of his society’s efforts to collaborate with other state-level actors such as Humanities Washington to reach constituencies east of the Cascades.

The grant programs made available by Humanities Washington to local organizations are often used to underwrite heritage activity. Its Media Center has often supported the development of video projects on heritage topics, notably a film developed by the Southwest Seattle Historical Society using their oral histories

archive. Another has dealt with the histories of Japanese internment veterans.

The Heritage Caucus

With no official status, the Washington Heritage Caucus is a loose bipartisan organization of state legislators and other elected officials and individuals from the state's heritage, cultural, and land-based agencies as well as representatives of non-profit organizations engaged in the heritage, arts, and culture.²⁹ The Heritage Caucus focuses its work on the protection of the state's historic and cultural legacy.

Former State Representative Max Vekich and David Nicandri, executive director of the Washington State Historical Society, formed the Heritage Caucus in 1991. Nicandri's original proposal was to name the caucus the "History Caucus" to delimit its work, but Representative Vekich saw that while there might well be messy disagreements about history (consider the recent experience of the National Air and Space Museum's exhibition of the *Enola Gay*), legislators would have more positive associations with the word "heritage."

Leadership of the Heritage Caucus is shared between a member of the House and a member of the Senate representing different parties, but the Washington State Historical Society continues to provide staff support. The caucus is open to any elected official, staff person, or organization. Typically seven to ten legislators or their staff, the secretary of state or a designated staff member, and twelve to fifteen individuals from state agencies or interested private organizations attend. The Washington State Arts Commission, the Washington State Historical Society, the Washington State Parks and Recreation Commission, and the Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation all attend regularly. A wide variety of nonprofit partners attend caucus meetings, including the Washington Trust for Historic Preservation, the Olympia Heritage Commission, the Squaxin Island Tribe, the Steilacoom Historical Society, the Maritime Heritage

Foundation, Historic Seattle, King County Landmarks, the Seattle Landmarks Commission, the Steamer Virginia V Foundation, the Arts Alliance of Washington, the Northwest Railway Museum, and many others depending on the topics under discussion.

The group meets weekly at 7:00 a.m. for an hour when the Legislature is in session. It reviews bills and budgets that affect the heritage and discusses strategy for gaining passage of the appropriate bills. The caucus has become an important place to find bill sponsors, float proposals, and learn about what other agencies and groups are doing.

Those who participate in the Heritage Caucus feel that it has been quite successful. They cited a wide variety of efforts as evidence of that success: the construction of the Washington State History Museum in Tacoma (\$39 million)³⁰; the completion of the original plan for the State Capitol (\$4.6 million); expansion of the Cheney-Cowles Museum in Spokane (\$2.1 million); renovation of historic buildings in state parks (\$5 million); and the creation and funding of the Capital Projects Fund for Washington's Heritage, which provides approximately \$4 million annually to heritage projects throughout the state, and the Building for the Arts program, which provides another \$4 million annually to capital projects in the arts. The caucus would claim success in obtaining budget support for the Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, the Washington State Historical Society, the State Office of Tourism, the Heritage Corridors Program in the Washington State Department of Transportation, the state archives, the State Oral History Project, and the Washington State Arts Commission, among others. The caucus has been particularly involved in fighting off efforts to eliminate the Arts Commission. Whether all of these results can be attributed to the Heritage Caucus alone is less clear than the fact that the caucus has played a role in each of them.

The Heritage Caucus has been sustained for more than 10 years, and there is little

²⁹ The discussion in this section is drawn from our field interviews and from "Historic Preservation," a working paper written for The Pew Charitable Trusts' project, *Fostering Innovations in State Cultural Policy*, by Shelley Mastran, and edited by Lisa Burcham and Constance Beaumont for the National Trust for Historic Preservation.

³⁰ As part of the legacy of the celebration of Washington's centennial, the State Historical Society proposed the construction of a new state history museum in Tacoma. Members of the Centennial Commission, including the governor's wife, the secretary of state (Ralph Munro), the head of the House Appropriations Committee (Gary Locke, currently the governor of Washington State), and the majority leader of the Senate, were very supportive. The need to organize the legislative effort to fund the museum led to the use of the Heritage Caucus as one forum for the discussion and promotion of the effort. At that moment in time, the key leaders in the House and Senate were all from the Tacoma area, and the governor's wife had become a member of the board of the Washington State Historical Society, so there was strong political support.

reason to believe that it cannot be sustained indefinitely. But every legislative session is different, and new legislators need to be educated and invited to participate, and that is an ongoing process. Supporters of the caucus cite several ingredients that seem to be important to its success: its bipartisanship, its informal atmosphere and fluid membership, the fact that it has a regular meeting time and place during the legislative session, thorough staff preparation, thorough follow-up on the issues discussed between meetings, and a flow of good capital project proposals to work towards. But two other factors seem important as well: (1) the caucus has enjoyed the support of two highly engaged secretaries of state, Ralph Munro and Sam Reed, both of whom have been regular attendees and avid heritage supporters, and (2) the Washington State Historical Society has a particularly clear interest in keeping the caucus strong and effective.

An Arts Caucus, modeled on the Heritage Caucus, has met two of the past five years, primarily at the urging of Representative Mary Skinner, who is also a commissioner of the Washington State Arts Commission. This caucus met two or three times during the legislative session and tended to have smaller attendance than the Heritage Caucus. It appears that the Arts Caucus has now been folded back into the Heritage Caucus because the latter is seen as a better forum (partly because it is better attended) for pursuing arts issues during the session. Nevertheless, in this format arts issues may end up playing second fiddle to heritage issues.

State Heritage Policy from a Local Point of View

Washington is notable for the number of locally founded and operated historical societies and museums dedicated to the preservation and celebration of the past. Most of these are organized at the county level, though there are also some important municipal offices and organizations. We wondered to what extent state policy is carried out not by state-level organiza-

tions or agencies but rather by local level actors. In order to develop some sense of this relationship, we conducted interviews at two local historical museums as well as with the heritage staff of four local governments.

Our interviews at the Cowlitz County Historical Museum in Kelso and at the Clark County Historical Museum in Vancouver illustrate how far the distance can be between the needs and concerns of local heritage actors, on one hand, and the intent of state policy, on the other.

The Cowlitz County Historical Museum, Kelso

The Cowlitz County Historical Museum in Kelso was founded in 1949 by the Cowlitz County Historical Society “...to discover, interpret and disseminate the history of Cowlitz County and Southwest Washington.” The county historical society began working with county government by mounting exhibits in the courthouse. A museum facility was established there in 1953 to commemorate the establishment of the territory of Washington, and the organization operated from that location until, at some point in the 1970s, the county offered the Society its current building—originally constructed to house an auto parts facility. The museum opened in the remodeled facility in 1979.

Institutionally, the museum is yet another hybrid: it is a 501(c)(3) nonprofit organization while at the same time functioning as a quasi-county department. The county hires the museum director and since 1975 has paid that individual’s salary and has underwritten the costs of operating the facility (which is county property), including purchasing computers and paying for utilities. The salaries of all other employees and operating expenses are the responsibility of the county historical society. Executive Director David Freece is a county employee; all the others are employees of the local historical society. The complement includes a full-time administrative assistant, a half-time

education coordinator (a retired teacher), and a .6 FTE public programs coordinator.

The most direct interaction of the Cowlitz County Museum with state cultural policy has been through a grant from the Capital Projects Fund for Washington's Heritage administered by the Washington State Historical Society. Said David Freece during our June 2002 site visit, "We went to [state historical society sponsored] pre-application grant workshops, had a lot of good interaction, and got a lot of good feedback. They let us see examples of previously successful applications. When the process hit the Legislature we talked to our legislators. But the screening process was the really important part as far as we were concerned."

This museum also has an ongoing relationship with the Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation, participating from time to time in assessing local sites and nominating them for historic designation. It also participates fairly regularly in the *Inquiring Mind* program, which recruits experts on the humanities and pays a portion of the costs associated with their presentations to county museum audiences and local historical societies.

Beyond these few exceptions, state cultural policy as conventionally construed appears not to have had much impact. The museum is not involved in the Washington State Historical Society's plans to celebrate the Lewis and Clark bicentennial. Speaking generally on the relationship between his museum and state-level policy actors, Director Freece said, "If the state went away we wouldn't be directly affected. The [state historical society] has helped with exhibitions in previous years, co-sponsored some logging poetry festivals.... We're talking with them about doing something along those lines next year."

The Clark County Historical Museum, Vancouver

The building that today houses the Clark County Historical Museum in Vancouver was originally built as a private residence

and was donated for use as a Carnegie library in 1908. The facility was used for that purpose until 1963, when the space became inadequate to house the library collection. The local historical society put together an association to buy the building and remodel it to serve as a historical museum. The museum was directed and operated entirely by volunteers until 2001, when David Fenton was hired as its first executive director.

The museum's total annual operating budget is \$155,000, of which approximately \$26,000 is provided by Clark County as an annual appropriation. County support is the largest single source of external funding. The museum does not charge admission fees and has no plans to do so for the foreseeable future. Plans are afoot to convert the permanent "County Store" exhibit into a museum store, but revenue from sales of memorabilia and souvenirs is not presently a factor on the income side of the budget. Most of the balance of operating support comes from museum memberships, which range from \$25 to \$1,000 annually. The rest of the museum's operating income is derived from rental of the facility to outside groups and from project grant support.

Exhibiting the historical society's holdings at the facility is its core program, although a "traveling trunk" exhibition is being readied to take to local schools and business facilities, and a speaker's bureau and a newsletter are also being initiated. David Fenton described as being among the strengths of the collection "...a great collection of women's clothing...materials on Native Americans, [and] military paraphernalia such as tools, swords, guns." Like many other local museums, the museum has hosted David Nicandri as an *Inquiring Mind* presenter funded through Humanities Washington, and he has also spoken at the local historical society's annual banquet. David Fenton voices some of the difficulties that local museums and historical societies encounter when trying to take advantage of opportunities offered by state cultural policy, "We haven't used traveling exhibitions from

the [Washington State] Historical Society or anyone else because we can't guarantee that we can adequately protect any cultural property anyone might lend us.... The [humanities] commission has also been after us to raise our curatorial standards.”

Efforts to improve in these respects are entirely local initiatives. In Fenton's view, the state provides neither sufficient technical assistance nor direct program support nor has it done so in the past. The museum participated in one of the recent capital projects pre-application workshops but has yet to put in a request. They expect to do so for the 2005-2007 cycle. Director Fenton said, “By then we should be able to show that we've invested in ourselves.”



Another element in the local response to state heritage policy is found within municipal or county agencies whose responsibilities include heritage and historic preservation. We selected three municipalities and one county—Vancouver, Spokane, Tacoma, and King County—that have established agencies that focus all or a good deal of their activity within the heritage realm. Three of these four agencies are of additional interest in the current context because they combine a variety of policy concerns into one coordinated office. Thus, cultural policy at the local level—including arts policy, humanities policy, heritage policy, and even tourism policy—is organized in a way that has not been the case at the state level. Although our emphasis in the current chapter is on heritage policy, mention will also be made of the involvement of these agencies in other cultural policy spheres.

The Office of Cultural Services, Vancouver

The City of Vancouver Office of Cultural Services is a unit of the Community Services Department of the City of Vancouver. This location as part of the city's overall community services gives a

very important twist to the provision of cultural services.

The mission statement of the Office of Cultural Services captures the scope of its activities:

Outreach, education, and accessibility are at the heart of this program focused on growing arts, culture, and heritage programming. Working with people from throughout the community, the city fosters creativity and increased public awareness and support of the area's cultural and historic resources through the Cultural Plan, the Cultural Commission, Heritage Education and management of the city's cultural resources. Cultural Services manages public art, international gifts, the Cultural Grant Program and other resources that facilitate heritage education and encourage the authentic cultural expression of our diverse community.

This office has been in existence for about five years. The director of Cultural Services, Leann Johnson, indicated during our July 2002 site visit that the current priority of the office lies in the administration of public art—that is, in the review and placement of gifts of art objects to the city. This process is handled by a Citizens Review Panel drawing from individuals involved in historic preservation, representatives from the neighborhoods, and artists and arts organizations. The Office of Cultural Services also sponsors a public Heritage Education Series of lectures and presentations

This office has entered into an agreement with the county to maintain its status as a Certified Local Government so that it can take advantage of the programs of the Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation at both the local and county levels. A review process involving the Office of Cultural Services is triggered whenever a property owner nominates his or her property as a historic site. “This is really a state function,” Ms. Johnson said, “but the city and county have assumed local responsibility for its administration.” The state Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation then reviews and approves recommendations from the municipality before acting on state

designation or passing the property along for federal designation.

Beyond these fairly limited activities, state cultural policy has rather little role in shaping the activities of this office.

Culture and Tourism Division Economic Development Department, Tacoma

Tacoma is a city that clearly sees the arts and culture as an important part of its future. Many different efforts have been converging to make Tacoma a cultural destination. The renovation of two historic downtown theaters and the construction of a new theater, with the three combined under the umbrella of the Broadway Center for the Performing Arts; the opening of the new Washington State History Museum in 1996; the opening of the Museum of Glass: International Center for Contemporary Art in 2002; the opening of the new Tacoma Art Museum in May 2003; the opening of a new motorcycle museum, also slated for 2003; and the proposal for the Harold E. LeMay Car Museum to be opened in 2005 are the most visible manifestations of this emphasis.

The city has gotten behind the idea of the arts in economic development in a big way, and this is reflected in the structure of the office that deals with cultural policy. Established in 1999, the Culture and Tourism Division is a component of the city's Economic Development Department. It incorporates three separate offices—Arts, Historic Preservation, and Sister Cities. Tourism activity is shared across all three of these offices. This organizational structure was adopted when the city council made economic development its first priority. We were told that when this arrangement was proposed local arts people “jumped onto the bandwagon.... The city is redefining itself through the arts and culture, and the economic development approach allows them to get to the table.” The annual operating budget of the division is currently \$1.6 million with a staff of five professionals—a

director and four program administrators, including a historic preservation officer.

The division conducts a range of programs within the realm of arts and culture, broadly defined, which include the following:

- ❑ *Community Arts Partners*—contracts for cultural services to mid-sized arts and cultural organizations (\$2,500-\$5,000);
- ❑ *The Tacoma Artists Initiative Program*—support for original artworks generated by individual artists in all disciplines (minimum of \$1,000);
- ❑ *The Neighborhood Arts Program*—funding for arts projects in Tacoma's neighborhoods and business districts (typically \$1,000-\$3,000 with a maximum of \$5,000);
- ❑ *The Festivals Program*—support to unique events (typically \$1,000-\$3,500 with a maximum of \$5,000); and
- ❑ *The Anchor Fund*—ongoing operating support provided through a biennial review process that uses formats established by Corporate Council for the Arts/ArtsFund and the Patrons of Northwest Cultural and Historic Organizations (\$7,000 to \$15,000 per year).

Much of what the division is doing focuses on the arts and culture as an engine to generate economic development. In the latter regard, it interacts with the state tourism office, and with the Governor's Office for Protocol in hosting traveling delegations. It receives approximately \$7,500 annually from the Washington State Arts Commission to support its activities specific to the arts. As regards heritage programming, the office receives a small allocation from the Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation for its historic preservation activities as a Certified Local Government. Beyond these interactions, the impact of state policy on the activities of the division appears to be minimal.

Historic Preservation Department, Spokane

The Spokane Historic Preservation Department is a joint city/county agency, created in 1979 as Washington's first Certified Local Government historic preservation program. (It is similar to the Office of Cultural Services in Vancouver in that it has taken on both local and county responsibilities with respect to preservation.) Its mission is "to identify and facilitate the preservation of significant properties over fifty years old, thereby recycling existing structures at a savings to the community and enhancing our quality of life."

The agency's stated goals are to:

- Promote the use of financial incentives to encourage investment in historic properties;
- Advise city and county departments and agencies when their action or inaction may affect historic resources;
- Encourage revitalization of neighborhoods and protection of property values within historic districts;
- Document architecturally or historically significant resources;
- Review exterior alterations, new construction, and demolition to ensure compatible change to properties on the local register;
- Provide technical assistance and education to property owners and interested citizens, neighborhood organizations, and other groups;
- Promote tourism, foster civic pride, and enhance quality of life; and
- Coordinate with the Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, the National Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, and the National Trust for Historic Preservation.

This agency manages the Certified Local Government Program for the City and County of Spokane. Teresa Brum is its director and sole full-time employee.

The impetus for creating this local department was the 1976 bicentennial of the United States, which stimulated a good deal of preservation interest. As part of the activities leading up to the bicentennial, the Spokane Junior League had conducted its own survey of local properties of historic significance, which triggered the establishment of the Historic Preservation Department as the Certified Local Government entity in 1979.

The Spokane Historic Preservation Department manages the process of making nominations to the local, state, and national historic registers. The Spokane Register of Historic Places is the city/county catalog of locally significant properties. Applicants prepare each nomination themselves or hire a consultant for assistance.

If a property is listed, the property owner must sign an agreement to obtain a special review for any exterior work. There are over 155 properties on the Spokane Register of Historic Places, including eighty-three properties within the Corbin Park Local Historic District. The Washington Heritage Register is the Washington catalog of properties with state significance. Applicants generally prepare the nomination form, because the requirements are less stringent. Over seventy properties in Spokane are listed on the Washington register. And The National Register of Historic Places is the federal government's official register of nationally significant properties. Over 1,300 properties in Spokane County are listed on the national register, including eleven districts.

The Historic Preservation Department serves as the gatekeeper monitoring access to special benefits that accompany listing. As is the case elsewhere, a variety of state and federal incentives are available to owners of historic properties in Spokane County. Spokane is proud of the fact that it has had seventeen certified rehabilitations over a three-year period, resulting in over twenty million dollars in construction costs. Many of these projects have returned properties to the tax rolls; all have created jobs and generated

revenue through taxes, payroll, and other related costs.

Ms. Brum characterized the work of the department in the following way: “We’re pretty reactive. We don’t have the resources to go out looking for historic properties on our own.... People call us, largely because it occurs to them that they may be able to take advantage of tax incentives for fixing up their properties. I review the site and measure its significance against the relevant criteria. I submit my recommendations to the board, and they have always supported my recommendations.” But the true impact of state cultural policy is, once again, limited.

The King County Office of Cultural Resources/The Cultural Development Authority of King County, Seattle and Environs

Until quite recently, King County organized its cultural policy offices into a single agency of county government, the King County Office of Cultural Resources. This office was divided into four units: a Historic Preservation Program, a Heritage Program, an Arts Program (the King County Arts Commission) and a Public Arts Program. At the time of our initial site visits—March 2002—the office had a staff of seventeen and an annual budget of \$9.3 million. But in early 2003 the King County Office of Cultural Resources was reorganized into a public development authority, the Cultural Development Authority (CDA) of King County. This move toward semi-privatization³¹ of the agency followed severe reductions in the county’s budget, which slashed the Office of Cultural Resources’ share of county dollars from \$2.3 million (2001) to \$1.3 million (2002) and to \$200,000 (2003).

This newly reconfigured organization retains all of the activities that were previously under its umbrella with one important exception in the heritage area. The regulation of historic resources, including the identification and monitoring of significant districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects, has remained

within King County government and is administered by its Landmarks Commission. This was necessary because an independent authority cannot be granted regulatory powers reserved to state or local governments.

The newly constituted authority retains the important sources of revenue that were previously available to the King County Office of Cultural Resources: a share of the revenue generated by the county’s hotel-motel tax on overnight accommodations,³² 1 percent of county expenditures for certain construction projects that is dedicated to the purchase of public art, and a small amount of general county tax revenue (\$200,000 next year) for the maintenance of the public art collection. Historically, the hotel-motel tax has generated approximately ten times as much money for this agency as have allocations from the county’s general operating budget, and this ratio is only likely to increase under the new structure. Indeed, it is this dedicated source of revenue that makes the switch to a public development authority a viable idea.

Taken together, these three sources of funds cover basic operating expenses. But the authority will now be able to seek out other sources of funding, including private donations, which were harder to come by when it was a public agency. It can, for example, own, develop, and sell property, a major advantage when saving historic properties or developing workspaces for cultural organizations. The authority is able to pursue additional income through grants and fee-based consulting services.

Beyond the tasks retained by the county’s Landmarks Commission, the Cultural Development Authority has both a Heritage Program and a Historic Preservation Program. The Heritage Program focuses on excellence and creativity in the identification, preservation, and interpretation of the unique heritage resources of King County and the education of the public about their value. In the words of the new website, this is accomplished by:

³¹ The Office of Cultural Resources looked into becoming totally nonprofit, but the county would not have been able to simply give it money if it were a nonprofit. Rather, by state law it would have had to bid competitively to provide cultural services to the county. Therefore, the semi-private, semi-public status of a public development authority became the most attractive option.

³² The story of how hotel-motel tax revenues came to be used for cultural purposes in King County is, in itself, an interesting policy tale. King County chose to adopt a state-authorized hotel-motel tax in 1967 to provide revenue to pay off bonds for the construction of the Kingdome. By the mid 1980s the fund was producing more than was needed. What would be done with the surplus? At the time there was a proposal to build a new facility for the Seattle Arts Museum, and it was suggested that the surplus be used for the museum. Eventually there was a compromise: \$5.3 million would service the annual debt on

- ❑ Contributing to an inclusive record of the diverse history and heritage of King County, including its threatened and neglected geographic, ethnic, and thematic aspects;
- ❑ Encouraging participation in heritage programs and activities by individuals, organizations, and agencies throughout King County;
- ❑ Promoting professional standards and best practices;
- ❑ Strengthening and supporting innovative heritage projects, organizations and agencies that provide public benefits;
- ❑ Preserving and enhancing traditional aspects of community character; and
- ❑ Transmitting cultural resources and values to future generations.

The Historic Preservation Program fosters the preservation of historic and pre-historic resources such as buildings and sites because of the important contributions they make to understanding and appreciating the region's rich heritage. It develops partnerships with organizations, individuals, and governments to:

- ❑ Build community appreciation for the advantages of preserving important physical reminders of [the region's] past;
- ❑ Broaden community support for preserving those resources; and
- ❑ Celebrate with [communities and their] visitors the delights of preservation projects that bring the past to life.

In a noteworthy departure from the practice in most cultural agencies, the programs of the Cultural Development Authority are not specific to a subfield of culture; rather, they cut across fields. Their loan and grant programs, for example, are open to both arts and heritage projects that further the objectives of these programs. For example, CDA's Cultural Education Program makes grants to bring the arts and heritage to the schools; its Cultural Facilities Program makes grants available to both arts and heritage organi-

zations; its Sustained/Operating Support Programs help organizations cover routine expenses incurred in delivering arts or heritage programs; and its Special Projects Program fosters innovations in the arts and heritage. The Landmark Rehabilitation Program is, of course, limited to individuals and organizations who are stabilizing and restoring important historic properties.

As a Certified Local Government, the authority expects to receive \$15,000 to \$25,000 annually in pass-through funding from the Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation for its historic preservation program. These funds are used for designation and preservation work, and most of the money is passed through to municipalities within the county after the authority's administrative costs are deducted. (As a matter of policy, the authority does not compete for support from the Washington State Arts Commission.)

The Cultural Development Authority of King County is built on the foundation of its predecessor, the very dynamic and effective King County Office of Cultural Resources. In many respects their programs and activities outshine the programs and activities of the state-level agencies. The staff is committed and creative. When asked about their interaction with state-level policy in the heritage and preservation fields, they were more likely to voice disappointment than enthusiasm. An important source of revenue for the authority is the hotel-motel tax, but it is a point of contention for those in preservation because of limits on the percentage that can be used for preservation as opposed to the arts. Julie Koler, the historic preservation officer, often finds herself at odds with the Washington State Department of Transportation, which, in her words, "has bizarre interpretations of federal law with respect to protection of cultural resources." She has found it difficult to preserve historic bridges even though the King County Department of Transportation should, by federal guidelines, have access to federal resources

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the Kingdome. 75 percent of any excess would be dedicated to cultural programs, with 80 percent of this amount going to the arts and 20 percent to heritage; the remaining 25 percent would go to youth sports, tourism, open space acquisition, and Kingdome maintenance (but, in the event, all of this 25 percent went to Kingdome maintenance).

In King County, of the 75 percent that went to cultural programs, 70 percent went into facilities and 30 percent into programs. On January 1, 2001 the split between cultural programs and other programs was changed to 70 percent/30 percent, with 40 percent of the 70 percent (28 percent overall) being allocated to an endowment fund that was being created to prepare for the time when the hotel-motel tax ends. The remaining 60 percent was left discretionary. To Jim Kelly, head of the Cultural Development Authority, these changes make a lot of sense; while the first ten years of funding went disproportionately into infrastructure,

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through WSDOT. She had similar complaints about the state Growth Management Act, which she finds ineffective with respect to preservation possibilities and out of line with federal guidelines. In some cases one agency does not know what the other is doing. She cited cases of projects that should have been subject to Section 106 review that were not.

The programs of the Cultural Development Authority are also affected at a more general level by state policy. Because of the restrictions in the constitution of the State of Washington, the authority is obliged to “purchase public benefit” rather than making unconstrained transfers of state funds. To the extent that it is using state funds, it must contract with recipients spelling out the expected “public benefit.” In other words, these programs must be structured around a contractual fee for services.

Because the implications of these restrictions are not very clear, King County sought a legal opinion on the issue of public benefit. Could the agency give money to arts and heritage organizations and projects? The answer was “Yes” provided that the public got something in exchange. But there does seem to be some leeway. In the case of arts funding and contracting, the authority stipulates that 30 percent of the funded amount has to generate public benefits such as free access, special access for elderly, the infirm, or students. The 30 percent benefit is actually stipulated within the contract, and it is typically structured so that the benefit can be realized over ten years. In other words, recipients are given ten years to “pay back” through their provision of public benefits a payment that has been construed as a sort of “loan.” Thus, the typical contract is a 70 percent gift and a 30 percent loan, which the recipient pays back with services, not cash. The goal is to achieve a balance between finance and benefit.

If there is one single message about state cultural policy to emerge from our interviews with staff of the Cultural Development Authority of King County it is their wish to see cultural policy at the state

level housed under one roof as it is at the county level in King County. They are strong believers in the advantages that can come from a coordinated policy effort cutting across agencies and across the arts, the humanities, and the heritage.

Observations and Conclusions

In Washington heritage policy seems to enjoy broader political and popular support than either arts policy or humanities policy. Two consecutive secretaries of state have been particularly important supporters of heritage initiatives. That this should be so is not terribly surprising. People want to have their stories told, and they want to understand their histories. They want to save that which has proven to be of value to the population, whether that includes historic buildings, important sites and natural environments, or important objects. And it has been relatively easy to coalesce support around major visible projects such as the construction of the Washington State History Museum in Tacoma and the Northwest Museum of Arts and Culture in Spokane.

As we have seen, a variety of state agencies, programs, and nonprofit organizations are involved in the heritage and in historic preservation. But state heritage policy in the State of Washington cannot be fully appreciated by focusing exclusively at state-level agencies. That would, in some ways, miss the point entirely. In order to comprehend the scope and reach of public heritage policy, one must view state heritage policy in relation to the activities of the many heritage and historic preservation efforts operating at the municipal or county level.

As we examined the behavior of policy actors at the state level we were immediately struck by the limited degree of policy and program interaction among them. The main actors—the Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation, the Heritage Corridors Program, the Washington State Historical Society, the Eastern Washington State Historical Society, and Humanities

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expenditures now flow into endowment, and eventually they will flow into operating expenses.

Under the current agreement there is a twenty-year limit on expenditures for culture. Beginning in 2013 (through 2020) all of the excess is targeted to go into an account to pay off debt on the Seattle Seahawks football stadium. The Cultural Development Authority of King County believes that there is excess in that window and is trying to decide whether to go after any excess that might be available from 2013 to 2020 or to simply go after all of the excess beyond that point. The endowment is intended to help make whatever bridge in funding is necessary.

Washington—differ from one another in their structure (private v. public v. hybrid), financing, scope of policy authority, and interactions with the local historical societies, museums, and municipal agencies engaged in heritage and preservation work. The interactions with local communities of the Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation and the Heritage Corridors Program are the clearest, the most enduring, and the most explicit. Much if not most of the work of the Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation is triggered by local initiative, and in this important respect it is similar to the Heritage Corridors Program, which relies as a matter of policy on community initiative in nominating routes for Scenic Byway and Heritage Corridor designation. Both of them operate within the context of state agencies whose broader purposes are only incidentally related to culture. The Heritage Caucus offers some coherence and coordination, but its deliberations focus more on strategies to support each of the elements of heritage (and arts and humanities) policy than on ways to collaborate in order to develop a richer state cultural policy.

Having said this, it is also true that there are more examples of collaboration within the heritage portfolio than there are in either the arts or humanities portfolios. The Lewis and Clark bicentennial is the best example. It may well be that special moments related to the heritage are the moments at which one is most likely to find the impetus for cross-agency collaboration and cooperation. The nascent effort toward cooperation on cultural tourism (discussed in Chapter VI), while an important expression of intent, has seen less progress.

The *Inquiring Mind* program and its small grants programs have given Humanities Washington a fair degree of local presence and visibility, although its presence in any one locale is limited to the relatively short duration of any given presentation or project and/or the limited amount of grant dollars involved. And heritage is only one, admittedly significant, aspect of

its commitment to the humanities broadly construed.

By contrast, the Washington State Historical Society's interactions with local organizations are broader, including the activities of its Heritage Resource Center, particularly in the administration of the Capital Grants Fund for Washington's Heritage; its involvement in the Center for Columbia River History consortium; its director's periodic participation in *Inquiring Mind* programs; and its leadership of the Lewis and Clark bicentennial effort. Nevertheless, most of its programmatic efforts take place almost exclusively within its own administrative boundaries and most of its resources are allocated toward that end. In other words, it is running the state historical museum with a wide panoply of related programs more than it is promulgating a state heritage policy through its actions.

The Center for Columbia River History is an example of state involvement in a local program that is entirely unlike any of the others described here. By making its archival resources and traveling exhibitions available to local museums and historical societies in Northwestern Oregon/Southwestern Washington, the center reinforces the efforts of its partners to celebrate the history of the region. It is a collaboration that seems to work well on two levels: (1) as an institutional partnership between WSHS and two universities, and (2) as a programmatic partnership between the center and local heritage programs that operate within its service area. This model would appear to offer a particularly promising framework through which the state might make cost effective investments in programs of regional interest that capitalize on and expand the impact of ongoing local heritage activity.

It is worth asking whether efforts such as the Center for Columbia River History are the result of the particular institutional makeup of cultural policy in Washington. It can be seen as a progressive development that becomes possible when an agency chooses to extend itself (much

like the creation of Centrum through the combined efforts of the Washington State Arts Commission and the Washington State Parks and Recreation Commission). In this case, the hybrid status of the Washington State Historical Society places it in a position to be able to tap more easily private sources of funding support, e.g., the first major grant for an endowment ever made by the Murdock Charitable Trust. It has not yet become common, and it may well be more difficult, for mainline state agencies to seek out such funding, though the Wallace-Reader's Digest Funds Arts Participation Initiative through the Washington State Arts Commission is one such example.

Moreover, the involvement of both state historical societies as partners with regional public universities offers a particularly intriguing model of a collaboration producing significant heritage (and humanities) program activity that would probably never occur under other local auspices.

A major defining element in the interactions between the Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation and the Heritage Corridors Program, on the one hand, and the array of local programs, on the other, is the high level of shared purpose and programmatic coherence that exists among them. The procedures associated with identifying, assessing, nominating, and listing historic sites and scenic routes are designed to be consistent across cases and at all levels of government. Each Certified Local Government heritage preservation program must know and incorporate the standards embedded in the National Historic Preservation Act and related state law as regards the determination of whether a given nominated site has historic value and the level of significance—national and/or state and/or local—attached to it. Similarly, the procedures for identifying, nominating, and assessing prospective Scenic Byways and Heritage Tour routes are reasonably explicit, and Heritage Corridors program staff exert a good deal of programmatic effort in the provision of guidance and technical assistance to prospective com-

munity sponsors and advocates. Some degree of variation surely occurs in the ways in which local programs actually go about doing their work. Yet the purposes that animate the work and the statutory and procedural requirements associated with determining the historic significance of a site or a route are sufficiently transparent to reduce substantially the level of potential ambiguity.

In both instances, the purposes of law and policy are clear, but the origins of their policies are essentially federal. The National Historic Preservation Act frames the work of the Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation to a high degree and establishes the definitional constructs within which it carries out its work. The focus is explicit—the preservation of valued examples of the built environment—and the network of local and county heritage preservation programs must fit their activities to it if the valued historic properties they identify are to be assigned anything more than local historic designation. The federal and state tax incentives associated with designation make these determinations particularly meaningful to everyone having a stake in the outcome, as do the limited grants funds.

Similarly, the significance of the Heritage Corridors Program is intimately linked to the Intermodal Surface Transportation Efficiency Act and the National Scenic Byway Program established in federal law and policy in 1991. The requirement in ISTEA that states must define their roles and responsibilities with their Scenic Byways programs to qualify for federal grant support triggered the series of actions by the governor, a few key legislators, and WSDOT officials that brought the program to its current level of influence and impact. But the federal influence in defining the functions and operations of the Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation and the Heritage Corridors Program (and their administrative location within state agencies whose purposes are very different from one another and are essentially unrelated to cultural pursuits) has also contributed to their relative

isolation from one another among the constellation of state-level actors involved in heritage policy work. In both cases, their focus is entirely on the built environment, and their reliance on federal matching funds means that federal priorities and expectations largely define the scope of their activities. The broader storytelling and interpretation aspects of heritage activity inevitably fall outside the range of their federally defined resources and capabilities.

The interaction between any state heritage agency and any given local program is profoundly influenced by the nature and character of the local program in question. Each local program is a creature of the community from which it springs; each of those described here is unique. Even the two county historical museums discussed here—the Cowlitz County Museum and the Clark County Museum—exhibit unique features. The Cowlitz County Museum, while a 501(c)(3) entity, is in its structural relationship to county government akin to the sort of trustee relationship exemplified at the state level by the Washington and Eastern Washington State Historical Societies, while the Clark County Museum is a more traditional expression of the nonprofit organizational model. Yet, both of them do receive significant funding from county government, one as a quasi-county department and the other as the recipient of ongoing biennial contracts that underwrite a portion of its operating budget.

Both of these museums have participated in the *Inquiring Mind* program. However, the Cowlitz County Museum's involvement with the Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation in the assessment of local sites nominated for historic designation and its participation in the Capital Projects Fund for Washington's Heritage set it apart from its Clark County counterpart in the extent to which it interacts with state policy actors and resources. This is a reflection of the fact that in Clark County local participation in the nomination and assessment of historic sites is the responsibility of the Cultural

Affairs Office of the City of Vancouver. By contrast, the Cowlitz County Museum's quasi-public character and the defining features of public life in that locale make it the best available candidate to do the same or similar work.

One model of a dedicated city/county heritage program is the Spokane Historic Preservation Department. Local public involvement in the arts in that community is the province of an entirely different municipal agency. But elsewhere (Vancouver, Tacoma, and King County) arts, heritage, and humanities programs are consolidated into single agencies. In Tacoma the mission of the agency is expanded even further by explicitly tying it to the promotion of tourism and economic development. The nature and extent of state heritage policy involvement in any of these programs is clearly the product of factors that are profoundly local in their origins and character. Clearly, one size does not fit all. The question that remains is: Should this become the reason for not developing a more integrated statewide approach to heritage policy, in particular, and cultural policy, more generally?

Despite the wide variety of agencies, programs, and institutions that have been discussed in the current chapter, there is another important element of state cultural policy—and state heritage policy in particular—that has not been addressed here: the role of what might be called the “land-based” state agencies. In Washington, the natural environment looms large in the public's consciousness, and within the agencies that are charged with environmental and land-based policy, there is a growing consciousness of the presence and importance of historic resources. Many land-based agencies are directly responsible for cultural resources that come within their purview, many of which are actually owned by these agencies. The role that these agencies play in state cultural policy is explored next.

The Land-Based Agencies and State Cultural Policy

Susan Bonaiuto

Despite the material insulation in which we wrap ourselves, these tousled forests and ocean currents pushing through inland passages still determine how we live; the landscape overwhelms. We are not that removed—yet—from the arms of the land.

Timothy Egan, *The Good Rain*, 8

The natural environment looms large in the consciousness of Washingtonians, and the land, the landscape, and the environment are key concerns of state policy in Washington. Accordingly, a number of the departments of the state government have been charged with overseeing the various aspects of land management, environmental policy, and development policy. At the same time, many of these agencies are becoming increasingly sensitive to cultural policy—in large part because they have come to realize that important cultural resources are under their stewardship—and they have begun to become directly involved in state cultural policy through a wide variety of programmatic initiatives.

Some of these agencies have entered the cultural policy arena quite simply because they have had to figure out how to care for the cultural heritage properties and artifacts that they happen to own, but others have become involved through a variety of individual programs that go well beyond ownership, protection, maintenance, and conservation. Throughout our interviews with the land-based agencies, terms such as cultural landscape, historical trails, cultural resources, cultural and historical artifacts, aesthetics, and environmental design came up again and again. A review of the sections of the Revised Code of Washington that govern these agencies reveals countless references to these same concepts.¹

We wondered if the collective references to culture, aesthetics, and heritage in the Revised Code are the result of the influence of particular legislators or legislative staff, or if they reflect a shared understanding that the land and the culture of Washington are inseparable. We concluded the latter; over and over we asked interviewees about the cultural references in the Revised Code governing land-based agencies and programs, and the answer was always similar: “For Washingtonians, our relationship with the environment defines our culture.” Harriet Beale of the Puget Sound Water Quality Action Team said that the preservation of Puget Sound is, by definition, cultural: “It is about preservation of the smells, sounds, and visual impact of the Sound. It is about the economic and leisure activities of fishing and shell fishing. It brings people together and defines peoples’ sense of community.” Or as Regina Hackett, art critic, and M.L. Lyke, Lifestyles writer for the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, said in response to this observation, “It’s an assumed context [describing] what people want to be, and what we assume we are in the business of doing. This is a reflection of policy. [It’s like] motherhood and apple pie, a reflection of the Washington spirit.” Thus, in Washington cultural policy and environmental policy intersect.

Helped by the prevalence of this underlying philosophy and understanding, whether stated explicitly in policy or understood implicitly in a “Washington way of life,” land-based agencies are important players in the realm of cultural policy in Washington. The major players—the Department of Natural Resources, the Department of Fish and Wildlife, the Department of Transportation, and the

¹ For some examples, see RCW §27.34.200; §43.30.138; §43.330.060; §43.21C.020; §43.51.395(3); §47.06C.040; §47.39; §50.65.010; §70.94.011; §79A.35.070; §79A.05.305; §79A.55.020; §90.54.010; or §90.58.100.

Parks and Recreation Commission, among others—all support initiatives designed to preserve and protect the cultural, historical and aesthetic landscape. Moreover, the Parks and Recreation Commission actually specifies the protection of “cultural sites” as part of its mission statement (discussed further below). The Department of Community, Trade and Economic Development supports initiatives related to cultural tourism and the design and preservation of the built environment. Smaller agencies such as the Interagency Committee for Outdoor Recreation, the Washington State University Cooperative Extension Service, the Puget Sound Water Quality Action Team, and the Department of Agriculture and its related Commodity Commissions all either support or encourage initiatives that include cultural components. Although we have refrained from estimating the total expenditure involved in the cultural investments revealed by our analysis, it is noteworthy that among the land-based agencies tens of millions of dollars are invested in cultural resource preservation, interpretation, creation, and infrastructure, all investments that would not necessarily come first to mind when considering a state’s cultural policy.

In this chapter, we first explore the broad themes that have emerged from our research on cultural policy in the land-based agencies. We then turn to a discussion of the policies and programs of a number of these agencies, highlighting how these policies and programs intersect cultural policy. Note that the Heritage Corridors Program of the Washington State Department of Transportation has already been discussed in Chapter V, though it might also have been easily included here.

² It has been suggested that we might have used the more familiar term, the “land management agencies” here, but what we want to suggest is that cultural policy of the sort described in this chapter goes beyond the boundary of the land management agencies, narrowly defined, to other agencies dealing with a wider range of environmental and development concerns.

Cultural Policy Themes in the Land-Based Agencies

As has already been mentioned, it became very clear early in our interviewing process that we would have to expand our notion of state cultural policy actors to incorporate a wide range of what might be termed the “land-based agencies.”² Some of the cultural policy themes that we became aware of as part of this inquiry were quite familiar, having been observed in each of the other areas of cultural policy, but some of them were rather different, reflecting the particular concerns that become evident when cultural policy and environmental policy intersect.

Explicit Statements of Cultural Policy

The first place to look for cultural policy in any of its manifestations is to evidence of explicit cultural policy statements. Among the land-based agencies, two such documents stand out—the *Memorandum of Understanding on Cultural Tourism* and the *Cultural Resources Management Policy* of the Washington State Parks and Recreation Commission. Our interviewees mentioned these documents often, citing them as evidence of a palpable move toward cultural policy within the land-based agencies. These documents provide excellent examples of the depth and breadth of cultural policy already in place in these land-based agencies.

Memorandum of Understanding on Cultural Tourism

The *Memorandum of Understanding on Cultural Tourism* (MOU) featured prominently in many of our interviews with land-based agencies. It was created as a cross-agency initiative with the specific goal of “capturing the economic value of cultural tourism while protecting the very resources that attract visitors.” Although it was created in the service of tourism goals, it appears to have a greater purpose. The memorandum defines cultural tourism and outlines specific principals with respect to cultural resources. To

many of the agency heads interviewed it is an important articulation of the idea that culture, broadly defined, is part of their purview; moreover, it provides a clear statement of policy intent that facilitates cooperation and collaboration.

The memorandum defines cultural tourism as “travel directed toward experiencing the arts, heritage, and special character of a place...[It] embraces the arts (visual, performing, literary, and media), traditional crafts, customs and celebrations, historic sites and structures, museums, wildlife viewing and nature-based recreation.” Thus, cultural tourism embodies all of the art and cultural manifestations considered in earlier chapters but also explicitly adds wildlife viewing and nature-based recreation, activities clearly vested in the land-based agencies.

Indeed, the signatories to the *Memorandum of Understanding* include a number of the land-based agencies in addition to the more usual cultural agencies:

- The Washington State Arts Commission;
- The Washington State Department of Fish and Wildlife;
- The Washington State Historical Society;
- The Washington State Interagency Committee for Outdoor Recreation;
- The Washington State Department of Natural Resources;
- The Washington State Parks and Recreation Commission;
- The Washington State Department of Transportation;
- The United States Department of Interior, National Park Service—Pacific West Region;
- The Washington Commission for the Humanities (since renamed Humanities Washington); and
- The Washington State Department of Community, Trade and Economic Development.

Seven principles are outlined in the memorandum. These principles comprise a strong statement about the importance of cultural resources and the state’s role in their protection, promotion, and interpretation:

- Cultural resources are an irreplaceable asset and must be protected.
- Stewardship and responsible management must be supported.
- Authenticity and quality of interpretation is essential.
- Respect for customs, cultures, and sites must be maintained.
- The human impact of tourism on resources and communities must be managed.
- Locally driven decision making is appropriate.
- Partnerships are essential.

The adoption and signing of the memorandum was an important expression of the intent of all participating agencies to support cultural tourism efforts through coordination of marketing, sharing information, providing technical assistance to local communities, and collaborating on projects. Yet, according to some interviewees, especially those most interested in the tourism aspects of the agreement, the partnership is stalled and the initial energy and momentum has dissipated. Nevertheless, other interviewees believe that the memorandum has served as a critical coming together that has resulted in both policy articulation and the development of important partnerships such as those surrounding the Lewis and Clark bicentennial. In the current climate of state budget cutting, the success of the memorandum will be judged more by its ability to engender cooperation and collaboration than by its ability to attract increased state resources to these efforts.

**Cultural Resources Management Policy
Washington State Parks and
Recreation Commission**

Another significant statement of explicit policy can be found in the Washington State Parks and Recreation Commission:

In September 1998 the Washington State Parks and Recreation Commission adopted its Cultural Resources Management Policy. For the first time, the Commission outlined its expectations for standards to care for the more than 600 historic buildings, structures, and objects in state parks. The policy emphasizes the importance of training for all agency employees, the development of cultural resource management plans, the nomination of eligible properties to the National Register of Historic Places, and the use of the Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines to guide work on historic properties.

*Cultural Resources Working Group
Washington State Parks and Recreation Commission
"On the Way to 2010," Report No. 1, 1998-2000*

Since 1996 the budget of the Washington State Parks and Recreation Commission has included monies to conduct a comprehensive assessment of all historic properties in Washington's state parks, documenting their significance, interpretive value, and physical condition. This budgetary allocation was made available when it became clear that many historically important buildings and structures were actually located in the state parks and that the commission, for better or worse, was the only agency with clear responsibility for them. With the help of the state historic preservation officer, the staff of the Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, and private consultants, this survey was essentially completed in September 2000. By its count, 608 historic buildings and structures are located in fifty-two of Washington's 125 parks. Two of the fifty-two are National Historic Landmarks in their own right, fifteen are listed in the National Register of Historic Places, and three are included in the Washington Heritage Register. These resources represent twelve themes of significance—278 are categorized under the theme of national defense (coastal forts) and 195 are Depression-era buildings constructed by the Civilian Conservation

Corps. A database describing this inventory, including narrative descriptions, photographs, and in some cases measured drawings, aids the decision-making process concerning which properties are the most important to preserve, what needs to be done to preserve them, and roughly what the cost would be.

Once the number and scope of the resources owned by the commission was understood, it became critical to develop a *Cultural Resources Management Policy* (November 2001). This document offers a brief introduction to the commission's cultural resources and a rationale for their conservation and preservation. It then defines some thirty-one terms that are critical to cultural resources management such as adaptive use, archeological resource, cultural landscape, cultural resource, cultural resources management, historic, interpretive use, current use, integrity, structure, rehabilitation, and restoration. But, most importantly, it articulates fourteen statements of policy (fifteen as of January 2003) regarding training, research, treatment, protection, and interpretation.

By all accounts the development of the management policy was a critical internal step because it offered staff throughout the agency a framework against which to judge their own actions with regard to the agency's cultural resources. In this way, various offices and departments could be sure that they were on the same page and moving in the same direction. For former Director Cleve Pinnix this was an important step forward: "Before our current document, cultural policy was developed by accident. We need a long-range plan to help us understand the significance of our cultural resources in state parks and what should be done about them. We are headed in that direction, but have really just begun."

Once the inventory and the associated management policy were in place, the Cultural Resources Working Group within the agency began preparing a *Cultural Resources Action Plan*. The commissioners have approved this plan, which identifies

a series of action steps and estimates the costs associated with each of them. The necessary steps are identified for the next ten years over four areas: Identification and Evaluation, Policies and Procedures, Education and Training, and Interpretation and Visitor Experience.

Middle Management as Leaders and Policy Makers

Of particular interest to us was the fact that middle managers played the key leadership roles in both the *Memorandum of Understanding on Cultural Tourism* and the Parks and Recreation Commission's *Cultural Resources Management Policy*. This seems to be more generally the case throughout the land-based agencies: it is middle management that provides the impetus for putting cultural policy on the agency's agenda. This trend is rather different from the trend that we observed in other agencies where leadership tended to come from the top.

In part, this trend seems attributable to younger middle managers who have arrived from other jobs in which cultural policy figures more strongly. They are then eager to apply what they have learned in a new context. Cleve Pinnix, former director of Parks and Recreation, for example, was a key supporter of the commission's progressive cultural policies, which he attributes to specific agency hires: Gerry Tays, who came in the mid-'90s from the National Park Service, and David Hansen, who came from the Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation. For their part, middle managers cited the support of key people in top management positions who made their work possible. At the Department of Transportation, Judy Lorenzo, manager of the Heritage Corridors Program, recalled the support of WSDOT officials Denny Ingraham and Paula Hammond and of Dick Clifton from the Parks and Recreation Commission as instrumental to the development of that program.

The focus and clarity of purpose that every one of these land-based agency middle managers expressed was striking. In many cases, these change makers talked

about being on a mission, working long and hard and uphill because "it's the right thing to do." Even though many had been in their jobs for a decade or two, their competence, energy and dedication was clear. In some cases, program managers talked about competition within their agencies for resources, or a feeling that their immediate (within agency) colleagues were envious of their success. They also talked about an occasional lack of understanding among these colleagues about what they do. But without exception they felt that their cultural policy outposts belonged in these agencies and that they reflected a fundamental change in how the work of the land-based agencies is being conceived.

Coordination among Land-Based Agencies

Another theme that emerged from our interviews is that cultural policy coordination among the land-based agencies is at a higher level than among traditional arts and humanities agencies and organizations. There appear to be at least three reasons as to why this might be the case:

- ❑ Competition for resources is more likely to occur within the agency than with other agencies. Therefore, there is little competitive risk in collaborating with other agencies. The Heritage Corridors Program (see Chapter V) is more likely to compete with an in-house program such as Transportation Safety for resources than, for example, with Watchable Wildlife at the Department of Fish and Wildlife. As a result, these agency programs generally have more to gain than to lose through collaboration. Indeed, by collaborating they are likely to leverage more money through federal grants or other sources.
- ❑ The cultural programs of land-based agencies are generally relatively separate from the larger agencies of which they are only a small component, so collaboration with other like programs in other agencies offers them the freedom to pursue projects, attain public relations exposure, and be effective

without having to work through layers of bureaucracy.

- There is a consensus that tourism is important to the economy of Washington, and cultural tourism—a major focus of collaboration across the land-based agencies—has been embraced as good for everyone.

But note that coordination and collaboration tend to take place primarily within the group of land-based agencies, rather than with the more traditional arts and humanities agencies and organizations. Where there are linkages to cultural policy more broadly, they tend to involve heritage, history, folk arts, design, or architecture—all areas that, not surprisingly, are more closely tied to the cultural concerns of the land-based agencies.

Our interviewees often cited the *Memorandum of Understanding on Cultural Tourism* as a model of cross-agency collaboration, though these same interviewees were usually hard pressed to articulate exactly what that collaboration has accomplished to date. Nevertheless, two specific examples were mentioned, both of which are allied to the memorandum: the Othello-Coulee Dam project and the bicentennial of the Lewis and Clark expedition.

Othello-Coulee Dam

The roughly 100 miles between the O'Sullivan Dam in Othello, Washington, and the Grand Coulee Dam along State Routes 17 and 155 form the transportation backbone of East Central Washington. The north/south route is rich with scenic farmlands, natural grandeur (river, falls, lakes), the arts and culture of Native Americans, and wildlife, as well as the stories of the peoples who have inhabited this part of Washington. As a result of the *Memorandum of Understanding on Cultural Tourism*, the local communities along this route were approached by the memorandum's signatories to develop a corridor management plan. The participating state agencies have offered technical assistance and funding to help the local groups plan toward a sustainable tourist and recreation economy. The idea

is to develop a plan and then work together (local and state government, nonprofit organizations, private landowners, public land agencies, and interested individuals) to develop signage, infrastructure, and sites and trails along the corridor; to improve safety; to provide greater heritage and wildlife protection; and to promote the region as a destination. This partnership has resulted in a unified cultural tourism plan that has renewed interest in enriching the region with a sense of place, reinforcing the ethic of valuing the land and the natural environment while developing a stronger economy for the region.

Bicentennial of the Lewis and Clark Expedition

Some of the most interesting cultural policy initiatives are often linked to temporary events: Olympic Games, festivals, historic anniversaries, and the like. The commemoration of the bicentennial of the Lewis and Clark expedition in Washington (2003-2006) is no exception. The bicentennial has offered a significant opportunity for value-added collaboration, one that the land-based agencies and the heritage agencies are attempting to use to full advantage. A consortium of state agencies teamed to create the *Lewis and Clark Interpretive and Tourism Plan*. This plan recognized that commemoration of the Lewis and Clark bicentennial had the potential to honor one of the most important stories in the state's history. They recognized that the opportunity to tell the story to residents and visitors is almost irresistible. It could be used to convey "the notions of vision, leadership, teamwork, and friendship set on the theme of exploration and a quest for knowing and understanding. From the native plants and animals to native cultures and the landscape, the essence of learning embodied in the concept of exploration will be key to Lewis and Clark interpretation in Washington State."³

Washington's preparations for its participation in this multi-state celebration are extensive. Collaborative grant proposals to federal and local sources have been prepared—a large unified proposal was

³ The Otak Team, *Design Guidelines Commemorating the Bicentennial Anniversary of the Lewis and Clark Expedition in Washington*, Final Draft, April 2000, I-3. This report offers a brief version of Washington's Lewis and Clark story: "In the Autumn of 1805, after crossing the Lolo Trail through the Bitterroot Mountains of present day Idaho, the Corps of Discovery, led by Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, descended into Nez Perce homelands. The party was weak and exhausted from near starvation. The Nez Perce let them recuperate in their villages and provided them with salmon and camas roots. Not accustomed to this new diet, the party became extremely

submitted to the US Department of Transportation for T21 funds, and according to interviewees the unified collaborative approach has generated a total of about \$10 million in funding; various state/local partnerships have been brokered; considerable cooperation among state agencies has been achieved; design guidelines, tourism promotion materials, educational information, and teacher training programs have been developed; and on and on. The primary collaborators have included the Washington State Historical Society, the Washington State Parks and Recreation Commission, the Washington Department of Fish and Wildlife, the Washington Department of Community, Trade and Economic Development (Tourism), and the Washington State Department of Transportation.

The Importance of Federal Funds and Federal Influence

As mentioned in previous chapters, federal funds and federal influence shape many state cultural policy initiatives, and this is no less true of the land-based agencies. The influence of the National Park Service is cited as being critical in the development of the cultural policies now being implemented by the Parks and Recreation Commission, and federal funds continue to support programs like the Heritage Corridors Program and the Watchable Wildlife Program. New and expanding initiatives are often linked to the availability of federal matching grants; special projects, like the Lewis and Clark bicentennial mentioned above, have been seeded and supported with federal funds.

However, federal grants also create problems, especially in the extent to which they trigger certain requirements. As the archaeologist for the state parks said, “With federal money comes federal regulation.... That extra \$50,000 from the federal government [for a project]... brings with it thousands of dollars in federal regulation. [It] may increase the cost of a project five-fold.” The influence of federal matching grants has also had another effect. The governor has announced that

due to budget restrictions, state agencies will not be allowed to enter into new federal matching grant programs that require a match. The sense is that one source of growth in the state’s budget has been the pressure put on it by a wide range of federal matching requirements.

Balance—A Constant Challenge

For the land-based agencies (as well as for the Native American tribes considered in Chapter VII) maintaining a balance among various policies is a constant struggle. For the more traditional arts, humanities, and heritage agencies described in Chapters III, IV, and V, the struggle for balance has mostly to do with geographic balance, rural versus urban balance, or the balance between contemporary and traditional creativity. For the land-based agencies, the balance and struggle is between preservation and development, between conservation and economic opportunity. This crosscutting theme showed up repeatedly in our interviews with many variations:

- ❑ The balance between the revenue-generating capacity of trust lands and long-term sustainability of that revenue, especially as pressures increase to make more lands available for conservation and passive recreation (Department of Natural Resources).
- ❑ Tradeoffs between the use of land for recreational purposes and the protection of natural and cultural resources (Parks and Recreation Commission).
- ❑ The conflict between preserving Native American culture dating back as far as 2,000 years and preserving Euro-American culture dating back only to the 1930s (Parks and Recreation Commission).
- ❑ Accepting responsibility for the preservation of historical and cultural resources and adding this responsibility to a policy envelope without adequate resources to do so.
- ❑ Conserving and preserving these resources, perhaps at considerable cost,

Continued from page 154

ill. Fearing the oncoming winter, they needed to get to the Pacific Ocean as quickly as possible. Now fighting sickness, they mustered some energy to cut down large trees for canoes, but had little strength to carve them out. The Nez Perce showed them another method—burning out the logs with hot stones. By early October, the Corps had five canoes and had acquired enough supplies through trading to begin the final leg of their journey to their ultimate goal, the Pacific Ocean. Intimately tied to the native cultures and environment, the descent from the Clearwater down the Snake and Columbia rivers to the ocean is the story of the Lewis and Clark Expedition in Washington.”

can come into conflict with the impetus to modernize and develop the same resources so that they can become revenue generating and thus budget-neutral. This is particularly the case for the Parks and Recreation Commission. Donated land, which is a common source of new park property, is most definitely not free. In accepting such a donation Parks and Recreation is also, in effect, making a commitment to maintain and protect the cultural resources that accompany that donation. To raise the revenue to do so, more intensive recreational use becomes an attractive option but runs the risk of damaging the resource it was hoping to support.

- ❑ Various demographic balances: east versus west, urban versus rural, long-time residents versus newcomers; conflicts in values between a “sophisticated” urban population that emphasizes newness and creativity and more rural residents who are concerned with keeping cultural memories alive and preserved (Puget Sound Water Quality Action Team).
- ❑ The tension between economic development and preservation (the Main Street Program in the Department of Community, Trade and Economic Development).

Natural Resources as Cultural Resources: Salmon as a Case in Point

In our interview with Katherine Baril of the Washington State University Cooperative Extension Service, she responded to our broaching of the subject of “cultural policy” with, “We have a vocabulary translation issue!” But once the dialogue started, it became clear that aspects of her work did come under the rubric of “cultural policy.”

The key here was understanding that many of our interviewees have come to view natural resources as cultural resources, whether or not they would actually describe them as “cultural resources” in an

informal conversation. Our experience in interviewing at the land-based agencies demonstrated just how difficult it is to draw a clear line between a natural resource and a cultural resource.

Salmon are a case in point. As we progressed with our interviews, it became apparent that in Washington the link between environmental identity and cultural identity is so strong that it has become natural to think about salmon as culture (and cultural to think about salmon as nature).

These connections are made in any number of programmatic initiatives already underway. The Salmon Recovery Program of the Washington State Parks and Recreation Commission, for example, includes an interpretive trail, salmon art, a project to turn a barn into a salmon interpretation center, a salmon exhibit, and “salmon trunks” filled with materials for school education outreach. Salmon are not just the object of artistic expression in these programs; they become an expression of culture.

Much the same could be said of other initiatives taking place within the land-based agencies. Regional tourism efforts are being linked to the folk arts and Native American arts practiced in those places. Efforts at agro-tourism attempt to explain the heritage of living in an agricultural community. Visitor centers associated with the various commodity commissions explain agricultural processes but also tie these activities to the heritage of the state; cuisine is ever more tightly interwoven with culture. Support for local, county, and state fairs combines agricultural policy with environmental policy with cultural policy.



We now turn away from crosscutting themes to a consideration of each of the land-based agencies and programs involved in cultural policy. Many of the examples that are offered here amply illustrate how resources that have been made available for other goals—e.g., transportation policy or economic development policy—can

be creatively tapped to further cultural policy goals at the same time. Indeed, much of the story of the involvement of land-based agencies in cultural policy is a story of this type of policy creativity.

Policies and Programs of the Land-Based Agencies

In this section we describe the policies and programs that collectively define the explicit and implicit cultural policies of the land-based agencies in the State of Washington. Included here are accounts of eight different state agencies and their programs: the Parks and Recreation Commission; the Department of Fish and Wildlife, Watchable Wildlife Program; the Department of Natural Resources; the Interagency Committee for Outdoor Recreation; the Puget Sound Water Quality Action Team; the Washington State University Cooperative Extension Service; the Department of Community, Trade and Economic Development, Main Street, Tourism, and Rural Tourism programs; and the Department of Agriculture and the allied Commodity Commissions. The Heritage Corridors Program of the Washington State Department of Transportation has already been discussed in Chapter V.

Washington State Parks and Recreation Commission

The Washington State Parks and Recreation Commission, which recently celebrated its 90th anniversary, oversees a vast portfolio of land and properties across the State of Washington. The system includes 125 parks with a biennial budget of \$90 million and approximately 500 full-time employees. Because of its structure as a commission, the agency is overseen by an independent board (“the commission”) comprised of seven citizen commissioners appointed by the governor.⁴ These commissioners approve policy and hire the agency’s director. According to former Director Cleve Pinnix, “Because commissioners serve overlapping terms (of six years), continuity is preserved and the body is reasonably protected from radical

policy swings.” He added, “Boards and commissions are very commonplace in Washington State because of its populist political culture and because it is a very decentralized state.”

But the commission, of course, is not entirely independent of the state. The agency does not interact directly with the Legislature, yet it has to maintain good relationships with legislators. The agency follows a policy planning process to develop its budget. The various programs within the agency first propose “policy packages.” This is noteworthy because it means that the program that will ultimately be approved and funded will be directly linked to policy in a much clearer manner than is the case in many of the other state cultural agencies considered in this report. The staff then chooses from among the proposed packages those that it wishes to recommend to the commissioners. The commissioners then approve each policy package, modify it, or turn it down.⁵ These priority policy packages along with their proposed budgets are then submitted to the Office of Financial Management (OFM). After review (and oftentimes modifications), they are then forwarded to the governor, who makes the final decision about how they will be included in his proposed budget that will ultimately be submitted to the Legislature.

According to its mission statement, “The Washington State Parks and Recreation Commission acquires, operates, enhances and protects a diverse system of recreational, cultural, historical and natural sites. The commission fosters outdoor recreation and education statewide to provide enjoyment and enrichment for all, and a valued legacy to future generations.”⁶

Note the presence and the implied importance of the word “cultural” in this description. It is clear that this mission statement locates the commission squarely within the realm of state cultural policy. Our interviewees characterized the work of Parks and Recreation as being built on three pillars—recreation, natural resources, and cultural resources—though they have not always been accorded the

⁴ The use of the word “commission” is a bit ambiguous here referring to both the agency itself and the board of commissioners that oversees its operation. This is also the situation with respect to the Washington State Arts Commission, with “commission” once again referring both to the agency and to the independent policy board that oversees its operations. The structures are not entirely similar, however, as the executive director of the Washington State Arts Commission is appointed by and reports to the governor, while the director of the Parks and Recreation Commission is hired by the independent commissioners, so here the lines of authority may be a bit more insulated from day to day politics.

⁵ In a recent year, for example, the staff prepared thirty-four policy/program packages, fourteen of which were ultimately recommended to the commissioners. Twelve of these were approved and sent to the governor. These numbers alone appear to offer clear evidence that policy-informed choices are being made.

⁶ www.parks.wa.gov/agency.asp

same priority. In the beginning, the focus was primarily on recreation, then on natural resources; today cultural resources are emphasized as well.

The fact that cultural policy has gotten onto the agency's radar screen is due in large part to agency hiring. Gerry Tays was hired from the National Park Service—"I came from thirty years in the National Park Service where cultural policy was a bread and butter issue. So I was surprised at the lack of cultural policy at the state level. I did some research and found out that, besides California, almost no other state park system has a cultural policy. Indeed, many states are extremely jealous that we were able to develop a policy.... Cultural policy was part of our mission all along, but never embraced or taken on."—and David Hansen moved from the Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation to become the historic preservation officer for the state parks. Together they developed the *Cultural Resources Management Policy*, and, much to their surprise, the commissioners approved it without modification. Work subsequent to this document has now led to a ten-year *Cultural Resources Action Plan* that has also been approved by the commissioners.

The work of the Parks and Recreation Commission is divided among three major divisions: The Operations Division is responsible for park management and regional offices, environmental learning centers, maintenance and preservation, natural resource management, public programs and services, interpretive services, and park concessionaires; the Resources Development Division is responsible for land acquisition, planning and development, engineering, park facilities, and environmental protection; and the Administrative Services Division is responsible for boating, winter recreation programs, volunteer programs, the central reservations system, information management, agency contracts, and all fiscal/budget efforts. Interestingly, most of the cultural resources work is currently within the Resources Development Division. This is because the agency has just begun to realize

the true extent and the importance of the cultural resources that are already under its stewardship (many of them buildings and facilities constructed by the Civilian Conservation Corps), and the first organized attention to these resources needs to happen as part of the planning and development function. In other words, the Parks and Recreation Commission has gotten into cultural resource management through a relatively recent (post 1995) reexamination of existing resources in order to determine their cultural or historic significance.

The Resource Stewardship Program

Many of the cultural resources initiatives of the agency come under the umbrella of its Resource Stewardship Program. This program deploys a team of resources specialists to work with park staff, park users, and other interested parties to balance the complex and conflicting demands of environmental protection, cultural/historic preservation, and outdoor recreation. The program administers a broad range of activities including: resource inventories and assessments of natural and cultural resources, the Classification and Management Planning Process for the management of park resources, applied research, and stewardship training including the encouragement of volunteer stewardship.

The resource inventory and assessment process for natural and cultural resources was put in place because there had been a scarcity of information about the quantity, quality, and distribution of cultural and natural resources in state parks, particularly information about those resources that were at risk of degradation through natural processes or development. According to Gerry Tays, "25 percent of our buildings were so degraded by our own employees that their historic integrity was close to ruined completely. This was not intentional...but just out of ignorance. We often converted buildings to new uses without even knowing they were of cultural or historical significance."

The Classification and Management Planning Process (CAMP) was imple-

mented five years ago to identify and address important resource issues in state parks. Building on the *Cultural Resources Management Policy* and the *Cultural Resources Action Plan*, the CAMP process serves as the guiding document for on-the-ground resource protection and recreational development.

One example of a CAMP project is the Lake Sammamish State Park Area. For this park, the staff conducted a public planning process to guide its future development and management. They drew on input from several public workshops. The staff sought approval from the commissioners to classify lands and set long-term boundaries for Lake Sammamish, Bridle Trails, and Squak Mountain State Parks. (This request was the fourteenth such classification and long-term boundary decision that had been put before the commissioners for consideration under the auspices of CAMP.)

Using CAMP, the staff and public considered a wide range of land classification options for Lake Sammamish:

One approach explored how the park might be classified if management were to emphasize protection of natural resources, open space, and cultural landscapes. In general, all streams, riparian areas, and shorelines were classified as Natural Areas; a modest reduction of the existing developed footprint was classified as a Recreation Area; and the balance of the park was classified as a Resource Recreation Area. The effect of this scheme on the existing park landscape would have included extensive restoration of natural [resources], and restoration of rural cultural landscapes associated with former agricultural fields.⁷

Planning participants also considered a second approach that would emphasize a higher intensity of recreational activity and developed facilities while still providing adequate protection to sensitive natural resources. “Areas of the park that did not contain emergent wetlands or other sensitive natural resources and that could reasonably sustain some type of high-intensity recreational development were classified as Recreation Areas. The remainder of the park was classified as a Resource Recreation Area.”⁸ In effect, this

scheme would have modestly increased the size of the park’s developed areas by allowing for significant expansion of the boat launch and the group camp and adding formal sports fields, picnic areas, and group shelters.

The staff recommended that “lands be classified...to maintain or modestly expand the intensity of recreational use and development yet significantly enhance protection of sensitive natural resources and embrace the rural character of the park’s cultural landscape.”⁹ This recommendation reflects the balance and tension between development and conservation/preservation that commission staff face every day. Park use has remained flat or even declined in recent years. Especially during periods of tight state budgets when the staff feel that they must rely more heavily on park user fees, they become even more cognizant of the need to revitalize recreational facilities to keep abreast of the public’s needs and desires. Yet, they also want to maintain, preserve, and protect each park’s natural and cultural resources.

The agency is currently working with partners such as other state institutions and interested stakeholders to help identify practical resource management approaches to help them balance resources and protection. To this end it is conducting a variety of applied research. As user numbers increase at some parks, and lands surrounding the parks become increasingly domesticated, there is growing concern for monitoring and protecting threatened/endangered species habitats and cultural sites of statewide significance. Two examples are the archaeological test excavations that have been conducted at Cama Beach (discussed below) and Beacon Rock to locate any sensitive cultural sites and Central Washington University’s Scholars in the Park program, which sends graduate students to do historical research about state park properties. At the time of our interviews scholars were working on a complete cultural landscape inventory (from prehistory to the present) of the

⁷ Peter Herzog, *Report to Washington State Parks and Recreation Commission*, November 20, 2001.

⁸ Herzog, *Report to Washington State Parks and Recreation Commission*.

⁹ Herzog, *Report to Washington State Parks and Recreation Commission*.

undeveloped Dalles Mountain Ranch property.

In March 1999, the Washington State Parks and Recreation Commission offered its first basic training course for agency employees in the principles of historic preservation. Given twice annually at Fort Worden State Park Conference Center in Port Townsend, this introductory class is designed to introduce both field staff and senior management to the Commission's *Cultural Resources Management Policy* through a three-day workshop. Guests from other agencies have been invited to join in learning the basic principles and concepts that professional historic preservationists take for granted. To date over 200 individuals within the agency have availed themselves of this opportunity. As is so often the case when people from different organizations get together, the networking has yielded several additional training opportunities for those who are seeking to learn more hands-on skills in historic preservation.

In 2000, the Washington State Parks and Recreation Commission, the Oregon Department of Parks and Recreation, the University of Oregon, Oregon State University, the state historic preservation offices of Washington and Oregon, and the National Park Service formalized a cooperative partnership designed to facilitate the sharing of expertise and resources for the development and presentation of educational training and technical assistance in historic preservation. This arrangement became known as the Pacific Northwest Preservation Partnership, and through it further accomplishments have been possible.

The centerpiece of the partnership is the annual Preservation Field School that affords participants the opportunity to put into practice the principles of historic preservation in a controlled environment with instruction and oversight by recognized experts in the fields of archaeology and historic preservation in the Pacific Northwest. Participants come from universities, various state agencies, and the general public. To date over 400 participants have

attended field school sessions. According to Gerry Tays, the Field School, in particular, and the partnership, in general, are "the best investments we as a public land managing agency can make. Only by teaching our employees the principles of historic preservation as well as the skills to implement preservation projects correctly can we hope to fulfill our responsibilities to the people of Washington."

Three Projects

For our study we were unable to consider all of the activities of the Parks and Recreation Commission; indeed, many of them would be outside of the realm of cultural policy in any event. In our interviews with the former director, the state parks archeologist, the chief of interpretive services, the chief of resource stewardship, an engineer, a regional planner, a preservation planner, a parks planner and others, beyond the main profile of agency policy and planning we focused on illustrative programs and projects to demonstrate how the work of the agency is intertwined with cultural policy at many junctures. Here we discuss three such projects: the Cama Beach Project, Fort Worden/Centrum, and the Salmon Recovery Project.

While each of these projects is distinct with its own policies and priorities, the influence of the *Cultural Resources Management Policy* is evident in all of them. Indeed, this is the intent of having an agency-wide policy.

Cama Beach: The Cama Beach Project on Camano Island illustrates the difficult questions surrounding land acquisition and cultural resource preservation. Cama Beach is a perfectly preserved 1934 auto fishing resort, not far from a fully developed state park. It is listed on the Washington Heritage Register. Its owners offered the property as a donation to the Parks and Recreation Commission to become a state park. Once it was offered, pressure was put on the Legislature to move the project forward. "Led by a group called Friends of Cama Beach,

thousands of people lobbied the state to move Cama Beach up the priority [list].”¹⁰

According to the Parks and Recreation property acquisition staff, the Cama Beach property raised difficult policy questions. Could it be managed with the current staffing in place? Could this historic property be adapted for modern use so that it would become a break-even or money-generating venture? Once Parks and Recreation agreed to accept the donation, the *Cultural Resources Management Policy* kicked in, prompting an archeological dig to determine the extent to which the land had cultural or historical significance. That led to the discovery of Native American artifacts roughly 2,000 years old and to claims from two Native American tribes to rights to the Cama Beach land. As a result, the project has become very large and very complicated. According to the state parks archeologist, “State Parks is not equipped to handle large, complex projects like this. Negotiating with tribes, building consensus, working through dispute resolutions...all this is very difficult and takes time.”

Nevertheless, the fact that Parks and Recreation has articulated a policy with respect to cultural resources has meant that appropriate steps can be taken to protect these cultural resources.

Fort Worden/Centrum: Fort Worden and Centrum have already been described in Chapter III in the context of arts policy. From the Parks and Recreation perspective what is noteworthy here is the partnership with the Washington State Arts Commission and the Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction that launched Centrum as an arts center located at, and using the historic facilities of, Fort Worden State Park. The Fort Worden/Centrum facilities include old officers’ barracks used for dormitories, a hangar transformed into a performance space with lawn seating, art studios, classrooms, and rehearsal spaces. Centrum offers artist residencies, arts education in partnership with Washington’s schools (“Experiences in Creativity”), perform-

ances and exhibits, multigenerational workshops and festivals, and Elderhostels.

Partnership is the main characteristic of the operation of Fort Worden. Parks and Recreation signs contracts and enters into cooperative agreements with a variety of nonprofit organizations including Centrum to run facilities and provide services on the property; none pay rent or fees to the commission. The largest unit is the conference center, whose facilities are intensively used by Centrum but also by a large variety of other organizations and individuals. (Fifteen to 20 percent of the overall business of the park comes from Centrum, 80-85 percent from the conference center.) Interpretation on site is done through agreements with a variety of specialized nonprofit organizations:

- ❑ The Puget Sound Coastal Artillery Museum Association runs the coastal Artillery Museum. This organization grew out of an Army unit. Parks and Recreation pays for the utilities and maintains the buildings; the museum association does exhibits and interpretation and charges an admission fee to cover its costs.
- ❑ The Port Townsend Marine Sciences Society runs the Marine Science Center. (The agreement that allows the Marine Science Center to use facilities within Fort Worden guarantees a longer time period than would otherwise be the case in order to facilitate securing grants.)
- ❑ The Jefferson County Historical Society runs the Rothschild House.
- ❑ The Guard House (Information Center) is run by the Friends of Fort Worden.
- ❑ A heritage group runs the Commanding Officer’s Quarters Museum. They develop and maintain exhibits, provide staffing, and charge an admission fee.

Each nonprofit partner is required to submit an annual business plan to the park manager for approval. This plan is the means by which the quality of the

¹⁰ *The Seattle Times*, September 24, 2000.

partnership is monitored. Parks and Recreation even goes so far as to control what can be sold.

Many of these activities are related to the idea of moving the public's perception of the site from a fort to a park. According to Jim Farmer, former park manager, "We want people to recognize this as a park, not a fort. People understand that parks need to be protected, remain natural, etc. They don't think that about a fort." Interpretation is a key to accomplishing this transformation; when it was "just a fort" it did not show up on the public's radar screen.

Fort Worden is hardly typical of the other state parks in Washington. Because of its size and the variety of its programming, it is the anchor of cultural tourism in Jefferson County. As a result it is the largest generator of hotel-motel tax funds. Park staff are directly involved in the advisory committee that advises on expenditure of the hotel-motel tax (which must be spent on activities related to tourism, which might include marketing, buildings, maintenance, visitor centers, science centers, etc.), so Fort Worden is very much enmeshed in the process.¹¹

Former Park Manager Jim Farmer had a very practical view of policy: "I see policy as a way of expressing what has actually been going on. Policy seldom leads the effort; policy comes in when informal actions have not achieved the necessary level of communication. Baby boomers are retiring. Therefore, less 'policy knowledge' is being passed along so we have to capture things in policy." Nevertheless, he was a big supporter of the *Cultural Resources Management Policy* and its implementation. "This is an evolution of what it means to be stewards. We have gotten much better over the past few years. Historically our focus has been on nature and conservancy, now we are making the leap to cultural. To be sure there was a consciousness among individuals and parks have been doing a lot of cultural work, but the rhetoric has now changed. We have gotten better at identifying and labeling the cultural."

The Salmon Recovery Project: A variety of influences can impact the work of the Parks and Recreation Commission. In the case of the Salmon Recovery Project it was a combination of three factors: the placement of salmon on the national Endangered Species List; the passage of the Watershed Recovery Act, which addresses water quality and quantity; and the passage of the Modified Forest Practice Act, which mandates that all road culverts must be fixed by 2015.

The governor charged Parks and Recreation with developing and administering a statewide plan for on-the-ground interpretive resources at state-managed properties and to implement restoration, enhancement, and protection efforts throughout any salmon habitat located on state parks properties. A memorandum of understanding between the State Department of Fish and Wildlife, the Tribal Nations (Northwest Indian Fisheries Commission), the State Department of Natural Resources, and the Parks and Recreation Commission led to cooperation among these agencies in the assessment, interpretation, and restoration of this habitat.

At Parks and Recreation, this led to three major efforts: salmon habitat assessment and restoration on state parkland, assessment of the salmon habitat around culverts on state parkland, and the interpretation of salmon as a natural and cultural resource. The combination of these efforts includes dozens of sub-efforts with interesting and complicated policy implications; for purposes of our focus on cultural policy, the story of salmon interpretation is most relevant.

Out of a Salmon Recovery budget of \$240,000, approximately \$30,000 is designated for interpretation. As a result, Parks and Recreation relies mostly on external funding for the interpretive projects that it is implementing:

❑ *The Salmon Interpretive Trail* at Flaming Geyser State Park. This initiative is creatively funded off of a \$10,000 fine paid by the Department of Ecology

¹¹ For a further discussion of the state's authorization of additional hotel-motel taxes, see Chapter VII.

for failing to adequately maintain a sewage treatment plant.

- ❑ The *Salmon Interpretive Center* also at Flaming Geyser State Park. A grant funded the feasibility study.
- ❑ *The Olympia Salmon Run Public Art Project*. Inspired by the “Cows on Parade” project in Chicago, this project commissioned artists to decorate fiberglass salmon, which were then placed around the city.
- ❑ *A Salmon Exhibit*, originally designed for Horsethief Lake State Park, but first displayed at the Maryhill Museum.
- ❑ *Salmon Trunks*. These kits contained educational items to be used at state park campfire talks or at schools.

Considered together, all of these activities undertaken under the rubric of the Salmon Recovery Project are clearly cultural in nature, and they suggest once again how far the boundary of state cultural policy needs to be stretched in order to capture and incorporate all of its manifestations.

Washington Department of Fish and Wildlife Watchable Wildlife Program

In Washington the Department of Fish and Wildlife is a well-established, large department. Its Watchable Wildlife Program, however, was established only recently in the mid 1990s. The genesis of this program was described to us as the result of a paradigm shift within the organization, which began with the introduction of vanity license plates in the 1970s. Washington was one of the first states to create a revenue stream out of vanity license plates. Funding generated by the sale of plates was dedicated to wildlife diversity, thus offering new funding for non-game, non-land, non-science mandates. This revenue stream created an opportunity for Fish and Wildlife to develop a new vision. Initially, the funds supported research and conservation. Today, the plates generate about \$2.5 million annually, and some of these

funds are now targeted for recreation and education.

This shift has also been accompanied by the opportunity to participate in certain federally funded programs. Around 1990, the U.S. Forest Service offered “Nature Watch” challenge matching grants. Between 1993 and 1997, the Forest Service funded a project entitled, “Puget Sound Eyes on Wildlife.” The Washington State Department of Fish and Wildlife matched the federal grants in-kind by dedicating a full-time staff member to a program it named “Watchable Wildlife”:

What is Watchable Wildlife? Watchable Wildlife includes a wide array of state animals, some as common as a familiar bird at a backyard feeder, some passing through on seasonal migrations, some rarely-seen species that provide the dedicated viewer with a reward for hours of patient waiting.... Wildlife viewing is a pastime that can be enjoyed in any season, any corner of the state, by any age group. [S]pecial equipment is not required.¹²

When the mission statement of the Department of Fish and Wildlife focuses on conservation and restoration, it emphasizes the maximization of animal habitats in order to maintain wildlife diversity and population. In carrying out this mission, the Watchable Wildlife program articulated a responsibility and concern for preserving a piece of Washington culture and values: the opportunity for people and nature to co-exist in balance and for visitors to have an aesthetic experience as they pursue wildlife watching consistent with the heritage of the state.¹³

The Watchable Wildlife Program takes the *Memorandum of Understanding on Cultural Tourism* very seriously, recognizing what the MOU offers the program, but also feeling a responsibility to the larger policy goals of the MOU. Chuck Gibilisco, Watchable Wildlife coordinator and Mike O’Malley, Watchable Wildlife program manager, describe this larger policy goal as, “offering people a total experience of place that includes arts, traditional crafts, customs, celebrations, historic sites, wildlife viewing, and nature-based recreation.” They subscribe to the belief that “exposure to resource sites, stories and

¹² www.wa.gov/wdfw

¹³ See Department of Urban and Regional Planning, Eastern Washington University, “Coulees and Canyons: State Route 17-155 Heritage Corridor Resource Inventory—Executive Summary,” January 4, 2001.

nature leads to a stronger sense of place and a better land ethic.” Thus, cultural policy and the other policy concerns of the land-based agencies come into direct relationship with one another.

The Watchable Wildlife Program pursues its conservation, education, and recreation goals with a budget of approximately \$160,000, half state and half federal, and two staff people. Projects that are included within this program include:

- ❑ The *Washington Wildlife Viewing Guide*, which is available both in booklet form and on the program’s website.
- ❑ *Wildlife CAMs*: video cameras that are installed at various locations that allow citizens to watch wildlife via the Internet (especially popular is EagleCam, which is focused on an eagles’ nest; but a BatCam, a HeronCam, a SealCam, and a SalmonCam are also maintained).
- ❑ *Roadside Markers*, which use a symbol depicting binoculars to indicate a wildlife viewing area by the side of the road.
- ❑ *Technical Assistance* that is made available to local communities wishing to organize a wildlife festival (which usually includes traditional music, food, and arts as well).
- ❑ *Education*, including “Wildlife Viewing Hints” and “Wildlife Viewing Ethics” offered on the program’s website.

The Watchable Wildlife Program, while appearing to be at the margin of cultural policy, actually succeeds at pulling together a variety of streams in cultural policy including the heritage of the state and cultural tourism and suggests the directions in which cultural policy is developing most rapidly.

Washington State Department of Natural Resources

Of the large land-based agencies, we found the fewest connections to cultural policy at the Washington State Department of Natural Resources (DNR). The

department manages 2.1 million acres of forest; 1.2 million acres of agricultural and range land; 75,000 acres of Natural Resource Conservation and Preserves; and 2.4 million acres of aquatic (submerged) lands; plus commercial properties; communication tower sites; mineral, oil and gas leases; mining contracts; and sand, gravel, and rock sales.¹⁴

The Department of Natural Resources is a major revenue-generator for the state. Between 1970 and 1999, trust lands generated \$4.7 billion for the trusts to support construction of public facilities (schools, universities, prisons, state capitol buildings, and the like). This revenue-producing function was established upon the founding of the state. “More than 200 years ago, the federal government had the foresight to grant trust lands to new states to forever support education and other public services.”¹⁵

This revenue-producing mandate has led DNR to look very closely at issues of sustainability. According to DNR Policy Director Rick Cooper, lands are currently managed on a sixty-year cycle. However, as pressures increase to make more lands available for conservation and passive recreation, the DNR has adopted a three-point policy approach. The DNR is seeking a sustainable blend of trust revenue, healthy ecosystems, and other benefits for the people of Washington (e.g., passive recreation, wildlife viewing, berry and mushroom picking).¹⁶

Population growth and other factors have created some difficult tensions for the DNR and its land management policies:

- ❑ Growth versus quality of life: Fast growth is challenging the natural resources that attract people to come and live in Washington.
- ❑ Urban newcomers versus rural agrarian/forest employees: Environmentalists and urban newcomers want DNR to be more proactive in protecting forests and lands; forest and timber workers who make a living off the resources want to protect their jobs

¹⁴ Washington State Department of Natural Resources, “Diverse Agency, Diverse Resources,” brochure, February 2, 1999.

¹⁵ Washington State Department of Natural Resources, “Sustainable Forestry,” brochure, undated.

¹⁶ Washington State Department of Natural Resources, “Sustainable Forestry,” brochure, undated.

and, therefore, want the exploitation of the forests to continue.

- ❑ Revenue raising versus increased federal regulation: For a number of reasons particularly federal regulatory restrictions related to avoiding “taking” of spotted owls when they became listed as “threatened” under the Endangered Species Act, the annual timber harvest volume from state-owned trust lands declined from nearly one billion board feet per year to a little over 400 million board feet. With the completion of DNR’s federally approved habitat conservation plan in 1996, the harvest level climbed back to about 600 million board feet, but has been closer to 500 million in the past few years. The net result has been a dramatic reduction in the revenue-generating capacity of DNR.
- ❑ Tribal customs and tribal rights to land versus commercial demands on resources: To take but one example, the federally recognized tribes are entitled to half of the fish and shellfish catch in the state. In order for this to remain meaningful, DNR needs to protect the habitat so that that half of the catch is a sustainable food source for the tribes.

Rick Cooper responded to questions about cultural policy by stating that at the Department of Natural Resources “cultural” means “tribal.” Primarily this means that DNR must, by policy, maintain the lands under its control in ways that are consistent with tribal interests.

When asked about the considerable language in DNR’s statutes that refers to culture, archeology, heritage, and the like, Cooper responded, “It’s part of how we manage our affairs. We are careful to identify and preserve archeologically or culturally significant resources, and it is our responsibility to follow state and federal laws. We must make sure that cultural resources are not damaged in our forest management work. The state Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation is our partner for tracking resources. We

train our field folks in Indian affairs, and in the characteristics of potential archeological resources. We maintain a staff member specifically for cultural resources as a tribal liaison.”

Interagency Committee for Outdoor Recreation (IAC)

The Interagency Committee for Outdoor Recreation (IAC) was established by Citizen Initiative 215 in 1964. It was created to oversee the investment of public funds in parks, trails, beaches, boating facilities, wildlife habitat, and natural areas. It is led by a director, who is appointed by the governor, and an eight-member committee composed of five citizens appointed by the governor and three state agency directors. The committee has no regulatory authority; its policy tools are providing funding to projects, providing technical assistance, undertaking research and policy development, providing coordination, and organizing and conducting advocacy.

IAC oversees a wide range of grant categories (each legislatively established) including Boating Facilities, Boating Infrastructure, Firearms and Archery Ranges, the Land and Water Conservation Fund, the National Recreational Trails Program, Nonhighway and Off-Road Vehicle Activities, the Washington Wildlife and Recreation Program, and the Salmon Recovery Program. Taken together the grants made under these programs total approximately \$120 million each biennium. A staff of more than twenty oversee the application process. Grantees range from municipalities to state agencies, Native American tribes, and nonprofit organizations.

When asked about IAC’s activities that might have cultural content or intersect with cultural policy concerns, Jim Fox, special assistant to the director, offered an eight-page report entitled, *Recreation, Open Space and Preservation of Heritage Values in IAC Grant Programs*. The introduction reads, “Woven into the spectacular scenic beauty of Washington is the state’s interesting and important cultural history,

including the stories of native people, early settlers, and the state's early commercial activities."¹⁷ The paper explores IAC grants to twenty-one projects, which involved "heritage values." Eight of those were grants to projects in state parks; the remainder were a mix of county and city projects, with one grant to a tribe, and one to a U.S. Forest Service project. Note that the IAC offers another source of funding for cultural projects that is outside each agency's normal state budget.

The IAC has defined "heritage values" as those values associated with a significant archaeological, historical, or cultural area. They use surveys, focus groups, town meetings, workshops, draft plans, and public review in their policy development process. In Fox's view, IAC's policy is the aggregate of the information gained in these various public input forums plus the input of experts in public land management and outdoor recreation.

Accountability is important for the staff of IAC. They consider it part of their mission to be accountable for their investment of state resources. They track all grants in a computerized database, conduct site visits to grantees, and maintain data on outputs. They are beginning to look for ways to look at outcomes—measuring the degree to which policy has actually achieved its intent—in addition to outputs. This is one of the few places that we found evidence-based evaluation beginning to play a role in the implementation and monitoring of cultural policy in Washington.

Puget Sound Water Quality Action Team (Governor's Office)

Like the Interagency Committee for Outdoor Recreation, the Puget Sound Water Quality Action Team offers another set of resources to organizations (non-profits and local and tribal governments) to carry out projects to restore and protect the biological health and diversity of Puget Sound by protecting and enhancing Puget Sound's water and sediment quality, its fish and shellfish, and its wetlands and other habitats.

The Action Team is a program of the Office of the Governor. According to Harriet Beale, outreach and implementation manager, its predecessor was the Puget Sound Water Quality Authority, which was charged solely with the development of a water management plan for Puget Sound. The need for a plan was caused by the tremendous growth of Puget Sound communities. Citizen concern, combined with federal dollars, got the program started. The state and the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) accepted the resulting plan, the *Puget Sound Water Quality Management Plan*. As a result of this plan and a sunset review of the predecessor agency, in 1995 the organization was restructured to its current configuration.

The Action Team now has a staff of twenty-five, and the Puget Sound Council has been constituted as a citizens advisory board. The Action Team must develop a plan every two years, and the Legislature uses the plan to determine funding priorities. The Action Team uses technical assistance, planning, monitoring and research, publications and website-based information, and outreach. It makes Public Involvement and Education (PIE) grants, which put "money and motivation into the hands of dedicated individuals, businesses, non-profit organizations and local and tribal governments that create and nurture environmental programs in their communities."¹⁸

When asked about cultural connections, Beale said that by definition the preservation of Puget Sound is cultural: "It is about preservation of the smells, sounds, and visual impact of the Sound. It is about the economic and leisure activities of fishing and shell fishing. It brings people together and defines peoples' sense of community." She also talked about the artistic and cultural efforts funded through the PIE grants. Cultural interests serve environmental purposes and vice versa, encouraging creativity and new ways to communicate and educate. As examples she mentioned a play about Puget Sound and support for fairs. The

¹⁷ Interagency Committee for Outdoor Recreation, "Open Space and Preservation of Heritage Values in IAC Grant Programs," March 10, 1999.

¹⁸ www.wa.gov/puget_sound/Programs/Education.htm

Marine Science Center at Fort Worden has received funding from the Puget Sound Water Quality Action Team for some of its exhibits.

Although the grants that are available for such purposes through the Action Team are small, they are one of the few pathways through which organizations involved in the interpretive sciences in Washington can tap state money. In other states, by contrast, science museums, aquariums, and other interpretive science centers often have access to grants through the state arts agency or through another similar mechanism.¹⁹

Washington State University Cooperative Extension Service

One recipient of the Puget Sound Water Quality Action Team's Public Involvement and Education grants (described above) has been the Washington State University Cooperative Extension Service. Katherine Baril, chair for Jefferson County, said that they have used the PIE grants to build a large salmon, create a dragon tracking game, commission a Queen Salmon play, and sponsor arts festivals.

As one who was surprised to be approached about a study on cultural policy, Baril quickly realized that many of the activities of the Extension Service, and especially her Office of Community Leadership, came under the rubric of cultural policy. In carrying out the Extension Service's mission to "help people develop leadership skills and use research-based knowledge to improve their economic status and quality of life,"²⁰ the Extension Service focuses on a four-fold framework: 4-H Youth Development, Natural Resources, Community Leadership, and Access to Degrees and Technology. Community Leadership is the place in which the activities of the Cooperative Extension Service have begun to intersect with the interests and concerns of cultural policy.

Baril mentioned collaborations with Centrum, participation in eco-tourism partnerships, work with Humanities Washington and its fireside chat programs, and

the teaching of art history, philosophy, and ethics to welfare mothers. Cultural concerns can take her program in any number of directions: "We do programs around wooden boats. In working on an oral history project with the Hispanic community we discovered that they were making cheese in a way that encouraged the growth of salmonella."

Baril talked about her "Sense of Place" workshops designed to get people to understand the culture and history of their local community. She used "sense of place" as a phrase that refers both to a sensitivity to one's surroundings and to a specific academic curriculum. In her view, "We are doing bioregional education—the New West. We are listening to the land and becoming a people of place. This is a reflection of tribal ways of thinking. The Jamestown S'klallam tribe has a saying, 'Every river has its people.'" Thus, cultural policy is once again linked with the concerns of the land-based programs of the state.

Washington State Office of Trade and Economic Development

The Washington State Office of Trade and Economic Development is one part of what was, until recently, the Washington State Department of Community, Trade and Economic Development. This agency is now divided into two components (which share an Administrative Services Division and an Employee Services unit): the Washington State Office of Trade and Economic Development and the Washington State Office of Community Development. The primary cultural policy initiatives on the Community Development side have already been discussed: the Building for the Arts program (Chapter III) and the Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation (Chapter IV). Within the Office of Trade and Economic Development, we looked particularly at the Downtown Revitalization Program (Main Street Program), and Business and Tourism Development, including Rural Tourism, each of which is discussed below.

¹⁹ When the Massachusetts Council on the Arts and Humanities was reconfigured as the Massachusetts Cultural Council, for example, its mandate was enlarged to include the arts, humanities, and science. The Denver Scientific and Cultural Facilities District is another case in point at the metropolitan level.

²⁰ <http://ext.wsu.edu/>

The Downtown Revitalization Program (Main Street Program)

The Washington Downtown Revitalization Program uses the “Main Street Program” model developed by the National Trust for Historic Preservation. The Main Street Program was developed in the 1970s to help communities preserve and revitalize their downtowns using a variety of programmatic interventions. Some thirty-five to forty states have Main Street programs; like Washington, most are located within a state government agency.

Washington, which developed its program in 1984, “...has been helping communities revitalize the economy, appearance, and image of their downtown commercial districts using the successful Main Street Approach™. Main Street is a comprehensive, incremental approach to revitalization built around a community’s unique heritage and attributes. Using local resources and initiative, the state program helps communities develop their own strategies to stimulate long term economic growth and pride in the heart of the community—downtown.”²¹

According to Susan Kempf, director of Washington’s Main Street Program, the demand for this program’s services is far greater than the services she can provide. No federal funds support the program; state general funds provided about \$168,000 at the time of our interviews. To stretch resources, she has developed a three-tier system: eleven communities participate as full partners, and a greater number participate at the associate or participant levels. Annual conferences extend the training opportunities to even more communities.

From a cultural policy perspective the interesting characteristic of the program is that it is “preservation-based” with four critical pieces: organization of stakeholders; promotion of historic downtowns; an emphasis on design, including both architecture and public art; and economic restructuring. The central idea of the program is to promote the symbiotic relationship of preservation and economic health through technical assistance and

planning. As Kempf said, “[The] cultural policy piece is the focus on historic quality. It’s all about the life of a place, the ‘sense of place’—that is the preservation element.”

Business and Tourism Development and Rural Tourism

The state tourism office began focusing on cultural tourism in 1997 when its then director, Robin Pollard, attended a cultural tourism workshop in San Francisco. Pollard’s leadership led to the development of the *Memorandum of Understanding on Cultural Tourism* discussed at the beginning of this chapter. While tourism is a major piece of the Washington economy, the office (and the effort) is surprisingly small.

George Sharpe, rural tourism development manager, views cultural tourism as an option for many rural communities. In a manner that is similar to the Main Street Program, he works with local community stakeholders in developing tourism plans that make sense for the community. He helps communities identify their strengths, develop a plan for infrastructure development, and find partners to meet tourism objectives. Sharpe described Rural Tourism’s goal as maximizing tourism revenue while maintaining equilibrium with quality of life and sustainability. As with the Main Street Program, he noted the biggest barrier as funding. Very small communities may develop great plans but still lack the seed money to get started. As the MOU would suggest, Tourism and Rural Tourism work closely with Heritage Corridors, Watchable Wildlife, and other state programs that seek to attract visitors.

Peter McMillin, director of business and tourism development, was clear that “policy is driven by client and customer needs (new businesses coming to Washington, tourists, etc.) rather than by legislation, in both tourism and business development.” Therefore, when these offices pursue cultural policies they will always be in the service of economic goals.

²¹ www.oted.wa.gov/ed/cea/downtown/

Department of Agriculture/ Commodity Commissions

The Department of Agriculture’s mission is to support the agricultural community and promote consumer and environmental protection.²² While most programs of the agency do not intersect with culture, the department’s assistance to state fairs does address, to some extent, the preservation of agricultural traditions; the department is involved along with the State Agricultural Extension Service to some degree in harvest festivals and the interpretation of the agricultural heritage; and at least one of the commodity commissions, the Washington Wine Commission, is looking to cultural tourism as a growth opportunity.

The Wine Commission, one of twenty-three Washington Agricultural Commodity Commissions, is a self-governing trade association with legislative authority to tax wine production and grape sales (6 cents per gallon of wine, and \$6.00 per ton of grapes) to support its marketing activities. The Wine Commission’s mission statement, *Washington Wine 2020*, states that Washington plans to become the most important and successful wine growing state in the United States.

Through the Wine Commission, vintners and growers work closely together to promote cultural tourism, linking with fairs, theaters, and symphony orchestras to attract people to visit the vineyards and to raise visibility for Washington wines. They have also established the Northwest Wine Benefit Foundation, which contributes in excess of \$2 million per year to charities and cultural organizations.

Thus, even in agricultural policy hints of cultural policy can be found (and are only likely to grow).

Observations and Conclusions

In Washington, the natural environment looms large in the public’s consciousness. This is reflected in the size and scope of the state agencies and organizations addressing issues of the land. It was a surprise when visiting Olympia to find that the Department of Natural Resources, the Department of Fish and Wildlife, and other related agencies command an entire section of “campus” near the state capitol including a huge, multi-story headquarters with what appeared to be thousands of offices. As we began to interview agency heads and to discover just how important the environment is to the Washington identity, the Washington economy, and Washington State revenues, the picture began to clear. The next surprise was the growing consciousness of the presence and importance of historic and cultural resources within these agencies.

Our interviews and research into the work of Washington’s “land-based agencies” revealed sophisticated and explicit statements of cultural policy, as well as implicit evidence of cultural policy. A further surprise came when interviewees hypothesized about why the environmental and cultural links were so strong. The answers were almost always the same, no matter whom we asked—usually along the lines of “In Washington, the environment is the culture. This is what we are about as a people.” Most striking was the ease and fluidity with which so many state employees could describe the connection between the land and heritage and culture. Indeed it was rare to leave an interview without a handful of quotes about cultural landscapes, the connection of the people to the land in heart and in livelihood, and the inextricable link between the environment, the people, and Washingtonians’ sense of identity and place. And the articulation of this sense of identity came from all corners: policy professionals, legislators, middle managers, citizens, lobbyists, and journalists. This was also evident in multiple citations from the Revised Code of Washington, our

²² www.wa.gov.agr

first hint that something remarkable was happening.

The characteristics and implementation of the cultural policies of the land-based agencies are probably best viewed in contrast to the more traditional cultural agencies described in Chapters III, IV, and V:

- ❑ In the land-based agencies, the resources in support of cultural policies have been creatively linked and tapped from other sources, such as natural resources, transportation, wildlife funds, etc. For the arts, heritage, and humanities agencies, on the other hand, state funding is directly appropriated by the governor and the Legislature.
- ❑ The resources in support of cultural policies are a small part of the budget from which they are invested. Especially in agencies such as the Departments of Natural Resources, Transportation, and Fish and Wildlife, the funds and resources devoted to cultural goals represent a very small percentage of the resources of the agency as a whole.
- ❑ The programs of the various land-based agencies do not compete for state funds; rather, any competition for resources is more likely to occur within the agency. (For the more traditional cultural agencies there is always concern that collaboration will simply divide the same pie into new, less favorable portions.) As a result, the staff of land-based agencies enjoy the freedom to collaborate and leverage resources without jeopardizing their turf. This is perhaps part of the reason that collaboration seems to be higher among the land-based agencies than among cultural agencies.
- ❑ Tourism is a link that concerns most of the land-based agencies; tourism has provided a focus for collaboration and, as a result, has encouraged the adoption of a cultural vocabulary among the players.
- ❑ In the land-based agencies, which are large and diverse, the pockets of cultural activity are insulated. Program directors within the land-based agencies are often insulated by layers of bureaucracy, and they find themselves many rungs away from access to official policy makers. This results in two outcomes: policy is either implicitly created through program actions or top-level agency heads support and facilitate the adoption of cultural policies and enterprises.
- ❑ The fundamental link between environment or land and culture is widely understood and supported by government leadership and the public as part of the Washington way of life. This acceptance is also enjoyed by heritage programs. In contrast, the arts and humanities agencies are not as likely to be immediately understood and appreciated.
- ❑ In some cases, such as Parks and Recreation, entry into the realm of cultural policy results from the reality of owning land, buildings, or resources of cultural value. Tribal interests also promote cultural sensitivity in the land-based agencies, as evidenced at the Department of Natural Resources. In other cases, cultural policy has been developed as a result of federal seed money (e.g., Heritage Corridors or the Main Street Program). But in most cases, the cultural policies and programs have been developed as a result of the energy and passion of a few individuals, often middle managers, who have had the vision and drive to make change.
- ❑ Almost all our interviews with representatives of the land-based agencies revealed a remarkable clarity of purpose about the who, what, when, and why of their work. Similar to the cultural agencies, interviewees described frustration at not being able to satisfy the appetites and needs of the field. What was very different is that program implementation in the land-based agencies is strategic, grounded in policy, and, to a noticeable extent, using outcomes-based criteria for resource allocation. Rarely were decisions made

reactively as a result of constituent pressure. And it was in the land-based agencies that we discovered the most sophisticated analysis of policy outcomes.

- This attention to policy formulation and analysis and evaluation of policy outcomes is no doubt facilitated by the relative size of these agencies. As a general rule, the land-based agencies have greater resources at their disposal, and, as a result, may well find it easier to allocate staff and financial resources to these tasks (over and above any natural predilection they may have for evidence-based planning and evaluation). In the smaller, dedicated cultural agencies staffing and budgetary considerations may prove to be binding constraints. This is not to argue that smaller size should result in lower expectations of the smaller agencies, only to suggest that policy formulation, analysis, and evaluation are complicated by the overall level of available resources.
- Balance is a constant struggle for these agencies. Every action has an impact—even inaction has its consequences. For instance, at Parks and Recreation, with so many historic structures on park lands, decisions must be made about which buildings to preserve, and which to let go. Another common example is the need to balance public access and public demand with conservation and preservation.

Is this link between the work of land-based agencies and the pursuit of cultural goals unique to Washington? We really do not know. It is imaginable that we might find a similar link in states that, like Washington, have a strong environmental identity, especially those in the West and particularly the Northwest. The fact that Washington's very founding in 1889 was the result of a land grant that enabled the state to derive revenue from the land to support the development of the state's infrastructure may be the foundation of this strong link. What we do know is that in Washington the land-based agencies are big players in the cultural policies of the state. The Washington political landscape is welcoming to policy that links the people with their landscape—to preserve, to protect, and to perpetuate a land ethic and appreciation of heritage and culture that is clearly part of Washington life.

Native American Tribes and State Cultural Policy

Colleen Grogan

Introduction and Background

In 1989, the State of Washington and the federally recognized Indian tribes in the state signed a Centennial Accord. The accord's underlying principle is to respect the sovereignty of tribal nations through the fulfillment of three main goals: (1) to enhance and improve communication; (2) to facilitate resolution of issues; and (3) to improve services to Indian and non-Indian people. Most tribal liaisons working for state agencies, as well as the tribal representatives we interviewed viewed the Centennial Accord as a very important moment in tribal-state relations. In their view, the accord became the catalyst for putting several procedures in place. For example, as mandated in the accord, each state agency in consultation with the tribes is to establish a procedure by which a government-to-government policy is implemented. Thirteen state agencies have Centennial Accord plans in place. One tribal liaison for a state agency mentioned that she is often asked to present her Centennial Accord plan in other states because Washington's accord is quite innovative. In 1999, the Millennium Agreement was signed to reaffirm and clarify the principles and goals of the Centennial Accord.

Largely due to the Centennial Accord and the establishment of official tribal liaisons in many state agencies, Native American tribes play a role in many facets of cultural policy at the state level in Washington. However, their influence appears most significant in three areas: (1) cultural resource policy that is played out through interactions with what we have termed the "land-based state agencies";

(2) increased understanding of tribal culture in the delivery of state-provided social services; and (3) state policy that promotes the creation of tribal art and/or the interpretation of tribal culture. This chapter is organized around these three areas of significant tribal influence on, and interaction with, state cultural policy. First, however, we provide a brief description of the data collection efforts that we used in our endeavor to understand the relationship between Native American tribes and state cultural policy in Washington. This is important as it affects the interpretation that one might give to the material that follows. We then turn to a brief discussion of the Governor's Office of Indian Affairs (GOIA) since this is the main state office devoted entirely to state-tribal relations.

Information Gathering Methodology

After the first round of interviews with the Governor's Office of Indian Affairs, Native American cultural organizations such as Longhouse at The Evergreen State College, and representatives from the land-based state agencies, it became clear to us that Native Americans had an important impact on cultural policy in Washington State. Therefore, for the second round of interviews we attempted to talk to more tribal liaisons from state agencies and tribal representatives. In the end, we interviewed tribal liaisons from three state agencies and tribal representatives from four different federally recognized Washington tribes. Ideally, to obtain a more complete picture of the influence of Native Americans on cultural policy in Washington State, we would have talked to all the tribal liaisons in relevant state

agencies, and to tribal representatives from all twenty-nine federally recognized tribes. However, given the scope of the current research project, such extensive interviewing was unfeasible. While significant information surfaced from our interview data that warranted this special chapter on Native Americans, it is important to point out that this chapter is based on a relatively limited number of interviews. While our findings suggest that Native Americans have the greatest impact on state cultural policy in Washington in the area of land-based cultural policy (or cultural resource policy), this could be an artifact of whom we ended up talking to (and whom we missed).

The Governor's Office of Indian Affairs

The Office of Indian Affairs was established in 1969 to function as an advisory council to the governor. Ten years later, in 1979, this council was abolished and replaced by an assistant for Indian affairs appointed by the governor. At this time, the organization within which the assistant for Indian affairs was located was renamed the Governor's Office of Indian Affairs (GOIA). While GOIA's main purpose has always been to act as a liaison between state and tribal governments, its mission in more recent years has been centrally focused on implementing the Centennial Accord (1989) and the Millennium Agreement (1999). As Kimberly Craven, the executive director of GOIA, put it: "our role is threefold: first, to improve government-to-government relations by assuring that we live up to the Washington State Centennial Accord; second, to enhance an understanding of Indian culture among non-Indians; and, third, to improve economic development for Indians."

While we describe GOIA's activities according to this threefold mission below, it is important to point out that the agency does not have a "cultural policy" per se, nor does it explicitly think about itself as getting involved in "culture." Rather, in Craven's words, culture "is

immersed in everything we do." When asked about the ways in which GOIA got involved in activities with cultural content, Craven responded:

That is a difficult question to answer because in many ways everything we do is about "culture." Under the Centennial Accord, we strive for cross-cultural understanding, in our work with state agencies we seek to increase cultural education among non-Indians, and through our economic development programs we attempt to figure out how programs can be culturally relevant.

Implementation of the Centennial Accord

The Centennial Accord mandated each state agency to establish a procedure by which it would implement its portion of the government-to-government policy. Despite this mandate, until relatively recently many state agencies had yet to develop and/or implement a government-to-government policy. Because state agency approaches to policy development differ widely, it has been even more difficult for tribes to work across state agencies. In response to these issues, in 2000 GOIA developed a set of implementation guidelines for state agencies and tribal governments to act both as an impetus to develop government-to-government policies and to encourage continuity across tribes and across state agencies. Although thirteen state agencies have now developed Centennial Accord plans, the liaisons we talked to indicated that the implementation of these plans was still in the early stages. (The views of state agency liaisons are discussed in more detail below.)

Enhancing an Understanding of Indian Culture

It is GOIA's view that state agencies want to engage and consult with tribes but often do not know how. As a result, according to Craven, they turn to GOIA for assistance and guidance. To fulfill this objective, GOIA offers training across the state, often for specific agencies. In 2002, GOIA created a new training manual and increased its advertising to improve attendance at these training sessions. The one-day training session covers a tribal

historical perspective, legal issues, tribal sovereignty, and tribal government. The goal of this training is to assist state employees in furthering their relationship with Washington's twenty-nine federally recognized tribes as well as with other tribes that are not so recognized.

Often GOIA enters into inter-agency agreements through which it is funded to help implement a specific agency's program on an Indian reservation. For example, GOIA has received a grant from the Department of Social and Health Services to work on fetal alcohol syndrome on the reservations. According to Craven, "the agency needed our cultural expertise to understand how to implement such a program effectively."

Economic Development for Indians

One of GOIA's main goals is to "create real jobs on Indian reservations." Despite substantial gaming-supported revenues for certain tribes in recent years, Indian tribes still face huge economic obstacles. Listed in a GOIA generated report, these obstacles include: "high unemployment rates, lack of infrastructure, poor housing, and low levels of educational attainment in comparison to national averages."¹ GOIA has implemented a number of different programs to help economic development. One novel approach was the 1997 creation of an Economic Study Group to report on the tribes' contribution to the state's economy. It is believed to be the first report of its kind in the country, with tribes and a state cooperatively developing a common factual base of information. The report dispels common misperceptions that Washington's Indian reservations are merely pockets of poverty. Instead, the report shows that in 1997 Washington tribes contributed \$1 billion to the state's overall economy, paid an estimated \$51 million in federal and \$5 million in state employment/payroll-related taxes, and employed over 14,000 Washington citizens full time. This report not only allows the state to approach tribal economic development with appropriate baseline data but also,

more importantly, from a perspective of building on tribal economic strengths.

Another project has focused on developing tribal tourism. GOIA has published a book entitled *Tribal Tourism*, which details tourism opportunities and challenges. According to Craven, "Tribal tourism has the potential to raise economic resources for the tribes." At the same time, this approach does raise concerns about the potential to "exploit" cultural resources to enhance economic wellbeing.

GOIA is also involved in job training and educational activities aimed at increasing financial and technological literacy. For example, GOIA has received a small grant from Washington Mutual Bank to provide technical assistance to tribes. It has also developed a culturally relevant curriculum on how to manage money. According to Craven, "It has only recently become acceptable to talk about money in Indian culture."

Areas of Significant Tribal Influence on State Cultural Policy

Cultural Resource Policy and Land-Based State Agencies

Despite the best intentions of the Centennial Accord, many difficult issues remain with tribal-state relations especially in the area of cultural resource policy where the gulf in perspectives between Indians and non-Indians is vast. A main source of tension between the tribes and the State of Washington lies in two very different ideas about the definition of "cultural resources." To take one example, the Department of Natural Resources defines cultural resources in a cultural policy document (under draft DNR Procedure PR 14-004-030) as: "...the landscape features, places, or objects that are important to, representative of, or contain information about a given culture. Cultural resources can be subdivided into traditional places, historic sites and archaeological resources." Although this may appear to Washingtonians as a fairly

¹ Veronica E. Tiller and Robert A. Chase, *Economic Contributions of Indian Tribes to the Economy of Washington State* (Olympia, WA: Governor's Office of Indian Affairs, 1998), 25.

broad definition of cultural resources, the tribes define cultural resources much more broadly. According to a tribal member, Native Americans include seven broad categories in their definition of cultural resources:

- ❑ *Flora and Fauna*: plants, animals, fish, shellfish, etc.;
- ❑ *Habitats*: riparian streams, floodplains, old growth oak forests;
- ❑ *Ecological Processes*: large wooded debris, cool water fish;
- ❑ *Physical Processes*: earth, water, air, energy (“Earth is our Mother”);
- ❑ *Geological Land Forms*: soils, landslides, valley walls, stream channels;
- ❑ *Sites*: archaeological, ceremonial, religious sites; and
- ❑ *Traditional Cultural Properties*: additional use areas, huckleberry fields, shellfish.

This tribal member went on to say, “When the state defines cultural resources so narrowly—mainly, in our view, focusing only on the ‘sites’ dimension, which is only one out of the seven we care about—how should tribes respond to the state?” DNR’s 1992 Forest Resource Plan illustrates this one-dimensional “sites” perspective quite clearly: “The department will establish a program to identify and inventory historic and archaeological sites and protect them at a level which at a minimum meets regulatory requirements.” From the tribes’ perspective, the state cannot begin to understand tribal cultural policy because “archaeology solves the [issue]...for them; it is all about bones, artifacts, etc....Of course we care about that, but for us it is just one of seven important dimensions.”

Part of the problem is that the whole concept of “cultural resources” is relatively new to state agencies. As we have already seen, while representatives from the Parks and Recreation Commission describe recreation, natural resources, and cultural resources as the three pillars of their agency, they also recognize that “the agency did not always try to balance all

three. In the beginning, Parks and Recreation primarily focused on recreation, then natural resources, and today ‘cultural resources’ is emphasized as well.” In contrast, preserving cultural resources has been a way of life for Washington’s tribes for thousands of years.

Another tribal liaison, in discussing the challenges of her role, echoed this deep divide in thinking about what the term cultural resources entails: “In my job, I’m supposed to help increase understanding around natural and cultural resources for the DNR. However, for the tribes, these two things are connected—they don’t distinguish. For example, fish are cultural. Non-cultural scientists, such as archaeologists, are fearful of cultural discussions.” When the interviewer mentioned that perhaps salmon could be an area of common understanding since it seems to be a cultural icon for Washingtonians as well as Native Americans, she responded:

For tribes, salmon is art, religion, ceremony, a way of life—food is just a small part of that. We have the First Salmon Ceremony where we pray—thanking the salmon, celebrating the harvest—and request them to come back. We then return their bones. There is a huge feast in the village, followed by singing, dancing and drumming. All tribes in the Puget Sound area have a First Salmon Ceremony. But, besides the ceremony, there is a whole political context around salmon that makes communication difficult. We have the “fish wars” from the 1960s and ’70s where Billy Frank Jr. had to be arrested 79 times for exercising his right to fish.

Although salmon appear to be singled out within cultural policy in Washington (as we have documented in the previous chapter), there is concern among non-Indians as well about the state’s motivation and the degree to which the state cares about salmon (and watershed) recovery. For example, a representative from the Parks and Recreation Commission interpreted the state’s motivation in salmon recovery as follows: “The state is not about saving salmon, but about developing property. Therefore, if the state can deal with the federal Endangered Species List and associated regulations, then it can get back to developing property.”

Indeed, the state's Salmon Recovery Project emerged out of legal pressure from Native American tribes starting with a 1974 Supreme Court Ruling (the Bolt Decision), which interpreted the Tribal Treaties (signed in the 1800s) as entitling tribes to half of the salmon harvest. Although the tribes won the right to half of the harvest, the concern now is about the supply of salmon. Obviously, if there are no fish, this right is meaningless. So Washington's tribes and the federal government sued the state again, saying the state needs to protect salmon habitat so that there will be fish to harvest. (Some refer to this court case as Bolt Decision II.) According to the head of the Salmon Recovery Project, the judge said to the tribes that they needed a test case—a tangible case with which to sue the state—and that is where road culverts have come into the picture. Based on a report (put out by the state itself) that concluded that damaged culverts hurt (or ruin) salmon habitat, culvert repair became a focus for the concern about salmon as a cultural resource. Eventually, the Modified Forest Practice Act, which mandated that all road culverts had to be fixed by 2015, was passed. This example shows the direct influence of Native Americans on the state's cultural resource policies.

In our interviews with tribal liaisons and tribal representatives, there was a common sense of fear and desperation that their cultural resources would not be protected. This desperation stems in part from the gulf in understanding about “cultural resources,” but it also relates to four main procedural problems in dealing with the land-based state agencies (of which DNR is probably the most important). First, the relatively short-time frame for public notice to express tribal concern is viewed as particularly problematic. According to one tribal historic preservation officer, legal requirements, such as notification timetables, are sometimes used perniciously: “Depending on what it is, you may have a ten day notification requirement (within which the tribe must respond to actions taken by other parties with regard to a proposed project), or twenty days, or

thirty days, or whatever. Sometimes the window is too small, and sometimes you don't receive the notice until the ninth day...and you have almost no chance to respond.”

According to another tribal representative, the ten-year recalculation for timber harvesting is another area of timing around which there is tension. Public notification is supposed to happen every time a recalculation is done. From the tribes' perspective, “They were not notified,” and they are concerned because “there is ten times more harvesting allowed this year compared to last.”

Second, the numerous rules, regulations, and requests from different state agencies and levels of government are ultimately overwhelming for any one tribe to keep up with. As one tribal representative put it:

There are 1,400 Forest Practice Applications (FPA) that we are supposed to respond to. (Any entity that wants to develop land or harvest trees within state forests must get a FPA from the DNR.) This is so frustrating. There are multiple agencies (DOT, DNR) and multiple governmental entities (federal, state and local). Some of the private landowners are the worst. One took a bulldozer and ran over shanook roots. Some landowners have no regard for DNR regulations or for tribal concerns. They don't understand that their land is still available for us to access under the Treaty of 1855. We need more money to deal with all this, but at some point we have to ask, to what end? Is it worth it, when they only understand one out of seven of our concerns? Our whole philosophy is to only take what you need from the earth. We pray to the earth and offer her thanks. Land encompasses our whole physical and spiritual being.

A third source of frustration is the lack of cumulative precedent from one ruling to another. Tribes feel that they have to fight the same issue over and over again. For example, one very frustrating aspect of working with the DNR has to do with the rotation of sales and the repeated Forest Practice Applications. The tribes constantly have to prove that the same land is important to them.

Finally, there is concern about the lack of any clear cultural resource policy or

process to deal with cultural resource issues. Despite the divide in thinking about what cultural resources are, the tribes would at least welcome a clear process to deal with cultural resources. One tribal member relayed the following story to illustrate the lack of any such policy in the state:

Timber, Fish and Wildlife (TFW) created a Cultural Resource Management Committee in 1988. Four groups were included on the committee: state agencies, tribes, environmentalists, and local government. TFW had an annual review to protect fish, timber, water, and wildlife. The committee met until 1991. We [the tribes] saw no major improvements in understanding or protection during this period. There was a second group developed in 1994, and then a hiatus until 1998 when TFW created the Cultural Committee. In 1999, somewhat out of frustration due to lack of state action, the tribes created their own set of policies and processes. At that point the Forest Practice Board (from DNR) created their own Forest Cultural Resource Committee. This committee took the proposal developed by the tribes and merged it with some industry concerns.

Although the tribal members acknowledge that “this is a work in progress, and the state is now at least willing to integrate our concerns with private interests,” there was a clear sense of defeatism when he added: “So, conceptually the state has progressed a bit, but practically we don’t see much difference.”

Another tribal member gave an example of the lack of practical, on-the-ground, progress:

Of the 1,400 Forest Practice Applications, 600 have encroached on our cultural resources. This directly affects the Treaty of 1855. We were given the right to access non-reservation lands for hunting, religious, and cultural purposes. These applications usually request to develop the land or harvest the forest. We are supposed to respond if our cultural resources are impacted. I wrote a letter indicating the potential impact on our cultural resources. One impact was that we had gear storage on the land under consideration. We had 1,000-year-old ceremonial masks hidden in a tree (this is our gear storage area). The cultural resource policy (and our Treaty) says I don’t have to “show” them this cultural resource, but the state said, “You have to show us.” Unfortunately, after I showed them, the gear storage was looted.

This was supposed to be confidential information...I get into fights all the time just trying to exercise my right to access land.

As this example suggests, there is a real sense of urgency to save the last of these unique cultural resources, in part because this is not just about saving historical sites. According to one tribal liaison, “Everyone [non-tribal people] thinks we are talking only about *history*. But, there are many current use sites. We are working with *living culture*—rich, healthy, living culture. Our treaties reserve the right for us to use state lands for ceremonial purposes in perpetuity. For centuries we have been using places for meditation and solitude—these sites need to be protected.”

Beyond this basic gulf in understanding and the procedural difficulties discussed above, many external factors also influence state-tribal relations in the attempt to pursue some type of cultural resource policy. We discuss the following influential factors below: federal policy, state agency funding, perspectives on tribal influence and power, and the role of tribal liaisons.

The Influence of Federal Policy

Increasingly, the interactions of the tribes with the federal government around cultural resources have very much shaped how they approach the issue of cultural resources with the State of Washington. When we asked tribal members about cultural resource policy in Washington, they began by talking first about the federal government’s cultural resource policy.

Section 106 is the only real avenue through which federal agencies address the issue of the management of cultural resources. Whenever a federal action is proposed, Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act requires agencies to identify all resources that are “culturally relevant” within the project’s Area of Potential Effect. Typically this means any building or site that is listed on the National Register of Historic Places. While Section 106 was a giant step forward, two tribal members pointed out that only ten of the ninety cultural resources the tribes care about are actually protected under

Section 106. There is no process to deal with the other eighty. If artifacts or places of cultural significance are not on the National Register, then there is no process to deal with such things.

Even though tribal members highlighted these limitations, they were also quick to point out that although this federal law is imperfect, it is a lot better than the state system. In their view, “The state has no cultural resource policy. There is no clear process to deal with places and objects of cultural significance.” So, despite its imperfections, the tribes would like to see the state move closer to something like Section 106, but applied more broadly at the state level. The federal government is far from an ideal model for the tribes, but at least they can point to federal regulations as a direction in which the state might move.

Federal regulation certainly impacts the state perspective as well. The Department of Natural Resources’ cultural policy document (discussed below) states, “Cultural resource issues are becoming more critical to the department. Tribes and other stakeholders are insisting that the department do more, particularly on state lands. The National Marine Fisheries Service and the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service may begin delegating Section 106 obligations in the near future.... [T]hey are currently involved in precedent-setting consultations that may result in their transferring Section 106 obligations to applicants as part of future habitat conservation plans, and in salmon recovery efforts.” The threat of Section 106 was at least one impetus for the creation of this document.

Tribal Liaison Colleen Jollie, from the Washington State Department of Transportation (WSDOT), also mentioned the importance of Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act. Her job emerged out of a need to make sure that her agency was in compliance with federal regulations. When WSDOT is building roads, for example, it needs to make sure it is not ruining an ancient site. Consistent with Section 106, there should be minimal impact. And if impact on a site cannot be

avoided altogether, WSDOT needs to use “cultural mitigation” measures.

Dan Meatte, archaeologist for the Parks and Recreation Commission, mentioned that his job emerged out of the necessity of complying with federal regulations as well. Because the state must comply with regulations created by the federal government around tribal archaeological preservation, the Parks and Recreation Commission was inundated with work to make sure the regulations were being followed correctly. “The position grew out of crisis.” In the 1980s, the commission conducted a couple of archaeological projects to address federal compliance needs. It hired an archaeological services company, and one of these projects went awry. At that point, it was decided that the commission needed in-house capacity in this area.

Another important federal policy that has tightened the regulatory environment is the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA; P.L. 101-601) passed in 1990. Under this act all federal agencies and organizations receiving federal money must follow certain procedures to inventory and preserve objects and items, including human remains, of cultural patrimony.

The Influence of State Agency Funding

The Department of Natural Resources (DNR) is a major revenue generator for the State of Washington. The department manages 2.1 million acres of forestland, 1.2 million acres of agricultural and range land, 75,000 acres of Natural Resource Conservation and Preserves, and 2.4 million acres of aquatic (submerged) land, all of which are owned by the State of Washington. In addition, it owns and manages commercial properties; communication tower sites; mineral, oil and gas leases; mining contracts; and sand, gravel, and rock sales.² Between 1970 and 1999, trust lands generated \$4.7 billion in income to the trusts to support construction of public facilities (e.g., schools, universities, prisons, state capitol buildings.) This revenue-producing function was

² Washington State Department of Natural Resources, “Diverse Agency, Diverse Resources,” brochure, February 2, 1999.

established when the state was founded: “More than 200 years ago, the federal government had the foresight to grant trust lands to new states to forever support education and other public services. Today, DNR is looking 200 years into the future to find the best ways to manage the state’s trust forest landscapes.”³

This revenue-producing mandate is often viewed as being in conflict with the protection of cultural resources. Because the twenty-nine federally recognized tribes have, by treaty, the right to access a large proportion of state lands for hunting, cultural, and ceremonial purposes, DNR is forced to engage with the concept of cultural resources. Because Washington’s tribes are entitled to half of the fish and shellfish catch, DNR needs to protect the habitat so that half of the catch becomes a sustainable food source for the tribes and not just a token amount.

Because of this fact, DNR is arguably one of the most important state agencies in the process of dealing with state-tribal relations around cultural resources. Yet, ironically, we found no explicit cultural resource policy at DNR in contrast to the other land-based agencies. One DNR representative suggested to us that the agency’s cultural resource policy is reactive—almost appearing to be layered on top of the agency by a number of external factors: the tribes, the Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, and the federal government. In the words of one of our interviewees, for DNR:

“Cultural” equals “tribal.” It is a policy goal to maintain the lands in ways that are consistent with tribal interests. It’s part of how we manage our affairs. We are careful to identify and preserve archeologically or culturally significant resources, and it is our responsibility to follow state and federal laws. We must make sure that cultural resources are not damaged in our forest management work. The state Office of [Archaeology and] Historic Preservation is our partner for tracking resources. We train our field folks in Indian affairs, and in the characteristics of potential archeological resources. We maintain a staff member specifically for cultural resources as a tribal liaison.

In contrast to DNR, the explicit cultural resource policy of the Parks and Recreation Commission goes well beyond the resources important to Native American tribes. Preserving cultural resources, from the commission’s perspective as evidenced in their written documents and in the interviews, is as much about maintaining a resource for Washingtonians as it is for tribal members. Perhaps this view derives from the fact that state park property is clearly viewed as state-owned property, and while some of this property is revenue generating, this is not seen as its primary purpose.

For the Parks and Recreation Commission, funding is a significant issue for preserving cultural resources. While there is more “moral” support within this agency for maintaining cultural resources, some representatives suggested that the financial situation is mixed. For example, interpretive services, which help educate and promote the park’s cultural resources to the public, were cut in 1990 and have not regained funding since. Recently four state parks (all in the eastern corner of the state) were closed. Moreover, rather than creating a tribal liaison position, as many other state agencies have done, the state park archaeologist was asked to play that role:

I also do tribal consultation for the agency. Tribal consultation is part of the regulation under federal law, but besides that, it is also good business at the state level. A whole host of other things get added on to this list as well. For example, I also do public education and outreach and interpretive programs. This is important because we cannot conduct archaeology in a public venue, so we must share information with the public so they understand why it is important. I also conduct training for state parks staff.

Asking one person to play this role part-time sends a mixed message to tribal governments that the Parks and Recreation Commission—despite its cultural resource policy—is not *really* devoted to working with tribes on the cultural resource issue. As one commission representative said, “What is being funded is compliance.” For example, funding is provided for a part-time person devoted solely to assuring

³ Washington State Department of Natural Resources, “Sustainable Forestry,” brochure, undated.

that the commission is in compliance with federal rules under the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA). One state park employee had the following to say about this position:

Ideally, we would have a curator at each state park museum, but we don't. The purpose of NAGPRA is to figure out what to do with artifacts in museums or from archaeological excavations that have significance. So, we have this part-time staff person who devotes all her time to inventorying all Native American artifacts under state park jurisdiction. She is getting us up to the twenty-first century in terms of cataloging.

As a result of funding restrictions, state government has been pushing for the Parks and Recreation Commission to find outside funding sources for state park projects. As a result, many individual state parks receive federal money without quite realizing that they must now follow federal regulations. As one employee commented,

With federal money comes federal regulation. We are backing into a federal regulatory environment that is far greater than the state regulatory environment. That extra \$50,000 from the federal government now federalizes the project and brings in thousands of federal regulatory costs. Federal regulation may increase the cost of a project five-fold. Unfortunately, we do not have the expertise to assess the real value of these monies. Oftentimes, it is a small project totally administered by a local park ranger. These park rangers are trying to "do good" cobbling together money to do some interesting projects. But, they have no idea what they are getting into. They lack the expertise, and often can't do what the feds want them to do.

This ongoing monetary crisis creates tensions with tribal governments. Park rangers apply for federal grants without realizing that federal money brings federal regulations largely around issues related to preserving tribal cultural resources. Many park rangers do not understand the need for these regulations, and they are often resentful that their project has been circumvented or halted. This leads to different perspectives on the degree of tribal influence and power over land and cultural resources.

Different Perspectives on Tribal Influence and Power

The example above highlights the gulf in understanding between the tribes and many of the employees at state land-based agencies. Contributing to this lack of understanding is what has been described to us as a disconnect between state park employees in the central office who wrote the *Cultural Resources Management Policy* and how cultural resources are viewed on the ground. None of the state park representatives working in the field knew what the state park's "cultural resource policy" was, but the term "cultural resources" had meaning to them. One employee said that he does not see much awareness about cultural policy in the field. "Operations is just trying to stay afloat. It really depends on whether the regional manager is into it."

Yet, this same employee did mention a three-day cultural resource seminar and a four-day seminar given by the state park archaeologist as particularly helpful. In his view, it gave him a much better understanding about why archaeological excavations are important and why they take so long. "It was an eye-opener. I have much more sensitivity to Native American issues." He said this understanding is important because people in the field get very frustrated by the slow-down. This frustration was also mentioned in another interview with a representative in the field. When asked how cultural resources affect the work he does as a regional planner, he said:

We try to avoid cultural resources and archaeological findings as much as possible...because if we find significant cultural resources, such as Native American skeletal remains, we need to hire a consultant to conduct a full archaeological excavation. That instantly halts our project. It brings us into a whole regulatory process.

When we asked how the field staff avoids cultural resources, he presented the following example:

We change the plan or redesign the development to avoid the site. For example, at Kanasket-Palmer State Park we had a \$150,000 capital plan. After we started, we found significant cultural resources. We met with our state park archaeologist and consultants to discuss options. Two main options surfaced: (1) formal investigation, and (2) avoid the site by hiring a firm and defining limits so we can decide where the site ends. We chose the latter option. After surveying the area, we altered the design around it to avoid cultural resources altogether. We still had to contact the tribes. Tribes have a tremendous amount of influence about how we proceed. We must wait for them to respond. In this case, three or four tribes were claiming that this site was culturally significant.

This frustration and the temptation for avoidance may contribute to greater stereotyping and misunderstanding of tribal issues as the following quote from a field representative suggests. When referring to the tribes' interest in state park's archaeological surveys, he said, "Somehow the tribes are able to use the archaeological findings to broaden their geographic boundaries. It benefits them to expand their area of influence—to expand the range of their homelands."

While many of the state employees we talked to view the tribes as having significant influence over the process and having the power to halt progress, the tribes view their power as significantly limited. We heard over and over again from tribal members that while they may be successful in slowing the process of land development, the state always has the final say and it is often not in their favor. For example, the state's Forestry Practices Act requires that a county permit be obtained whenever fifteen or more trees are to be cut down in a single project. A tribal historic preservation officer relayed the following account of a logging project in which the permitting process failed to protect what he defined as the tribe's interests and values:

When you apply for a permit, public notice is supposed to happen, but you have a very short time to express a concern. Maybe ten or fifteen days, I'm not sure. So they applied for the permit and got it. Another tribal historic preservation officer knew of a historic site in the area, which was on federal lands off the reservation. But we didn't find out about it until the machinery was all in place and ready to go. We protested, and the project got held up for four years while we went through the process. But we could never reach agreement, and in the end we lost out. From our point of view the site was desecrated.

The Influence of Tribal Liaisons on Increasing Cultural Understanding

There is real concern on the part of tribal members that tribal liaisons in state agencies are only token representatives of their interests. One tribal liaison received the following comment from a tribal elder before taking her position with the state: "Tribes have seen these roles for a long time as window dressing. Good people take on these roles, but before long they forget where they came from." Unfortunately, the slowness with which tribal liaisons have been able to work with tribal governments to develop and implement government-to-government policies, in general, or cultural resource policies, more specifically, lends some credence to the view that they have token roles.

But, according to one tribal liaison, the Centennial Accord has made a big difference. "It was a huge step for state and tribal governments to agree to work together as sovereign nations. However, the principles of the accord have neither been fully implemented nor institutionalized within state agencies. That is what I'm trying to do," said one tribal liaison. For example, although DNR has had a tribal liaison since 1990, it was not until 2000 that a DNR-commissioned report issued recommendations for a comprehensive cultural resource policy. Again, rather than an internal impetus stemming from a recognition that a cultural resource policy is intrinsically related to the agency's mission, the reasons that were cited for generating a cultural resource policy were all based on external forces: federal

regulations and improving relationships with tribes and the Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation.

Nonetheless, based on this recommendation, DNR—with significant input from the tribal liaison—wrote an explicit cultural resource policy; however, it was never implemented because “when the report was finished in October 2000, a new administration came on and they have not been willing to adopt this policy.” Such delays may help contribute to the pessimistic view among some tribal members that tribal liaisons in state agencies do not make much of a difference. When asked whether tribal liaisons help improve communication, one tribal member said, “No. They try, but oftentimes the tribal liaison doesn’t really know what is going on either.”

Despite these concerns about playing a token role mentioned by some, others indicated that tribal liaisons seem to have had a positive impact through two main mechanisms: cultural mitigation and cultural training.

Cultural Mitigation. The tribal liaison at the Department for Natural Resources, Kyle Taylor Lucas, described the main part of her job as helping work through the Forest Practice Applications. DNR employees looked toward Lucas to better understand a given situation, and she attempted to convey to tribal representatives the agency situation. Lucas said, “DNR oftentimes is not hearing what tribal reps are saying. And the tribes often assume we have authority over a situation that we don’t have. So, I try to help people to sit down and talk. To defuse the conflict on very sensitive issues.”

Colleen Jollie, the tribal liaison for the Washington State Department of Transportation, feels that she has been able to help the tribes and WSDOT through cultural mitigation measures and making some real progress on what were perceived to be difficult, stagnating issues.

I recently stepped in on an issue with Spokane County and a tribe. At first the county thought the tribe was just against building the road, period. When I came in, I was able to convey an understanding that the tribe wasn’t opposing the plan, but wanted the county to move the road out a bit so that it would not run right over a significant cultural site. The county couldn’t move the road as far out as the tribe would have liked. However, in talking with the tribe and county officials, we were able to negotiate a deal where the county would give the tribe \$40,000 to create a video documenting the significance of the site in their native language and in English to educate and sensitize non-Indians as well.

The historic preservation officer for the Spokane Tribe gave a similar account of this positive resolution:

The Washington State Department of Transportation developed a plan to extend a state highway along the northern corridor, on Spokane Tribal lands. They didn’t have a contract for it yet. Construction hadn’t started. But they contacted us, and I went out with the tribal archeologist and found a gravesite there. So we all talked about it, and we all agreed that the plan would be modified to route the road around the site. We didn’t go through any procedure. We settled it on the spot.

Another WSDOT example concerned the Washington State Ferries. The ferry system had a plan to implement a ferry route right through the middle of a protected fishing area. The tribes were against the plan. Washington State Ferries thought the tribes were being unreasonable. As a result, this project had been on hold for five years. Jollie, as the new tribal liaison, was able to come in and show the state that, in fact, the tribes did have fishing rights to the area under the treaty. “So we started a mitigation process. The ferry system agreed to move the route over a bit so it wasn’t right in the middle, and in return for still some impact, the state agreed to replant 20 acres of eel grass (which helps tribes) on one side of the vortex.”

Cultural Training. Training is also viewed as an important mechanism to increase understanding. DNR collaborates with the Governor’s Office of Indian Affairs to provide training seminars to sensitize agency staff to Native American culture

and to help them identify and record cultural resources on the ground. The tribal liaison at DNR also works with the tribes to get them to understand various state-based remedies, such as lobbying the Legislature, attending DNR board meetings, and using communication techniques (call, write, e-mail) to let board members know what their needs and concerns are. As mentioned above, the Parks and Recreation Commission offers a three-day cultural resource seminar and a four-day seminar conducted by the state parks archaeologist.

In summary, a faculty member from The Evergreen State College had the following to say about current state of tribal-state relations: “There are lots of problems between state agencies and the tribes—tension, lots of negotiation—but it is better than it ever was.”

Increased Tribal Cultural Understanding in the Delivery of Social Services

The state’s goal in this area, which is similar to the mission of the Governor’s Office of Indian Affairs, is to increase cultural understanding through improvements to the state’s delivery of social and health services. In this area, the state is not in the business of trying to enhance Native American culture for culture’s sake. Rather the state is attempting to increase cultural understanding to assure that programs and service delivery are understood in the context of a different cultural framework and implemented in a culturally appropriate manner.

As a result of the 1989 Centennial Accord, the Department of Social and Health Services (DSHS) created the Office of Indian Policy and Support Services (IPSS). IPSS is charged with the “overall coordination, monitoring, and assessment of department relationships with American Indian governments, communities and participants.” The department is supposed to provide “necessary and appropriate social and health services to native people.”

To help fulfill this objective, IPSS has established a number of administrative procedures. First, it has placed tribal liaisons in each of its six regions. Second, each of DSHS’s six main administrative units—aging and adult services, children’s services, economic services, health and rehabilitative services, juvenile rehabilitation services, and medical assistance—is required to develop a biennial service plan for Native American tribes. The plan is supposed to be submitted to the director of IPSS in April of every even-numbered year. By April of the odd-numbered years, each administration is supposed to submit to IPSS an updated report on the status of the division’s plan. The purpose of these administrative procedures is to assure that DSHS continues to move forward in its relationship with the tribes and to assure that services are delivered in a culturally sensitive and culturally appropriate manner.

When asked about the effectiveness of these plans, one tribal liaison noted that DSHS has only recently actually held units accountable for writing these plans. “It is difficult because most units don’t have their own tribal liaison....[T]he job is folded into someone’s job description. Sometimes, this role only accounts for ten percent of their work effort.” Nonetheless, the tribal liaisons within IPSS viewed this formal procedural policy as useful because they can at least account for whether units are engaging with the tribes. There has been some concern, however, that this formal engagement has not translated into significant differences in the delivery of services. “Actually, service provision to Native Indians is poor, and not improving much.”

Three reasons were offered for why culturally appropriate service delivery is not improving much for Native Americans. First, according to the tribal liaisons, the decentralized structure of service delivery is problematic: “The state relies heavily on county government to deliver services, and most county governments do not have a good working relationship with the tribes.” Second, tribes have very few opportunities to participate in service

delivery decisions. For example, in the mental health system, the tribes would like their own tribal medical doctors to be able to make referrals. Currently, that is not allowed. Finally, similar to the problem of being overwhelmed by the quantity of Forest Practice Applications described above, there are numerous work orders and regulations that govern the many different types of social services. All the policies and procedures are overwhelming to the tribes.

State Policy that Promotes the Creation of Tribal Art and/or the Interpretation of Tribal Culture

Finally, several explicit efforts by the state support the expression or interpretation of tribal culture. The purpose here appears to be twofold: While the state is interested in enhancing tribal culture for culture's sake, the state also hopes that the production of tribal art will have a positive impact through increased tourism and perhaps even economic development. Below is a brief description of some of these efforts. Some of them have already been discussed in more detail in other chapters.

The Folk Arts Program at the Washington State Arts Commission (WSAC) has probably been the most important source of state funding for Native American art, even though its scale has been limited. WSAC facilitated an initial gathering of Native American basket weavers at the Longhouse at The Evergreen State College. After meeting together for three years with WSAC support, the basket weavers incorporated the Northwest Native American Basketweavers Association as a private nonprofit 501(c)(3) organization. They also received a small United States Department of Agriculture development grant. Most grant money, according to Colleen Jollie, a previous leader of the group, is used to create the infrastructure necessary to practice basket weaving.

Creating the baskets is very expensive and time consuming because all of the materials come from nature. Indeed, a concern among basket weavers is the impact of environmental pollution on the raw materials for their art. Because tribal elders use saliva to moisten the grasses for weaving, the pesticides on grasses have made this practice harmful to their health and many younger native basket weavers have given up the practice. But, abandoning the practice is a loss to the culture since part of the traditional weaving process was to obtain the special medicinal effects from moistening the grasses. Urban development is another cultural concern, as it may impinge on the areas that have traditionally been the source of these natural materials.

Despite these continuing concerns, the Basketweavers Association has remained quite active, and there is confidence that the art will survive. For example, they recently contracted with a local history museum to show an exhibit on the ancient basket weaving trading route among neighboring tribes in the Northwest. The exhibit will teach about historical techniques and also display contemporary work from the group.

The basket weavers also have art cases displaying their work in a hospital in Yakima. They hoped to help with the healing process by putting together this exhibit. According to Jollie, these exhibits have created important linkages to the community. For example, a group of non-Indian women, calling themselves the Ditch Women because they gather grasses in roadside ditches, are now very involved in basket weaving. The Native American basket weavers are also attempting to create an international gathering of indigenous basket weavers from around the globe. The organization has made an economic difference for basket weavers. "At the annual gathering, there is always a business element. We discuss advertising, brochure design, and pricing of baskets. The baskets are expensive, about \$1,000, so we have to figure out how to market them."

Because WSAC views the basket weaver project as successful, its Folk Arts Program has launched a second project, based on the same idea, to convene Native American woodcarvers. There is an interest among woodcarvers in preserving traditions, preserving copyrights, and preventing piracy.

Master Apprenticeships are another important project funded through WSAC's Folk Arts Program. These grants offer between \$2,500-3,000 to a master teacher and an apprentice. The master teaches for approximately 100 hours over a year at \$25/hour. Each year this program receives twenty to thirty-five applications and makes ten awards. According to the program manager, the program has become trusted by Native American cultural leaders, and quite a few unsolicited applications come from Native Americans.

The Folk Arts Program has been working in collaboration with the Heritage Corridors Program (discussed in Chapter VI) to develop Heritage Tours which showcase tribal culture, and WSAC has also provided funding for a traveling exhibit, "Beyond Blue Mountains," which exhibited work from Native American people in the Northwest.

A number of other programs under the umbrella of WSAC's Folk Arts Program might, in any given year, provide support for Native American art. The total grants budget of the Folk Arts Program was \$105,100 in fiscal year 2002, but of course this money is not only tapped for Native American projects. Folk arts only comprise about 2 percent of WSAC's budget. To some this is surprising, given that approximately 8 percent of the budget for the National Endowment for the Arts goes to funding folk arts and, if anything, one would expect that there would be more emphasis on local, indigenous artists at the state level than at the federal level.

Humanities Washington provides some funding to tribal museums and to exhibits of tribal art. For example, the Wing Luke Asian Museum has received such funding and, according to one Native American

artist, "does incredible work of national significance." The state has also provided capital funding through the Building for the Arts Program (see Chapter III) for the Makah Cultural and Research Center in Neah Bay and the Steilacoom Tribal Cultural Center.

One final initiative deserves special mention in a chapter on the linkages between the Native American tribes and state cultural policy. The Evergreen State College, part of the Washington State University system, has particularly close ties to the tribes of the state. The college actually sits on reservation land that belongs to the Squaxin Island Tribe, and it is the state college that has the most formal ties to the tribes. The college houses a Native American and World Indigenous Peoples Studies Program, it runs a Reservation Based/Community-Determined Program with approximately 120 students who are studying off-campus in their tribal communities, and it currently offers on an experimental basis a concentration in tribal governance in its Masters in Public Administration program.

What began as a request to the Legislature for "classroom space" for these Native American programs ended up with the creation of the Longhouse Education and Cultural Center at Evergreen. A Native American architect was hired, and he designed a cultural center inspired by a tribal longhouse. The Burke Museum contributed indigenous materials and architectural elements for its construction. The Quinault Tribe gave cedar. Woven cedar mats and welcome figurines, funded through a combination of student fees and the state's Art in Public Places program, were commissioned from Native American artists. It was intentionally sited to provide a connection between the reservation and the college.

The mission of the Longhouse is to bridge between the college and the Native American communities of Washington. Evergreen has a strong tradition of public service, and the Longhouse working in collaboration with the Northwest Indian Applied Research Institute is considered

to be one of five public service centers on campus. It also serves as a welcoming home for Native American students.

The cultural programs and projects that have been mounted by the Longhouse have been especially important to Native Americans. Beyond its use as college classroom space, the Longhouse has also become a facility for promoting arts and cultural education, cultural preservation, and arts-centered economic development for Native American artists and tribes in the Northwest. Therefore, its programs include art sales, artists in residence, and various symposia and exhibitions on Northwest Native American arts. The director has worked closely with the Western Indigenous Artists Network, looking for access to natural materials and dealing with questions of cultural appropriation. Longhouse programs are funded from a variety of sources including the Legislature (which has paid for staffing and the original construction), the Northwest Area Foundation, the National Endowment for the Arts, the Washington State Arts Commission, and the tribes themselves.

Observations and Conclusions

Largely due to the Centennial Accord and the establishment of official tribal liaisons in a wide range of state agencies, Native American tribes play a role in many facets of cultural policy at the state level in Washington. However, their influence appears most significant in three areas: (1) cultural resource policy that is played out through interactions with what we have termed the “land-based state agencies”; (2) increased understanding of tribal culture in the delivery of state-provided social services; and (3) state policy that promotes the creation of tribal art and/or the interpretation of tribal culture. Our findings suggest that in Washington Native Americans have the greatest impact on state cultural policy in the area of land-based cultural policy (or cultural resource policy).

While the Governor’s Office of Indian Affairs (GOIA) is the main state office

devoted entirely to state-tribal relations and its main purpose is to implement the Centennial Accord (1989) and the Millennium Agreement (1999), it is important to point out that this office does not have a “cultural policy” per se, nor does it explicitly think about itself as getting involved in “culture.” Rather, in its director’s words, culture “is immersed in everything we do.” GOIA does not appear to have much of a direct or strong influence on state cultural policy. Rather, it is through the state agencies charged with implementing legislative mandates or specific state-funded programs that Native American tribes seem to have the greatest influence on state cultural policy.

Despite the best intentions of the Centennial Accord, many difficult issues remain with tribal-state relations especially in the area of cultural resource policy in which the gulf in perspectives between Native Americans and non-Native Americans remains large. A main source of tension between the tribes and the State of Washington lies in two very different ideas about the definition of “cultural resources.” Perhaps because the whole concept of “cultural resources” is relatively new to state agencies, the state tends to have a very one-dimensional view of what cultural resources entail, especially as compared to the Native American perspective.

Tribal liaisons and tribal representatives relayed a common sense of fear and desperation that their cultural resources would not be protected. This desperation stems in part from the gulf in understanding about “cultural resources,” but is also related to four main procedural problems in dealing with the land-based state agencies: (1) the relatively short-time frame for public notice to express tribal concern; (2) the numerous rules, regulations, and requests from different state agencies and levels of government, which are ultimately overwhelming for any one tribe to keep up with; (3) the lack of cumulative precedent from one ruling to another so that tribes feel they have to fight the same issue over and over again;

and (4) the lack of any clear cultural resource policy or process to deal with cultural resource issues.

Important external factors also influence state-tribal relations in an attempt to pursue some type of cultural resource policy. First, and perhaps most notably, the federal government's regulatory policy embodied in Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act has a significant impact on how the state pursues its protection of cultural resources. Second, state agency efforts to raise their own funding levels affect how they perceive the need to preserve cultural resources. Third, a set of social and political contextual factors with long historical precedent impact perspectives on tribal influence and power vis-à-vis the state. Finally, tribal liaisons, as an institutional mechanism of the state, produce both positive and negative dynamics for tribal-state relations. The main negative dynamic emerges around concerns that the liaisons are simply playing a token role and that the tribes have no "real" representation. However, tribal liaisons seem to have had a positive impact through two main mechanisms: cultural mitigation measures and cultural training.

The second main area in which Native American tribes have impacted cultural policy in the State of Washington is through the state's efforts to increase tribal cultural understanding in the delivery of social services. In this area, the state is not in the business of trying to enhance Native American culture for culture's sake. Rather the state is attempting to increase cultural understanding to assure that programs and service delivery are understood in the context of a different cultural framework and implemented in a culturally appropriate manner.

The 1989 Centennial Accord played a huge role in creating administrative procedures within the Department of Social and Health Services (DSHS) to improve tribal cultural understanding. While tribal liaisons within DSHS viewed the formal procedural policy as useful because they can at least account for whether units are engaging with the tribes, they acknowledged

that it is only recently that DSHS has actually held units accountable for writing these plans. Moreover, there is concern that this formal engagement has not been translated into significant differences in the delivery of services. Nonetheless, there was hope that DSHS is on the right track; that greater accountability will lead to more engagement, and more engagement—with training—will lead to greater cross-cultural understanding, and ultimately to improved services for Native Americans.

Finally, several explicit efforts by the state support the expression or interpretation of tribal culture. The purpose here appears to be twofold: while the state is interested in enhancing Native American culture for culture's sake, the state also hopes that the production of tribal art will have a positive impact through increased tourism and perhaps even economic development.

It is in this latter realm that the most innovation seems to be occurring and the least amount of conflict appears to exist. Perhaps a fruitful avenue for future endeavors might be to tie state supported expression or interpretation of tribal culture with contentious issues in the land-based agencies or in the delivery of social services. For example, tying state funding for the expression of traditional tribal salmon culture to contemporary watershed recovery efforts could help increase awareness of this contemporary policy issue in Washington and improve cross-cultural understanding.

Behind the Scenes

J. Mark Schuster and Steven Rathgeb Smith

Constructing an accurate and comprehensive map of a state's cultural policy requires more than simply identifying the state's key cultural agencies and the cultural programs of its non-cultural agencies. One must also identify and describe those indirect but nevertheless significant influences that affect a state's cultural institutions and organizations and bear on the nature and degree of activity occurring within the cultural realm. These influences and their impact are the subject of this chapter.

Foremost among these is the influence of tax legislation, which comes in two forms: (1) tax exemptions that differentially affect cultural institutions and activities, often—though not always—providing incentives for desired behaviors, and (2) specially dedicated taxes that provide streams of funding for cultural policy activities. Thus, this chapter begins with a discussion of the Washington State Department of Revenue and its oversight over tax matters.

Another way in which states influence the fortunes of the nonprofit cultural sector is by authorizing an institution to issue tax-exempt bonds and use the proceeds to finance below-market rate loans for preferred uses. In Washington, the Nonprofit Facilities Program of the Washington State Housing Finance Corporation can, and does, provide such below-market rate loans to arts and cultural organizations. It, too, is discussed here.

Finally, this chapter turns to a rather different sort of entity: the Corporate Council for the Arts/ArtsFund. It is neither a state agency nor is it directly involved in state cultural policy; rather, this private nonprofit organization raises and redistributes money to arts groups in King and Pierce counties. Generally speaking, we

have not considered such private organizations in this inquiry, but so many of our interviewees spoke of the palpable impact of this organization, that it seemed appropriate to discuss it here as another important influence on state cultural policy—operating, to a significant degree, “behind the scenes.”

The Washington State Department of Revenue

One might expect cultural policy to be promulgated and administered within easily identifiable “cultural” agencies. But cultural policy is often indirect, involving neither direct transfers of money nor direct programs. Much indirect cultural policy is embedded in tax law, and this is no less true in Washington than elsewhere. Cultural policy shows up in tax law in one of two forms: (1) tax exemption provisions that reduce costs to the sector, and (2) special dedicated taxes that provide revenues to the sector.

Tax Exemptions

As researchers, we found ourselves in a fortunate position with respect to tax exemptions in Washington. Every four years the Research Division of the Washington State Department of Revenue publishes a report on the tax exemptions currently available in state law.¹ This report provides considerable information on each exemption: a description, a discussion of its purpose or intent, the year in which the statute was originally adopted, an identification of its primary intended beneficiaries, a discussion of whether it can be seen to be in conflict with other programs, an estimate of the tax savings, and a discussion of

¹ Research Division, Washington State Department of Revenue (Don Taylor, ed.), *Tax Exemptions—2000: A Study of Tax Exemptions, Exclusions, Deductions, Deferrals, Differential Rates and Credits for Major State and Local Taxes in Washington* (Olympia, WA: Research Division, Washington State Department of Revenue, January, 2000). Previously this report was prepared biennially.

the likely shift in tax burden if the program were to be repealed.

Exemptions that are provided by the State of Washington are of two types: *direct* (named as going directly to a particular institution or class of institution) and *indirect* (passed through to the eventual beneficiary). Indirect exemptions often pertain to the use of public halls or auditoriums by other tenants.

By the Department of Revenue's count, during the 1999-01 biennium some 431 tax exemptions were offered by the State of Washington. Five of these were direct exemptions, targeted specifically to nonprofit organizations in the arts or culture. These five exemptions alone triggered \$23.6 million in tax savings over this two-year period, roughly \$12 million per year.² This is a considerable amount of money, particularly when compared to direct sources such as the grants budgets of the various agencies involved directly in cultural affairs. (Currently underway, the 2004 study of tax exemptions in Washington has identified some 520 different tax exemptions, a 25 percent increase in the number of different incentives offered.)

Understanding the significance of these figures requires that we place them within several contexts. First, in the words of the Department of Revenue, "[I]t is important to emphasize that the estimated revenue impacts reflect savings to taxpayers [or taxpaying organizations] and do not necessarily indicate the potential revenue which might accrue to governmental jurisdictions in the absence of the exemptions."³ Constitutional prohibitions on taxing certain activities (e.g., churches), property tax limits passed by referenda, and likely changes in taxpayer behavior in the absence of the exemptions would all limit the actual revenue that would be realized. Second, it is important to realize that the exemptions granted explicitly to nonprofit arts and cultural organizations comprise an infinitesimal portion—approximately 0.05 percent—of the total value of exemptions offered by the laws of the State of Washington. Thus, seen from the state's perspective specific

exemptions for nonprofit arts and cultural organizations are a relatively minor matter (even though their value is considerably higher to the arts and cultural organizations that receive them than the value of their main sources of direct support).

But the five exemptions that are restricted to nonprofit arts and cultural organizations are only part of the story. Many more exemptions—by our count some twenty-one—come into play when we include broader categories into which the arts and culture might fall, when we add in heritage properties and heritage-linked open space, and when we include special incentives offered to the cultural industries. It is important to survey this broader set of exemptions to understand the extent to which cultural policy is actually embedded in exemptions to Washington's tax code.

Another important point is that in Washington the way in which nonprofit organizations qualify for tax exemptions varies across the various taxes; they do not qualify simply by virtue of their federal 501(c)(3) charitable status.⁴ Nonprofit organizations have to apply for property tax exemption, and, if qualified, they must then renew their application on a regular basis. In the words of one of our interviewees, 501(c)(3) status "gets you in the door, but then you have to prove more to the state."

With respect to excise taxes, most importantly the Retail Sales and Use Tax and the Business and Occupation (B&O) Tax, Washington relies on a voluntary reporting system. Thus, the responsibility for knowing whether or not and under what conditions they might be exempt from these taxes falls on businesses themselves. (The Department of Revenue provides a considerable amount of information to help explain these exemptions, and, of course, firms learn through the audit process if they have done something improperly.) With respect to sales tax on purchases by nonprofits, the organization is expected to know if their purchases qualify for exemption or not. If so, they fill out an exemption certificate and give this to the vendor, who retains the

² Note the phrase "tax savings" used here. While it would be tempting to describe these as "taxes foregone," the picture is much more complicated because some of these exemptions result in the shifting of tax burden rather than in overall tax relief. In the case of property tax exemptions, for example, the impact is virtually all shifted to other taxpayers. Thus, taxes saved by the targeted beneficiaries of these exemptions are not necessarily taxes foregone by the state. Note also that because local taxes are authorized by the state, exemptions from local taxes are also authorized by state tax policy and by virtue of their target become a part of state cultural policy.

³ Research Division, Washington State Department of Revenue, *Tax Exemptions—2000*, 1.

⁴ This discussion relies heavily on e-mail correspondence with Don Taylor, revenue analysis manager, Research Division, Washington State Department of Revenue, July 30, 2003 and August 28, 2003.

document in case of a future audit. Similarly, nonprofit organizations should be aware as to whether a particular activity is subject to B&O tax and whether a specific deduction or exemption applies.

In most instances, eligibility of nonprofit organizations for sales or B&O tax exemptions and deductions do not hinge upon whether the entity qualifies for federal 501(c)(3) status. Instead, the state statutes specify specific activities for which a particular nonprofit organization does or does not qualify.

The other side of this coin is that considerable use is made of exemptions that are targeted at a single or a small number of intended beneficiaries. The way in which this appears to play out is that an organization in the state wants to do something but discovers that this action might well incur a tax liability. The organization then lobbies the Legislature for the creation of an exemption crafted to its particular situation that will pave the way (and lower the cost) for whatever it is that it wishes to do.

The State of Washington makes use of three broad categories of taxes (in addition to a broad set of selective taxes that apply to particular items or activities):

- ❑ Real and personal property taxes on land, buildings and equipment;
- ❑ Gross receipts taxes (called the “Business and Occupation” [B&O] tax) collected by the State and independently by many cities;
- ❑ Sales taxes collected by the state on its own behalf and on the behalf of local and county governments and other governmental entities (e.g., transit districts, public facility districts, etc.) and use taxes collected by the state when sales taxes have not been paid (typically when items are purchased outside the state or from a non-business seller).

Each has its own set of exemptions.

Perhaps what is most important about this list is what it does not include.

Washington does not have a state income tax, so the tax environment faced by the arts and culture is somewhat different from what might be encountered in most other states. Moreover, in the tight revenue situation created by the combination of citizen-passed tax-limit referenda and declines in state revenue emanating from an overall economic decline, the Legislature is now turning its attention back toward the exemptions that it has granted relatively freely in the past. Thus, it is possible that revenue policy may lead to scaling back some of the exemptions that have been favorable to the arts and culture.

Property Tax and Leasehold Tax Exemptions

We turn first to property tax and related exemptions. The first tax exemptions in Washington were granted in 1854 in conjunction with the imposition of property taxes only one year after the establishment of the territorial government. One of the first blanket exemptions from property taxes was a cultural one offered to nonprofit libraries. According to Putnam Barber, “Art and history museums... were added to the list after passage of the federal tax code made the distinction between nonprofit and for-profit corporations more salient.”⁵ Others followed.

Table VIII.1 summarizes the exemptions from property tax and the related leasehold excise tax that affect the arts and culture, broadly defined, in Washington. Note the dates on which these various provisions were enacted. One might gain the impression that a property tax exemption is a well-determined and stable fact of organizations’ lives, but it turns out that exemptions are being added from time to time, some of them quite recently. This may reveal a changing view of what it means to support the arts and culture, or it may reveal an ongoing search to arrive at a consensus concerning the appropriate base on which the property (and leasehold) tax ought to be assessed, but perhaps a more plausible interpretation is that it simply reveals the influence of special

Continued on page 194

⁵ Putnam Barber, “A Thousand Points of Contention: Property-Tax Exemptions for Nonprofits in the United States,” July 29, 2002, The Evergreen State Society, <http://www.tess.org/ON/020729ON.htm>, 2.

Table VIII.1: Property Tax and Leasehold Excise Tax Exemptions Affecting the Arts and Culture State of Washington, 1999-2001 Biennium

Revised Code of Washington	Exemption	Date	Taxpayer Savings from State Tax 1999-2001	Taxpayer Savings from Local Tax 1999-2001
PROPERTY TAX EXEMPTIONS				
§84.36.040	Nonprofit Libraries The real property (buildings) and personal property (collections) of nonprofit organizations that operate libraries that are open to the public without charge are exempt from property tax. The purpose is apparently to provide equal treatment with public owned libraries and to support the social benefits that nonprofit libraries provide. Approximately fourteen nonprofit organizations benefit from this exemption.	1854	\$11,000	\$37,000
§84.36.060	Museums and Art and Historical Collections The real property (buildings) and personal property (collections) of art, scientific, and historical collections owned by nonprofit organizations are exempt if the collections are available to the public. This is intended to assist such organizations and their programs. This exemption applies to approximately 171 parcels.	1915	\$1,978,000	\$6,622,000
§84.36.060	Performing Arts The real property (buildings) and personal property (sets, costumes, instruments, etc.) owned by or leased to nonprofit organizations that produce musical, dance, artistic, dramatic or literary performances is exempt from tax. This is intended to assist such organizations and recognize the educational and artistic contribution they make to society. Many beneficiaries.	1981	\$2,629,000	\$8,805,000
§84.26.070	Historic Property Property that is registered on a national or local register of historic places is eligible for special valuation upon application by the owner. The cost of rehabilitation of these buildings, if it equals at least 25 percent of the existing assessed valuation of the building, is exempted from assessment by not being added to the value of the property for tax purposes for up to ten years. ^a Many properties throughout the state are eligible, though the majority are in King County.	1985	\$2,073,000	\$6,483,000
§84.36.080(2)	Historic Vessels Vessels listed on the state or federal registers of historic places are exempt from property tax. This is intended to encourage retention and restoration of historic ships and vessels. Owners of approximately twenty vessels have received this exemption.	1986	\$24,000	\$75,000
§35.21.755	Public Corporations Public corporations, commissions, or authorities are liable for an in-lieu tax payment equal to the property tax payment that would be due if it were in private ownership. The state exempts from the in-lieu tax property owned by public corporations that (1) is located in a special review district that was established by municipal ordinance prior to January 1, 1987; (2) is used for low income housing, a convention center, a performing arts center, a public assembly hall or meeting place; (3) is used as a public esplanade, street, public way, public open space, public utility corridor or view corridor; or (4) is blighted property acquired for remediation/redevelopment purposes. The exemption for special review districts apparently provides equivalent tax treatment with private property enrolled on federal or state historic registers and seems to apply particularly to the International District in Seattle. No performing arts center seems to be currently exempt under this provision.	1984	\$970,000*	\$3,037,000*
§35.82.210		1987		
		1993		
§84.36.037	Public Assembly Halls or Meeting Places Public assembly halls or meeting places owned and operated by a nonprofit entity and made available to all organizations are exempt from the property tax. The property must be used exclusively for public gatherings, though the organization can use the property for up to seven days per year to promote sales. Approximately 254 public meeting/assembly facilities have qualified for this exemption, among them cultural facilities, town halls, and grange halls.	1981	\$123,000*	\$412,000*

Table VIII.1: Property Tax and Leasehold Excise Tax Exemptions Affecting the Arts and Culture State of Washington, 1999-2001 Biennium
(continued)

Revised Code of Washington	Exemption	Date	Taxpayer Savings from State Tax 1999-2001	Taxpayer Savings from Local Tax 1999-2001
PROPERTY TAX EXEMPTIONS (continued)				
§83.36.047	Nonprofit Radio and TV Transmission Stations The real and personal property of nonprofit organizations that is used for transmission or reception of radio or television signals originally broadcast by governmental agencies is exempt from property tax. This applies to one beneficiary.	1977	\$66,000	\$221,000
§84.36.480	Nonprofit Fair Associations Nonprofit fair associations that use county fairgrounds and receive pari-mutuel tax revenues from the state are exempt from property taxation. Approximately eight applicants benefit from this exemption.	1975	\$10,000	\$34,000
§84.36.550	Nonprofit Fund-Raising The real and personal property of nonprofit organizations used for solicitation or collection of gifts, donations or grants is exempt from property tax. The primary beneficiary of this exemption is the United Way, though, presumably, other such organizations might benefit also.	1993	<i>\$39,000*</i>	<i>\$100,000*</i>
§84.34.060	Current Use Valuation: Open Space/Timber Land This provision provides for valuing certain types of open space on the basis of their current use and not their potential use. Among the forms of open space that can qualify for current use valuation are historic landmarks, archaeological sites, sites with preservation easements, and sites that serve as buffers to designated historic landmarks or archaeological sites. County and local governments are authorized to adopt this exemption. If they do so, they put in place a Public Benefit Rating System, which classifies the open space resource under consideration by a priority point system and links the tax reduction to the rating. Reductions in property valuation can be as large as 90 percent.	1970	<i>\$4,407,000*</i>	<i>\$13,785,000*</i>
§84.36.570	Demonstration Farms The real and personal property owned by a nonprofit organization and used by a research and education program of a state university, which is used to provide a demonstration farm with research and extension facilities, a public agricultural museum and an educational tour site, is exempt from property tax. This provision was designed to benefit a demonstration cranberry farm in Pacific County.	1999	<i>\$2,000*</i>	<i>\$4,000*</i>
LEASEHOLD EXCISE TAX EXEMPTIONS^b				
§35.21.755	Public Historical Sites Leased property that is on a federal or state historic register and that is owned by a public corporation that was in existence before 1987 or is located in a special review district that was established by ordinance prior to 1976 is exempt from the leasehold excise tax. Approximately ten properties have qualified for the exemption under this statute, the most important is apparently property that is associated with Pike Place Market.	1977	<i>\$331,000*</i>	<i>\$291,000*</i>
§82.29A.130(16)	Public Facility Districts This is a blanket exemption from leasehold excise tax for all leases of property owned by a public facility district. This includes convention centers, conference centers, sports facilities, or special events centers, e.g. rodeo arenas, particularly in smaller communities.	1999	<i>\$71,000*</i>	<i>\$61,000*</i>

Source: Research Division, Washington State Department of Revenue (Don Taylor, ed.), *Tax Exemptions—2000: A Study of Tax Exemptions, Exclusions, Deductions, Deferrals, Differential Rates and Credits for Major State and Local Taxes in Washington* (Olympia, WA: Research Division, Washington State Department of Revenue, January, 2000); and personal interviews.

Notes: For each form of taxation the main exemptions for the arts and culture are listed first.

No attempt has been made to list large-scale blanket exemptions such as the exemption from property tax of assets such as cash, deposits, loans, and securities.

This table does not separately identify tax exemptions that might extend to cultural facilities owned by governments (e.g. facilities that are part of state colleges and universities) or by private, nonprofit schools and colleges.

Estimates of taxpayer savings for 1999-2001 are based on data from fiscal year 1999.

* Some of the figures in this table are reported in italics. This device is used to indicate that the tax savings for certain exemptions are only partially attributable to cultural policy and that no attempt has been made to estimate that portion.

^a This is a statewide ordinance that has to be adopted and applied locally. The Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation estimates that twenty to twenty-five local jurisdictions actually offer this special valuation. In exchange for this frozen assessment, the property owner has to assure that the historic aspects of the property are accessible to public view one day a year unless the property is visible from a public right of way.

^b The leasehold excise tax is a tax that is imposed to prevent organizations who lease government property from unduly benefiting from that government's property tax exemption. The leasehold tax is assessed in lieu of property tax in such cases. There are, however, exemptions from the leasehold excise tax as well.

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interest lobbying in obtaining certain exemptions.

According to a report issued by The Evergreen State Society, some 7,855 parcels in the State of Washington were exempt from property tax in 1999.⁶ The report estimates the number of exempted parcels occupied by cultural institutions as 255 (fifteen libraries, one radio/TV station, 166 art and history museums, and seventy-three performing arts organizations), but there may be some cultural uses classified elsewhere, for example among the 254 public assembly halls and ten fairs that are exempted from property tax.

It was at the heart of the property tax that we found an active policy debate concerning the granting of exemptions. This debate has revolved around the concept of “exclusive use.” The original legislation authorizing the exemption was clear, at least on one point. If a nonprofit organization were to lease out a portion of its premises for a purpose that did not qualify in its own right for property-tax exemption—typically the case when the lessee is a profit-making entity—that portion of the premises being leased would be taxable, and the taxes would be calculated in terms of the relative use of the facility by the exempt and the non-exempt activities. But this rule was spatial rather than temporal. If a non-exempt entity were to lease some (or all) of the space some of the time and the nonprofit were to use it the rest of the time, the exclusive use test would not be met and the nonprofit organization could lose its entire property tax exemption. To make sure that we understood these implications correctly, we checked with the Department of Revenue, which confirmed that under this law the entire property tax exemption could have been removed. As a result of this application of the law, The Evergreen State Society pointed out that nonprofits often chose “to forego revenue opportunities such as shared use with a for-profit enterprise because of the property tax liabilities that would result.”⁷

Whether this outcome is what was intended by the original law—that spatially segregated uses could be treated differently, but that temporally segregated uses would be treated the same—is somehow beside the point. The threat of complete loss of the property exemption provided a very strong disincentive for cultural institutions to engage in activities that would attract additional resources—the leasing out of their premises for private occasions, for example. It would be one thing to attribute some level of payment in lieu of property taxes to such activities, but quite another to remove the entire exemption.

With the recent boom in museum construction, this became a particularly salient issue in Tacoma. The Museum of Glass: International Center for Contemporary Art has opened in a striking new building, the new building for the Tacoma Art Museum has also been completed, and several other museums are in various stages of planning. They join the recent Washington State History Museum, which has been in place in Tacoma for several years. Because of their new facilities the Museum of Glass and the Tacoma Art Museum were particularly looking forward to the possibility of renting out their facilities for various private events, but had to be careful not to lose their property tax exemption as a result. The State History Museum, on the other hand, because it occupies state property, did not need to worry about losing its property tax exemption, which placed it in an advantageous position with respect to the rental market.

These unintended consequences were not restricted to Tacoma, of course. We were told of cultural organizations around the state—museums in particular—that concluded that they had to concoct various ways to circumvent this problem. One that was mentioned to us was signing contracts with private renters stipulating that the museum would be open to the public during the event while agreeing that that fact would not be advertised.

This problem was also mirrored in the leasehold excise tax. The leasehold excise

⁶ Putnam Barber, *Nonprofits in Washington, 1999* (Seattle: The Evergreen State Society, 1999), 10.

⁷ Barber, *Nonprofits in Washington, 1999*, 16.

tax is intended to prohibit non-tax-exempt entities from taking advantage of the property tax exemptions that pertain to nonprofit or government buildings. If a non-tax-exempt entity were to lease a publicly owned theatre from a local government, for example, it would have to pay the leasehold excise tax over the period of its lease. This became more complicated when a non-tax-exempt entity leased from a tax-exempt entity, which, in turn, was leasing from the government. A recent case in Olympia illustrates the point nicely. The Washington Center for the Performing Arts leases a city-owned building. It is a non-profit entity, exempt from the leasehold tax (just as it would be exempt from the property tax if it owned the building). From time to time it sublets the theatre to profit-making entrepreneurs who present their own performing arts events in the space. When this was discovered by the Department of Revenue, it called into question the center's exemption, and DOR determined that the center owed some \$300,000 in back taxes. This was finally resolved when the supplemental budget for 2002 passed the Legislature. A line item of \$300,000 was slipped into the budget of the Department of Community, Trade and Economic Development to pay these back taxes, in essence creating an internal transfer within the state's budget, which allowed the property tax exemption to stand.

This was clearly not a solution that could be applied time and time again, since more and more cultural organizations would inevitably try to take advantage of it. It would have been far better either (1) to establish a principle of temporal exclusive use and prorate property tax payments accordingly or (2) to protect the property tax exemption of an exempt organization that receives limited revenue from non-exempt uses. To be considered exempt such revenues might be limited by a ceiling or a percentage or a number of days of non-exempt usage,⁸ or the tax might be prorated by the ratio of non-exempt to exempt usage (much as spatial separation of uses has been treated), or the exemp-

tion might be simply offered across the board, though in a tax-limited environment that outcome might be less likely.⁹

A bill to rectify this situation was finally passed by the Legislature in 2003.¹⁰ This bill allows nonprofit performing arts organizations and museums to rent or lease their facility without jeopardizing their tax exemption to entities that are not eligible for tax exemption for productions, performances, community gatherings or assemblies, or meetings for up to twenty-five days per year with the twin stipulations that the property may be used for income-generating activities for no more than seven of these twenty-five days and that the rent charged or any donation received must be reasonably in line with maintenance and operation expenses. While this bill may not fully satisfy all of the arts organizations and museums that might be affected—they would undoubtedly have preferred longer time periods and fewer restrictions on levels of income—it does go some distance toward rectifying the earlier problem.

Business and Occupation Tax Exemptions

The business and occupation tax is a tax on gross receipts, which is paid by all businesses that engaged in business within the state; for-profit and nonprofit organizations alike are subject to the B&O tax on all of their income. (In addition, some forty-four of the 290 Washington cities levy local businesses taxes. These take many different forms.) Businesses have a wide variety of income streams, and, in principal, each of these income streams is taxable under the B&O tax unless explicitly exempted.

A variety of tax reduction measures are built into the B&O tax, however. Such reductions can take one of several different forms: exemptions, deductions, differential tax rates, or tax credits.

Nonprofit arts and cultural organizations receive a wide variety of income streams: museums operate gift shops; performing arts organizations sell tickets and refreshments; both may charge for parking; they receive private donations; and they may

⁸ At the time there was one such exception already in place in Washington. The property tax exemption for public assembly halls exemption (RCW §84.36.037), for example allowed the property to be used by organizations for "pecuniary gain" for up to seven days each year without incurring a property tax liability.

⁹ For an example from North Dakota, see Janne Gallagher, "The Legal Structure of Property-Tax Exemption," in Evelyn Brody, ed., *Property-Tax Exemptions for Charities: Mapping the Battlefield* (Washington, D.C.: The Urban Institute Press, 2002).

¹⁰ House Bill 1905, Chapter 121, Laws of 2003, signed into law July 27, 2003.

receive grants from government agencies, corporations, or private foundations. In general, nonprofit arts and cultural organizations are exempt from B&O taxes on most or all revenues. But other B&O tax provisions may have an identifiable impact on cultural policy more broadly conceived.

Table VIII.2 summarizes the exemptions from the business and occupation tax that affect or may affect the cultural sphere.

Within the purview of the B&O tax, several points have engendered debate. One has been the clarification of rules with respect to membership payments paid to cultural organizations. To be exempt these payments cannot entitle members to significant goods or services in return. The rules have been relaxed to the extent that some membership benefits are allowed without causing membership dues to become taxable, e.g., reduced price or free admission to museums.

The flip side of this debate comes into play when donors to cultural organizations, particularly foundations or other grant-making organizations, expect something in return for their support. This has engendered a debate about the difference between a grant, which is often made with stipulations attached, and a gift or donation, which is most often seen as being made without restriction. The concern was that grants would be construed as a purchase of a service, which would attract B&O tax, rather than as a gift, which would not. It was not until 1995 that the Legislature finally clarified its intention:

When the recipient is a nonprofit organization and the donor receives no significant goods, services or benefits from activities that fulfill charitable purposes parallel to the provisions of federal tax-code section 501(c)(3), then the donor may restrict the uses of the funds and insist on reports on activities and progress without creating a tax liability for the recipient. Further, such grants may be acknowledged in the usual ways—in programs, announcements and other materials—without compromising their tax-exempt status.¹¹

To make matters more complicated, the thirty-five cities that impose B&O taxes use definitions of taxable activities and

offer exemptions that may differ from those applying to the state's portion of B&O taxes. To take but one example in the cultural field, the City of Seattle assesses B&O taxes on retailing activities and parking fees collected by artistic and cultural organizations, forms of revenue that are not taxable at the state level for these same organizations. This illustrates how important it is for a cultural organization in Washington to monitor carefully the impact of the various state (and local) taxes and to seek out and apply for those various exemptions for which it is eligible.

Retail Sales and Use Tax Exemptions¹²

The sales tax applies to purchasers of tangible personal property (and some services) by persons or businesses who are the final consumers of these items (i.e., not for resale). When nonprofit organizations buy things for their own use, they are usually subject to Washington's sales tax. When they sell items, they are typically required to collect sales taxes and forward the receipts to the state. Sales taxes include the state sales tax, local sales taxes in each of the cities of the state, and a variety of additional local sales taxes that have been levied by other types of local jurisdictions (counties, transit districts, public facilities districts, etc.).

Important exemptions are granted for some of the activities of nonprofit arts and cultural organizations, however. When arts and cultural organizations purchase objects for their collections or to be used in presentations and performances, no sales tax is due. Exemptions also affect fundraising: Auctions and other sorts of sales during special events by organizations that do not usually collect sales taxes are exempted; they are allowed to take place without collecting sales tax from the buyers.

Whenever an item on which sales tax would normally be due is purchased for use in Washington without paying the sales tax, a use tax, calculated at the same rate as the sales tax, is due. For example, organizations are often liable for use tax on magazine subscriptions and other

¹¹ Barber, *Nonprofits in Washington*, 1999, 16.

¹² In this section, we rely heavily on Barber, *Nonprofits in Washington*, 1999.

Table VIII.2: Business and Occupation Tax Exemptions Affecting the Arts and Culture State of Washington, 1999-2001 Biennium

Revised Code of Washington	Exemption	Date	Taxpayer Savings from State Tax 1999-2001	Taxpayer Savings from Local Tax 1999-2001
§82.04.4322	Arts Organizations	1981	\$2,667,000	\$0
§82.04.4324	● Government Grants	1981		
§82.04.4326	● Tuition	1981		
§82.04.4327	● Manufactured Items	1981		
§82.04.4327	● Business Income	1985		
	Four separate statutes provide that nonprofit arts organizations can deduct government grants, tuition received for classes, items manufactured for their own use, and all business income (e.g., charges for admission) from their revenues before calculating any liability to B&O tax. The nonprofit arts organizations covered by this provision include: performing arts organizations (music, theater, dance), art exhibitions, arts education courses, and historical collections.			
§82.04.600	Printing by Libraries	1979	\$7,000	\$0
	Printing by libraries is exempt if it is printed in their own facilities for their own purposes. All libraries and library districts are beneficiaries.			
§82.04.335	Agricultural Fairs	1965	\$270,000*	\$0
	During the time that an agricultural fair is open to the public, the nonprofit organization operating the fair is exempt. This exemption applies primarily to gate and parking receipts. The beneficiaries include the thirty-seven county fairs and the thirty-nine nonprofit fair associations in the state.			
§82.04.3651	Nonprofit Fund-raising	1998	\$49,000*	\$0
	Nonprofit organizations are exempt from B&O tax on fund-raising receipts. This exemption applies to direct solicitation of funds but not to the operation of a bookstore, thrift shop, or restaurant.			
§82.04.280(6)	Radio and TV Broadcasting	1935	\$1,262,000	\$0
	Radio and television broadcasters are allowed to deduct income received from network, national, and regional advertising and that portion of revenue represented by their out-of-state audience from their revenues before calculation of the B&O tax. About fifty-eight firms utilize this deduction. (This exemption is derived from constitutional prohibitions on restricting interstate commerce and should not be viewed as an incentive for these cultural industries.)			
§82.04.4282	Contributions and Donations	1935	\$6,447,000*	\$0
	Any organization that receives contributions, donations, or endowment funds can deduct those sources of revenue from total revenue before calculating the B&O tax.			
§82.04.4451	Small Business Credit	1994	\$49,271,000 ^{*a}	\$0
	This provision provides a credit of up to \$35 per month against B&O tax that would otherwise be due. The benefit declines and phases out completely when the monthly tax liability reaches \$70.			

Source: Research Division, Washington State Department of Revenue (Don Taylor, ed.), *Tax Exemptions—2000: A Study of Tax Exemptions, Exclusions, Deductions, Deferrals, Differential Rates and Credits for Major State and Local Taxes in Washington* (Olympia, WA: Research Division, Washington State Department of Revenue, January, 2000); and personal interviews.

Notes: The main exemptions for the arts and culture are listed first.

No attempt has been made to list large-scale blanket exemptions.

Estimates of taxpayer savings for 1999-2001 are based on data from fiscal year 1999.

* Some of the figures in this table are reported in italics. This device is used to indicate that the tax savings for certain exemptions are only partially attributable to cultural policy and that no attempt has been made to estimate that portion.

a The goal of this provision is to promote economic development through small businesses. An estimated 107,000 small businesses pay no B&O tax as a result of the credit, and an additional 34,000 have their B&O tax reduced. Some (small) portion of these businesses may well be in the cultural sector, though not necessarily the nonprofit cultural sector.

items that have been purchased from out of state vendors who did not collect Washington taxes. (Of course, if no sales tax were due, then no use tax would be due either.) In certain cases a seller may not be required to collect the sales tax, but the buyer may still be obligated to pay a use tax on the purchase price of items or certain services.¹³

Exemptions from sales and use taxes that affect the arts are summarized in Table VIII.3. Note that the largest such exemption is one that affects the profit-making side of the arts and culture, the video and film production industry. Note also that while more generous to arts and cultural organizations than to other types of non-profit organizations, these exemptions are less comprehensive than they are in many other states. In certain circumstances, the financial effect of sales taxes can be quite substantial. This becomes clearest in construction projects. Rod Bigelow, financial officer of the Tacoma Art Museum, estimates that the museum is paying approximately \$1.2 million in sales taxes on the construction of its new museum. Such payments do make it easier to make the argument that whatever capital grants have been provided directly by the state for construction projects, it recoups a substantial portion of the grant almost immediately through the sales tax on construction.

Dedicated Taxes and Revenues for Distribution

Another method to pursue cultural policy within the general framework of the collection of state revenues is to implement or carve out dedicated tax revenue streams. While the dedication of state tax revenue streams to the arts and culture is far less dramatic than in some other states (e.g., the early dedication of state lottery revenues to the arts and culture in Massachusetts), there are, nevertheless, some significant ways in which this happens in Washington.¹⁴

As is normally the case with tax law, Washington state law includes a number of special provisions and technical

amendments. In the discussion that follows, we have tried to identify the main highlights of how, when, and where the arts and culture are impacted by the possibility of dedicated tax revenues. A much closer reading would be required to give substantive and competent tax advice.

Retail Sales and Use Taxes

Generally speaking, in Washington the dedicated taxes that affect the arts and culture arise in the form of special local taxes authorized under the umbrella of the retail sales and use tax. The retail sales tax is applied to the selling price of tangible personal property and certain services purchased at retail. The use tax applies to items used in Washington, the acquisition of which was not subject to Washington retail sales tax. State legislation authorizes a sales and use tax, which is currently set at 6.5 percent, but it also authorizes fifteen different local sales and use taxes that can be adopted by local or county government in various combinations.¹⁵ As a result, combined sales tax rates currently range from 7.0 to 8.9 percent in various parts of the state.

One of the authorized local sales and use taxes plays a direct role in cultural policy, and two others may play an indirect role.¹⁶ The first, a 1999 provision that benefits the zoo and aquarium at Point Defiance Park in Tacoma and the Northwest Trek facility operated by the Pierce County Metropolitan Park District with the revenues from a 0.1 percent addition to the sales tax, illustrates the extent to which legislators will go to craft special rules for specific projects (RCW §82.14.400):

1. Upon the joint request of a metropolitan park district, a city with a population of more than one hundred fifty thousand, and a county legislative authority in a county with a national park and a population of more than five hundred thousand and less than one million five hundred thousand, the county shall submit an authorizing proposition to the county voters, fixing and imposing a sales and use tax in accordance with this chapter for the purposes designated in subsection (4) of this section and identified in the joint request. Such proposition must be placed on a ballot for a special or general election to be

¹³ This would happen, for example, if the seller were not regularly engaged in business, e.g., if you purchased a used car from your neighbor.

¹⁴ Research Division, Washington State Department of Revenue (Don Taylor, ed.), *Tax Reference Manual: Information on State and Local Taxes in Washington State* (Olympia, WA: Research Division, Washington State Department of Revenue, January, 2002).

¹⁵ A 0.5 percent “basic” tax for cities and counties; an “optional” tax of up to 0.5 percent for cities and counties; a tax that ranges from 0.1 to a maximum of 0.9 percent for transit purposes; a tax of up to 1.0 percent to fund high capacity transportation; separate taxes of 0.1 percent each for criminal justice, public facilities, county correctional facilities and zoos; two state-credited taxes to finance professional sports stadiums; two state-credited taxes to support rural counties and regional centers; a local sales tax of 0.5 percent on prepared food and beverages in King County; a 0.1 percent tax for emergency communications systems; and a tax of 0.5 percent for financing regional transportation improvements.

¹⁶ If one enlarges the boundary of cultural policy to include sport, the special taxes for the construction of a King County Baseball Stadium (RCW §82.14.0485) and for the construction of a King County Football Stadium (RCW §82.14.0494) would have to be included. Neither of these taxes is an additional tax for consumers; they are credited against the statewide 6.5 percent sales tax, reducing the amount of sales tax paid to the state by the local community and therefore shifting the burden to the state’s general fund.

**Table VIII.3: Retail Sales and Use Tax Exemptions Affecting the Arts and Culture
State of Washington, 1999-2001 Biennium**

Revised Code of Washington	Exemption	Date	Taxpayer Savings from State Tax 1999-2001	Taxpayer Savings from Local Tax 1999-2001
§82.08.0315	Film and Video Production Equipment	1995	\$1,042,000	\$272,000
§82.12.0315	Film and video production businesses are exempt from sales and use taxes on equipment, film, and related services that they use in their businesses. This exemption was extended to all vehicles used solely for production purposes. The intent of this provision is clearly to promote film production in the state and it was passed as an economic development measure.	1997		
§82.08.031	Arts and Cultural Organizations	1981	\$706,000	\$164,000
§82.12.031	Nonprofit arts and cultural organizations are exempt from sales and use taxes on the purchase of goods that are acquired for the purpose of exhibition or presentation to the general public. This includes works of art, sets, costumes, etc.			
§82.12.02595	Donations to Nonprofits and Government	1995	<i>\$252,000*</i>	<i>\$62,000*</i>
	Nonprofit charitable organizations and state and local governments do not have to pay use tax on any tangible personal property that is donated to them.			
§82.08.02573	Fundraising by Nonprofit Organizations	1998 ^a	<i>\$694,000*</i>	<i>\$174,000*</i>
	Nonprofit organizations that receive revenues via fundraising activities are exempt from retail sales tax if the funds received are used to support the purposes of the organization. However, this exemption does not extend to the regular operation of a bookstore, thrift shop, or restaurant.			
§82.08.830	Nonprofit Camps and Conference Centers	1997	<i>\$275,000*</i>	<i>\$68,000*</i>
	Nonprofit organizations that sell or supply items at camps or conferences on property that is exempt from property tax are also exempt from retail sales and use taxes. This is limited to items available only to participants at such camps or conferences.			

Source: Research Division, Washington State Department of Revenue (Don Taylor, ed.), *Tax Exemptions—2000: A Study of Tax Exemptions, Exclusions, Deductions, Deferrals, Differential Rates and Credits for Major State and Local Taxes in Washington* (Olympia, WA: Research Division, Washington State Department of Revenue, January, 2000); and personal interviews.

Notes: The main exemptions for the arts and culture are listed first.

Estimates of taxpayer savings for 1999-2001 are based on data from fiscal year 1999.

* Some of the figures in this table are reported in italics. This device is used to indicate that the tax savings for certain exemptions are only partially attributable to cultural policy and that no attempt has been made to estimate that portion.

^a This comprehensive exemption replaced a more limited exemption that applied to bazaars, rummage sales, and auctions.

held no later than one year after the date of the joint request.

2. *The proposition is approved if it receives the votes of a majority of those voting on the proposition.*
3. *The tax authorized in this section is in addition to any other taxes authorized by law and shall be collected from those persons who are taxable by the state under chapters 82.08 and 82.12 RCW upon the occurrence of any taxable event within the county. The rate of tax shall equal no more than one-tenth of one percent of the selling price in the case of a sales tax, or value of the article used, in the case of a use tax.*
4. *Moneys received from any tax imposed under this section shall be used solely for the purpose of providing funds for:*
 - *Costs associated with financing, design, acquisition, construction, equipping, operating, maintaining, remodeling, repairing, reequipping, or improvement of zoos, aquarium, and wildlife preservation and display facilities that are currently accredited by the American zoo and aquarium association; or*
 - *Those costs associated with (a) of this subsection and costs related to parks located within a county described in subsection (1) of this section.*

The legislation goes on to stipulate other provisions such as matching requirements and a payment to the Department of Community, Trade and Economic Development in lieu of a Department of Revenue administrative fee.

Though the percentages seem small, the impact can be quite large. In 2001, this additional sales tax in Pierce County returned \$7,269,000 for zoo, aquarium, and wildlife facilities as well as for parks; in 2002, it returned \$9,196,089.

A second provision provides for an additional 0.2 percent local sales and use tax for acquisition, construction and operation of public facilities such as sports and entertainment facilities. This tax is levied by the board of a public facilities district. To our knowledge, it has only been imposed in Spokane County (at a rate of 0.1 percent) to finance the Spokane Arena. This provision resulted in tax revenue of \$5,957,000 in 2001 and \$6,014,477 in

2002. This provision might be used to help fund meeting halls, performing arts centers, boxing rings, sports facilities, or the like. However, because this source would not be sufficient to pay off whatever construction bonds might be necessary, an additional revenue stream would be needed, so a multipurpose performance hall would be the most likely facility for which a community might choose to adopt this dedicated tax.

Finally, a similar provision allows for a local sales or use tax of up to 0.033 percent to finance “regional centers,” which are defined to include convention, conference, and special events centers and their related facilities. This tax is structured so that it does not add an additional tax burden on consumers. Rather, it is creditable against the 6.5 percent state sales tax, thereby shifting the burden to the state’s general fund.¹⁷ The result is the functional equivalent of allowing a local or county government the power to earmark a portion of the sales taxes raised locally. As of January 2002, some nine projects were being financed under this provision; by January 2003 that number had increased to sixteen. We are not sure whether any of these include cultural elements. The adoption of this provision to fund all of these projects combined resulted in \$3,629,000 in locally retained tax revenues in 2001 and \$9,495,214 in 2002.

Selective Sales Taxes

In addition to the more general sales and use taxes discussed above, the State of Washington imposes a number of selective sales taxes on specific items. Revenues from these selective sales taxes are often dedicated to particular uses, some of them in the arts and culture.

For the arts and culture, the primary potential revenue source among selective sales taxes is the local hotel-motel tax. The hotel-motel tax has two portions, the “basic” (state-shared) portion and an additional (locally borne) portion. State law authorizes all cities and counties to impose a state-shared local hotel-motel tax of up to 2.0 percent.¹⁸ This state-shared

¹⁷ This use of local taxes that are creditable against state sales taxes in this way is, at least in part, a response to tax limitation initiatives that have been passed in Washington. By allowing these earmarked taxes to be credited against taxes owed to the state, the Legislature essentially allows local communities to earmark these portions of the sales tax to their own particular local needs. The result is less revenue received by the state rather than an increase in tax revenues flowing to the state and then reimbursed to local communities.

¹⁸ Except in King County with respect to Bellevue and in Yakima County with respect to Yakima where “double dipping” is allowed and both the county and a city within the county impose the basic tax, the county must allow a credit for the city tax.

portion is deducted from the state retail sales tax so that the tax is not an additional tax for the customer but rather represents a dedication of that portion of the state sales tax revenues on the purchase of overnight accommodations. Throughout the state 134 cities and thirty-three counties impose this tax, all at the maximum rate.

This tax was originally authorized in 1967 for King County to provide funding for the King County Stadium (the Kingdome). It was later broadened to Tacoma and Spokane, and then again to any city or county. A variety of expanded uses were then added to the tax: convention centers (1973), arts facilities and tourism promotion (1979), capital improvements in stadiums (1985), tourism strategies in distressed areas of the state and tall ships in Grays Harbor County (1986), agricultural promotion (1987), and steam railroads (1988). Additional uses were added between 1991 and 1997, when all specifications as to the use of hotel-motel tax revenues were repealed by the Legislature, which instead allowed these tax revenues to be devoted to any tourism-related purpose.

It is clear that culture-related uses have figured prominently in this list, and the hotel-motel tax remains an important source for local and county funding for the arts and culture in various parts of the state. The Cultural Development Authority of King County, for example, relies quite substantially on hotel-motel taxes to fund its programs. To take another example, the City of Vancouver receives approximately \$170,000 annually from the hotel-motel tax in this way. During the 1995 and 1996 budget cycles the local distribution of this money included an annual contract with the Greater Vancouver Chamber of Commerce (approximately \$67,000) for tourism marketing, funding for the historic Marshall House (\$35,000) and the Office of Heritage Services (\$46,000), and grants to the Tears of Joy Puppet Theater (\$10,000) and the Farmer's Market (\$3,000-\$4,000). These examples suggest that the policy to offer a rebate of dedicated taxes in this way may

have led to local expenditures on the arts and culture that otherwise would not have taken place if they had been reliant on direct allocation out of non-dedicated local tax revenues.

These taxes are generally semi-dedicated, but the choice is up to the individual city or county. The specific uses to which hotel-motel taxes are put have been quite broad. They might include signage, maps, brochures, and publicity campaigns, but they might also include grants to local museums and performing arts organizations, construction and maintenance of public restroom facilities or interpretation centers, preservation of historic buildings, the construction of replicas of historic boats, or the construction of local convention centers.

Currently there is some debate as to how removing the arts and culture as specified recipients will, in the long run, affect the flow of hotel-motel tax revenues to the sector. It is clear that the original intent of separating off this source of revenue was to isolate and protect these recipients to some degree from the vagaries of state politics and perhaps even to provide a precedent for local support. The Department of Revenue, itself, states, "This tax represents a means for the state to provide financial assistance for local facilities and tourist promotion efforts without going through the budgetary process and with no additional tax burden for hotel-motel customers."¹⁹

An additional 2.0 percent "special" local hotel-motel tax is also authorized by state law.²⁰ But this additional tax cannot be credited toward state taxes, so its adoption would raise the local sales tax rate. This additional hotel-motel tax has been adopted by ninety-one cities and eighteen counties. The parameters for the distribution of this additional tax are much the same as those discussed above.

Other Dedicated Revenue Streams

Some states have experimented with dedicating all or a portion of various state fees to the arts and culture. In Washington, there are two such provisions of

¹⁹ Research Division, Washington State Department of Revenue, *Tax Reference Manual*, 70.

²⁰ In certain circumstances an exception is allowed and up to 3.0 percent can be levied. On the other hand, this additional tax may be limited by an overall cap on the total percentage of sales tax allowed. The result is that most cities in King County may only levy a 1 percent additional tax and Seattle cannot levy any additional hotel-motel tax at all (because its convention center tax already lifts the sales tax to 15.2 percent). Even so, some cities are allowed to exceed these limitations. Association of Washington Cities, "Tax Facts: What Cities and Legislators Need to Know about the Hotel-Motel Tax," May 1998.

which we are aware. These two examples illustrate nicely how specially targeted provisions can be used to provide revenues to one or another segment of the cultural field.

Surcharge for Preservation of Historical Documents: This provision established a special fee to assist in the preservation of historical documents. Each time an individual records a document or requests a copy of an official document from a county, an additional fee of \$2.00 is charged. One half of this fee is retained by the county and is dedicated to an operation and maintenance fund that provides for ongoing preservation of historical documents of all county offices and departments. The other half is collected by the state and deposited in a special account, the state auditor's Centennial Document Preservation and Modernization Account. These revenues are then redistributed back to the counties by a formula.²¹ This money is also dedicated to be used for ongoing preservation of historical documents of all county offices and departments. Thus, the redistributed portion may not be added to the county's current expense budget. Presumably this assures that at least half of the revenues from this provision are dedicated to funding an increase in such preservation activities.

In fiscal 2001 this provision channeled \$1,649,612 into the Centennial Document Preservation and Modernization Account and from there back to the counties. (Presumably, it also collected an equal sum that was left with the counties in which the fees were collected.)

Maritime Historic Restoration Donations: As part of the process of registering a boat, individuals are offered the opportunity to make a voluntary donation on top of their registration fees for maritime historic preservation and conservation activities (RCW §88.02.052). Donations that are collected by the state as a result of this mechanism are placed in a Maritime Historic Restoration and Preservation Account; the accumulated donations are then split equally between the Grays

Harbor Historical Seaport and the Steamer Virginia V Foundation.

It is clear that this provision is a highly targeted one, intended in this case for projects to restore (or replicate) historic vessels that are of significance to Washington. We have been unable to document the amount of money that this provision generates on an annual basis. Presumably it is modest. But this example does raise the questions of how such specialized pieces of legislation find their way to adoption and why some are chosen to benefit while many are not.

One should be careful not to conclude too much from these small and relatively invisible programs, but they do illustrate well how clever legislation can be used to favor certain groups within the sector, presumably with little sense of how each such provision fits within the overall framework of Washington's cultural policy.

Nonprofit Facilities Program Washington State Housing Finance Commission

The Washington State Housing Finance Commission (WSHFC) is a commission authorized by the Legislature to act as a financial conduit that can issue nonrecourse revenue bonds and participate in federal, state, and local housing programs and thereby make additional funds available at affordable rates to help provide housing throughout the state. WSHFC does not use public funds or lend the credit of the state or local governments. It is self-supporting and publicly accountable.

In 1990 the Nonprofit Facilities Program (NFP) was created within WSHFC in order to issue bonds to nonprofit organizations that were not in the higher education or healthcare fields. Dan Grimm, the state treasurer at the time, wanted the issuing of bonds to 501(c)(3) organizations to be handled by one state agency rather than many local agencies.

²¹ This formula allocates half of the revenues being distributed to each of the thirty-nine counties in equal amounts and the other half according to relative population.

The Nonprofit Facilities Program serves as a conduit issuer: it does not and cannot provide state money directly, but rather it stands between the state and federal governments and the borrowing nonprofit. It provides a tax exemption on the interest earned by the bondholder for the bond money being loaned to nonprofits by private investors. This permits nonprofits to get a lower than market interest rate on their borrowed money. Note that the tax exemption at stake here is an exemption from federal tax; it is the federal government, not the state government, that foregoes the tax revenue. The State of Washington does not even pay for the administration of the Nonprofit Facilities Program; it charges a 1 percent fee (plus a 0.25 percent annual fee). Projects under \$2.5 million generally end up costing NFP money, so the larger projects have to cross-subsidize the administrative costs of the smaller ones.

Public hearings are required for any bond approval, and some people have complained that dollars are being drained from other social investments, but the Nonprofit Facilities Program believes that the banks that are lending to cultural nonprofits would have done so anyway. There is always, of course, the danger of a default, which the state must then refund to the bank. This has happened once, with the Columbia Gorge Interpretive Center.

To qualify for an exemption, projects have to be able to support the proposed debt, which usually requires projecting earned revenues for the project under consideration. It is the private sector that determines whether a project is feasible through its willingness to purchase the bonds that are being issued.

At its inception, the Nonprofit Facilities Program faced two challenges. First, it was located within a “Housing Commission” and had no contacts in the arts community. It marketed itself in particular to smaller cultural organizations, working with the former Washington Commission for the Humanities and the Washington State Arts Commission, in order to make the point that “debt can be a cash-

management tool.” NFP offered technical assistance and workshops to educate nonprofits. By all reports, arts organizations are beginning to consider NFP as a source of financing for their capital projects.

Under NFP nonprofit organizations can qualify for capital loans at below-market rates for performance halls, theaters, museums, interpretive centers, or exhibits. In fiscal year 2001-2002, for example, NFP issued bonds totaling \$10,000,000 to finance the construction of the new building for the Tacoma Art Museum, \$538,750 to refinance the rehabilitation of Harlequin Productions’ State Theater in Olympia, and \$350,000 to finance the acquisition of a commercial condominium unit to be used by Artist Trust for its administrative offices in Seattle.

The second challenge was that the high transaction costs for bond issuances discouraged borrowers. In the early 1990s, to reduce transaction costs NFP created a structure distinct from the simple public sale of bonds to many players: the bond is placed with a bank that already has a relationship with the nonprofit—indeed, the sexiest organizations get below-market-rate loans anyway from banks who want their names attached to their prestigious projects—and NFP then buys the loan from the bank, assigning it back as security. This allows the bank to loan the money interest free to the nonprofit.

In NFP’s view, foundations are not pursuing an intelligent policy toward nonprofits when they refuse to give grants that would help an organization pay back debt. If foundations would do this, it argues, organizations would have more flexibility in cash management and could build reserves for lean times. As it is, nonprofits are forced to wait longer to build, raising the ultimate cost of their facilities.

This component to state cultural policy is an institutional creation that allows specified nonprofit organizations within the state to take advantage of federal tax incentives for capital borrowing purposes. WSHFC serves as an intermediary, allowing nonprofits to take advantage

of borrowing opportunities that would otherwise be unavailable to them. Non-profit cultural organizations would, of course, prefer outright capital grants from the Building for the Arts program or the Capital Projects Fund for Washington's Heritage, but a below-market-rate loan can also be an attractive option. State legislation makes access to this option possible.

Corporate Council for the Arts/ArtsFund

One final key player in cultural policy in Washington is the Corporate Council for the Arts, which in May 2003 renamed and repositioned itself as ArtsFund. Several Seattle area civic-minded community leaders founded this organization in 1969 as the United Arts Council of Puget Sound (UAC). The key member of this group was Ned Skinner, a director of Boeing. The goal was to provide corporations with an opportunity to make a single annual contribution to many arts organizations through an intermediary organization that could assist in decision making and to offer arts organizations grants in the form of unrestricted discretionary dollars. UAC managed the corporate campaign and distributed its annual receipts to arts organizations that were members of UAC. Its giving was restricted to King and Pierce counties.

UAC deliberately did not use payroll deductions to raise funds, as many United Arts Funds have done. Instead, it relied on individual donations from corporate executives or direct donations from major corporations such as Boeing. UAC chose not to establish an endowment, so that all of the money raised each year was distributed; thus, it began each new year at zero.

The corporate leaders involved with UAC hoped it would enhance the efficiency of the funding environment and allow corporations to minimize the demands made upon them by shifting the burden of managing the grant-making process to UAC.

The six original recipient organizations were the largest and most prestigious

arts organizations, including the Seattle Symphony, the Seattle Art Museum, the Seattle Repertory Theatre, and the Seattle Opera. The first campaign had a target of \$600,000 but only raised \$200,000. These original organizations were not necessarily thrilled with UAC, because UAC—like the United Way—placed severe restrictions on the ability of the member organizations to conduct their own fundraising campaigns, especially from the donor corporations giving to UAC.²² Typical was the Seattle Repertory Theatre, which was very concerned that UAC and its stringent policies would actually hinder the Repertory's fundraising.

In 1976, the name of the organization was changed from the United Arts Council of Puget Sound to the Corporate Council for the Arts, recognizing the centrality of corporate support for its funding. The current president of Corporate Council of the Arts/ArtsFund, Peter Donnelly, was appointed in 1989. Donnelly had been the managing director of the Seattle Repertory Theatre.

Today, in order to qualify for a grant from CCA, an arts organization must be a non-profit with a three-year operating track record,²³ have at least one paid employee, and have a budget of at least \$100,000 in Seattle, \$50,000 in King County outside of Seattle, or \$50,000 in Pierce County.

Beneficiaries of CCA funding are divided into two categories, somewhat confusingly named "Sustaining Groups" and "Discretionary Groups." Sustaining Groups are large arts organizations who have been prequalified to receive predictable, annual, unrestricted operating grants from CCA. As of CCA's 2001 *Annual Report*, twenty-three arts organizations were categorized as Sustaining Groups. Approximately 85 percent of the grant is prorated by the relative budget size of the recipient organization; the remaining 15 percent is based on the allocation committee's assessment of managerial excellence. This results in substantial differences in grant amount across recipient groups. The Seattle Opera, for example, received \$359,000 in 2001 while fourteen of the

²² This is a universal problem with such coordinated fundraising structures. Arts organizations quickly begin to suspect that corporations are using the intermediary structure and its distribution rules to contribute less than they might otherwise if they did not have an institutional structure to hide behind. The German experience with *Kulturkreis* (the "Culture Circle" of corporate donors) has been much the same, with arts organizations suspecting that the organization is implicitly intended to limit corporate donors' contributions—"We already gave through *Kulturkreis*,"—rather than to encourage them.

²³ Organizations that are in their first two years of operation are free to approach corporate donors to CCA on an individual basis, but arts organizations that are in their third year of operation, will be referred by CCA's corporate donors to CCA/ArtsFund.

twenty-three Sustaining Groups received less than \$75,000 (four of these, all in Tacoma, received less than \$25,000). This is a reflection of the fact that the total budgets of all of the arts groups that CCA funds in Pierce County are less than half of the budget of the Seattle Opera alone.

Discretionary Groups are small and mid-size organizations that receive discretionary grants in each year's round of funding. Typical grants in this category are about \$5,000, though they might go as high as \$20,000-\$23,000. Some thirty to forty organizations receive money from this category each year.

CCA support comes with certain restrictions. Sustaining Groups are not allowed to seek separate grants for unrestricted operating support from corporations who are donors to Corporate Council for the Arts. This restriction does not apply to Discretionary Groups. But other funding restrictions on both groups have been eased substantially. Both groups, for example, can now approach CCA member corporations separately for project and special event funding.

Grant applications are reviewed by an allocation panel comprised of twelve to fourteen community leaders, corporate executives, and philanthropists who agree to give the equivalent of eight full days to their duties on the panel. The allocation process requires arts organizations to make detailed presentations on their programs to the allocation panel on an annual basis. The idea is that this will bring arts organizations into a "conversation" with major funders since the allocation panel includes both corporations and individual philanthropists. This conversation affords arts organizations the opportunity to discuss their organizations before a body of grant makers who may also choose to fund their organizations directly and affords the committee members the opportunity to gain in-depth knowledge about the field, information that may well assist them in their other grant-making activities.

CCA expects that arts organizations will be held accountable for the money they receive, so grantees are expected to provide detailed information on their programs, including audience data and ticket sales.

The budget of CCA was about \$4.5 million in 2002, roughly equal to the Washington State Arts Commission's *biennial* budget or the *biennial* budget of the Building for the Arts program, but its focus is only on arts organizations in King and Pierce counties. Of this total budget, about \$3 million represents corporate donations with about \$500,000 from individual and workplace giving and \$700,000 in income from restricted endowment funds. The organization also has substantial earned income as well. A few years ago, the Kreielsheimer Foundation, a local foundation that had been a long-time supporter of the arts, reached the end of its intended life. (It was part of the original incorporation papers that at a certain point it had to give all of its money away.) The foundation deeded its building to CCA; the building is now fully leased with CCA earning revenue from the rent. CCA also receives revenue from the building's fifty-five parking spaces. In addition, CCA is a one-third owner of KING-FM, a for-profit, classical radio station. The Seattle Opera and the Seattle Symphony own the other two-thirds. The station is profitable, and CCA uses its share of the profits for grants to classical music groups other than the opera and the symphony.

The size and influence of CCA do not come without controversy. Many of the individuals with whom we spoke worried about CCA's relative influence. They expressed concern that because of the relative centralization of corporate contributions in one place it was difficult to launch worthy initiatives without CCA's blessing. The director of one arts organization voiced the view that she could not start any new initiative unless she was able to convince CCA that it had been CCA's idea. Another interviewee from a small organization told us the story of the organization's first few years. During its first two years of operation, a period during

which CCA will not fund organizations, it had had success in going directly to Microsoft for operating support. In the third year it was informed, presumably by Microsoft, that it would have to apply to CCA. The result was a grant that was quite a bit lower than the grants it had received during the first two years. This may have been a good decision given the relative priorities of CCA, the relative needs of its other applicants, the priorities of Microsoft, and/or the merit of this applicant, but it is clear that this applicant was left with the perception that CCA was a way of limiting corporate contributions to the arts rather than encouraging them.

Of course, such feelings of “entitlement” pervade any arts funding system, whether private or public, but that does not mean that those feelings should become the basis on which decisions are made. Yet, this anecdote points to two very different conceptualizations of the role that an organization such as CCA plays. On the one hand will be organizations that feel that a relatively centralized corporate funding system, such as that operated by CCA, can become a way for corporations to put a fence around their support for the arts. It becomes much easier for them to say, “We have already given—through CCA.” These organizations are left feeling that the aggregate of corporate support is lower than it would be in the absence of such a fund. On the other hand will be those who note the increasing amount of money raised by CCA (doubling between 1989 and 2000) and the increasing number of organizations supported (from twenty-two in 1989 to seventy-one in 2003). They believe that CCA has had an important influence in encouraging donations that otherwise would not have taken place.

The origins of CCA were with leading corporations in the Puget Sound area and their executives. Increasingly though, CCA has been tapping individual donors for funds in addition to corporations. Several years ago, CCA named this part of its fundraising ArtsFund. Payroll deduction campaigns as well as concerted campaigns to attract individual donations from

wealthy local philanthropists independent of corporate giving were launched. This shift resulted in the creation of an endowment, which now stands at over \$6 million. Recently “ArtsFund” became the official name for the entire organization; the “Corporate Council for the Arts” moniker has been retired.

This shift has not been without its own controversy. Arts funding agencies are becoming much more entrepreneurial in seeking out funding sources beyond their traditional ones. As ArtsFund turned more toward individual donations as a source of funding support, the King County Office of Cultural Resources announced its plan to reconfigure itself as a public development authority, the Cultural Development Authority of King County (CDAKC). Part of the justification for this reconfiguration was that it would open up a variety of funding sources not previously tapped by this office, including corporate and individual donations. Not surprisingly, the two organizations have become wary of one another. CCA took the view that the county organization should not become a public development agency with the more flexible fundraising opportunities that that would entail, and should continue, instead, to rely on county funds and make it its goal to put as much pressure on county funding as possible. CDAKC took the view that in an era of limited public resources it needed to look elsewhere for additional resources that it felt were necessary to maintain a certain degree of flexibility and dynamism in its operations. Each viewed the changes in the other as a possible threat to its own fundraising plans.

Of course, the ultimate financial effect of having multiple organizations engaged in fundraising over the same geographic area depends on their relative effectiveness as well as on their ability to make clear distinctions between their respective activities. The artistic effect depends on the different decision-making mechanisms that might be put into place to distribute whatever resources become available.

There are those who fear—and those who hope—that ArtsFund will favor the major, established, mainline organizations, skewing artistic production in certain directions. There are also those who fear that individual donors to ArtsFund, much like corporate donors to CCA, will begin to say to arts organizations that they have already given to the arts through ArtsFund and that they must seek their donations there.

CCA's participation in the Building for the Arts program, discussed earlier in Chapter III, has also raised some eyebrows among arts organizations and the state's cultural agencies, fueling the fear of a private locus of influence in matters of cultural policy that many feel should be the subject of *public* cultural policy.

Nevertheless, CCA/ArtsFund has become the largest arts funding organization in the state—albeit with a limited geographic focus—with resources that significantly exceed those of the Washington State Arts Commission (WSAC). The impact of CCA/ArtsFund on cultural policy in King and Pierce counties as compared to the impact of WSAC is further magnified by the distribution of WSAC funding. WSAC, as a statewide organization, has to be attentive to the geographic distribution of funding, so it spreads its grants throughout the state; thus, the amount of money available for organizations in King and Pierce counties is relatively modest. The same is true of the Building for the Arts program, though capital facilities in the arts tend to be concentrated west of the Cascades, particularly in the two counties served by CCA.

The relative influence of CCA/ArtsFund attracted a lot of attention in our interviews. One of our interviewees put it this way: “The state was once considered the policy setter. But CCA is now the primary state arts policy maker given its importance in funding in King and Pierce counties and its influence over other issues statewide (e.g., Building for the Arts).” Another articulated it in the following manner:

CCA is driving the agenda, which means that the agenda is driven by western Washington. CCA makes quality, fiscally responsible, safe investments—think of them as having a conservative portfolio of assets...They have pull...and influence through corporate people. Their word is law, not that that is necessarily a bad thing...[but] the result is corporate heads battling state government for policy direction.

Thus, the actual impact of CCA/ArtsFund on cultural policy in King and Pierce counties continues to be a matter of considerable debate in which one's view depends in large part on one's vantage point. The perspective of some smaller or “edgier” arts organizations is that the preference of CCA/ArtsFund for the larger, more prestigious organizations favored by corporate donors makes it even more difficult for them to receive ongoing operating support, thereby “forcing” them to always operate at the margin. But the larger organizations argue that they have a unique role in the local arts community and point to the substantial growth in the number of smaller organizations as evidence of the ability of these organizations to raise funds elsewhere.

Observations and Theory— The Future of State Cultural Policy

Steven Rathgeb Smith

The previous chapters in this report constitute a map of the cultural policy of the State of Washington. We consciously went into the field with few assumptions as to what we would find, and we have written up these chapters in a manner that attempts to capture the freshness and the immediacy of those interviews.

But there are literatures on state policy and politics, in general, and, to a lesser degree, on state cultural policy, which attempt to theorize about these areas and to explain and predict changes in state (cultural) policy. To what extent do these literatures correspond with what we actually observed in the field? That is the question to which we turn in this concluding chapter.

State policy and politics have a very long history as an object of study among political scientists. But throughout most of the mid to late twentieth century, states were the subject of scorn and criticism. Most political scientists including Harold Laski, Duane Lockard, V. O. Key and many others regarded state politics as plagued by corruption, inefficiency, ineptness, hostility to minorities, favoritism to elite business interests, and unprofessionalism.¹ This wide-ranging critique served to provide part of the intellectual foundation for the greatly increased role of the federal government in public policy during the 1970s, yet the realpolitik of the federal government in this era also emphasized revenue-sharing as a key instrument across program areas.

The creation of the National Endowment for the Arts and the National Endowment for the Humanities, while influenced by this vision of an increased role for the federal government employing its resources

and its regulatory capacity in partnership with state and local governments and community-based organizations, can also be traced to the influence of the Cold War and a humanistic response to the advance of (Soviet) technology. Congress quickly became interested in supporting state cultural efforts, rewarding the creation of state arts agencies and encouraging (unsuccessfully) the establishment within government of state humanities councils through formula-funded matching grants.

Since the 1970s, many scholars have argued that a fundamental transformation of state policy and politics, in part due to the new federal initiatives, has occurred. Carl Van Horn called attention to what he termed a “tidal wave of reform” that swept through state governments.² In particular, he noted that U. S. Supreme Court rulings had forced state governments and legislatures to be more representative and more responsive to their citizens. And he observed that state government had become significantly more modern and professional, resulting in state governments that were more efficient, effective, and adept at addressing public issues and concerns. During the 1980s and 1990s, state governments added to their workforces and rewrote their state constitutions and charters to increase the scope of their responsibilities and to update their procedures and laws. Timothy Conlan has observed that during this period state and local government revenues as a percentage of all government revenues had been increasing, contributing to the continued modernization of state government.³

Scholars and policy makers from across the political spectrum put forth an additional powerful argument that the states

¹ Harold Laski, “The Obsolescence of Federalism,” *The New Republic*, 3 May 1939, 367; Duane Lockard, *The Perverted Priorities of American Politics* (New York: Macmillan, 1971); V. O. Key, *Southern Politics* (New York: Vintage, 1949).

² Carl Van Horn, ed., *The State of the States*, 2nd edition (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, 1996).

³ Timothy Conlan, “The Future of Reform,” in Laurence J. O’Toole, ed., *American Intergovernmental Relations: Foundations, Perspectives, and Issues*, 3rd edition (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, 2000), 386-397.

(and localities) were more innovative than the federal government; that they were “laboratories of democracy” where new and more effective programs could be, and were, initiated.⁴ This perspective fueled calls for the devolution of federal policy to states and localities. States would be given greater discretion over the management of federally funded programs, and they would be encouraged to assume responsibilities that had previously been considered federal.

This greatly increased emphasis on state responsibility for public programs has fueled a sharp increase in research on state policy. But, almost without exception, the research on the transformation of state government in the last twenty years has focused on the traditional core functions of state government: transportation, social welfare, corrections, and education.⁵ Relatively little attention has been devoted to the arts and cultural policy at the state level, despite the profound change in the role of arts and culture in American society since the 1960s and the recrudescence in interest in state program responsibility.

Thus, a consideration of state cultural policy in general as evidenced by the current study of cultural policy in the State of Washington is especially timely, helping to fill a lacuna in the scholarship on arts policy and state policy more broadly. As noted earlier in this report, the State of Washington is well suited for an investigation into state cultural policy given its demographics and the shift to a more knowledge-based economy. But, as we have pointed out, Washington also has specific institutional characteristics that affect the formulation and implementation of policy. In particular, the governor is relatively weak and the power in state government tends to be fragmented among many different commissions and departments that do not directly report to the governor. Indeed, the Washington State Arts Commission (WSAC) is, itself, a good example of this type of independent commission, but, as we have seen, many of the important actors in state

cultural policy in Washington have even looser ties to state government per se.

Based upon the research on state government in other policy fields and the characteristics of Washington political institutions, one might reasonably postulate several hypotheses about its state cultural policy:

- ❑ The federal government would play a central role in the establishment of a formal state cultural program.
- ❑ The State of Washington would respond to the stimulative role of the federal government with additional appropriations over time and the institutionalization of a state cultural program.
- ❑ State cultural policy would be marked by innovation and experimentation and reflect the unique characteristics of the arts in the state.
- ❑ The modernization of state legislatures would mean greater attention to arts and culture by state legislators.
- ❑ State cultural policy would be dispersed among many different agencies and departments.
- ❑ A governor would be unlikely to provide ongoing leadership in the arts because of the fragmentation of state cultural policy.

Our study was not intended to directly test these hypotheses. Nonetheless, our study does offer what we feel is compelling information and analysis on the formation of state cultural policy in Washington. Accordingly, in the next section we turn to a more in-depth analysis of the factors responsible for the development of state cultural policy in Washington and the implications for the arts and cultural institutions and the citizens of the state. But note that because the research literature on state cultural policy has, to date, focused almost exclusively on state arts policies and most particularly on state arts agencies, much of the analysis in this chapter makes more reference to state arts policy than to state

⁴ David Osborne and Ted Gaebler, *Reinventing Government* (New York: Plume, 1992).

⁵ See Laurence J. O'Toole, *American Intergovernmental Relations*; Carl Van Horn, *The State of the States*; Jeffrey R. Henig, *Public Policy and Federalism: Issues in State and Local Politics* (New York: St. Martin's, 1985); Virginia Gray and Peter Eisinger, *American States and Cities* (New York: HarperCollins, 1991); Thad L. Beyle, ed., *State and Local Government: 2002-2003* (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Press, 2002); and Virginia Gray, Russell Hanson, and Herbert Jacobs, eds., *Politics in the American States: A Comparative Analysis*, 7th edition (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Press, 1999).

cultural policy, more broadly construed. Further discussion awaits the development of a richer foundation of state-level cultural policy research.

The Enduring Influence of Federal Policy

Quite predictably, the roots of WSAC were in the 1960s, although WSAC actually predates the creation of the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA). However, the real surprise is the enduring central role of the federal government in shaping cultural policy in the state, not only within WSAC but also within a wide range of the state's cultural agencies. Evidence of this continuing role abounds.

The State of Washington's component of WSAC's budget is surprisingly modest with considerable funding originating with the federal government, notably NEA. WSAC's budget has declined in real terms over the last twenty years as the state has failed to increase its funding support. The Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation was established following the passage of the federal National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) and remains dependent upon federal funding. And new program initiatives tend to be driven by changes in federal cultural policy (and to a lesser extent the priorities of major national private foundations).

The importance of federal policy in regards to innovation reflects in part the realities of state politics and the relative scarcity of funding. Taking WSAC once again as an example, it is a state agency with a statewide constituency. The agency has a modest staff with oversight from a commission comprised of civic leaders from throughout the state. Despite a limited budget, WSAC is in the position of having to distribute its modest funding throughout the state. The result is many small grants to many local arts organizations. And once a grant is awarded, the politics of funding make it very difficult for WSAC to discontinue funding even if the grant is only for \$2,000 (or less). Thus, WSAC's funding is mostly restricted in the

sense that only a very small part of its budget is truly available for new awards or new programmatic initiatives in line with changing policy in any given year. Consequently, program innovation can only occur through new state funding (which has generally not been available), new federal funding, or private foundation grants.

The recent round of grant announcements from the NEA in May 2003 also underscores the continued relevance and vital role of the federal government. The NEA awarded over \$1.2 million in grants to thirty arts organizations in Washington.⁶ This amount is almost as much as the \$1.4 million that WSAC awarded to arts organizations in 2002.

The Politics of State Cultural Policy and its Implications

Our research highlights a number of key factors that shape the development and implementation of cultural policy in the State of Washington. First, the Legislature—despite important changes in its composition in the last forty years—remains relatively disinterested in cultural policy. Occasionally, individual legislators will carve out a niche in the Legislature in cultural policy, but in general few legislators actively take a leadership role in promoting state support for the arts or culture more broadly construed. And, as noted, in Washington the governor's powers are quite restricted by the plethora of independent agencies and commissions.

Second, in the absence of strong leadership from the Legislature or the governor, cultural policy tends to be shaped by powerful existing interests and the entrepreneurial leadership of public and private leaders in the arts. This situation is particularly reflected in the following characteristics of state cultural policy:

Individual state agencies are more important than coordinated policy.

⁶ Melinda Bargeen. "NEA Awards 30 Grants in State," *The Seattle Times*, May 13, 2003.

Without a centrally coordinated policy, individual state agencies become involved in cultural policy based upon their own particular perspectives. Thus, the secretary of state's office is involved in cultural policy because it is interested in document preservation. The Washington State Parks and Recreation Commission is interested in preserving the historic properties and cultural resources that have come into its ownership. The Washington State Department of Transportation is focused on its Heritage Corridors projects. But inevitably these projects are not an integral part of the programs of these state agencies and tend to be "add-ons" that often experience difficulty obtaining visibility and ongoing support at the level necessary to sustain them in anything more than a minimal manner.

Capital projects are popular.

Given the lack of support for supporting culture as culture, capital projects are inevitably much more attractive for policy makers. Examples include the Building for the Arts program and the Capital Projects Fund for Washington's Heritage, as well as line item capital expenditures for the Washington State Historical Museum in Tacoma and the Northwest Museum of Arts and Culture in Tacoma.

Dedicated funding support is a more important factor at the state level than at other levels of government.

In an environment of scarce resources, arts advocates have searched for dedicated funding streams to support cultural policy. This has been particularly true at the state level. In Washington, a variety of dedicated taxes provide support to one or another part of the cultural policy infrastructure (see Chapter VIII), and the structure of the Building for the Arts program and the Capital Grants for Washington's Heritage has allowed them to function as relatively autonomous sources of support. In their own indirect manner, the many tax exemptions offered by the State of Washington also provide streams of dedicated support.

Whether or not dedicated sources of support are more stable and more reliable in the long run is a matter of debate. There is evidence in both directions. In good budgetary times, dedicated funding streams have been beneficial to the arts and culture, which have always had trouble competing for general revenue dollars, but in times of scarcity, dedicated funding streams are just as vulnerable to raiding (perhaps even more so). Still, despite the fact that dedicated funding sources may be vulnerable, they may also offer the opportunity to craft a funding stream that more closely matches societal benefits with costs by bringing those who pay and those who benefit more closely in line with one another. Of course, some dedicated funding streams, e.g., user fees, are more likely to accomplish this than others, e.g., dedicated lottery revenues (which have been widely criticized for their distributional consequences).

Entrepreneurship is rewarded.

Without firm state direction from the center, cultural policy is greatly influenced by entrepreneurial individuals in the cultural community such as David Nicandri at the Washington State Historical Society or Peter Donnelly at Corporate Council for the Arts/ArtsFund, individuals who are able to build a coalition of supporters for particular state and/or local projects. The same holds true for influential politicians; many of the people we interviewed spoke about the commitment of former Secretary of State Ralph Munro, particularly to initiatives within the heritage and historic preservation areas of state cultural policy.

The relationship between economic development and tourism is a missed opportunity.

The relative absence of strong state support for the arts and culture means that the State of Washington has faced great difficulty taking advantage of the natural relationship between culture, tourism, and economic development. In many states, state support for cultural projects is linked much more explicitly with economic

development and tourism, helping to build a broad coalition of public and private backers. But in the State of Washington, it has been difficult to build this coalition due to the divisive political culture including sharp ideological differences between Republicans and Democrats that roughly mirror the divide between the Puget Sound area and the rest of the state.

Localism is very important.

Local funding organizations and donors loom very large as backers of arts and cultural policy. Corporate Council for the Arts/ArtsFund and the Cultural Development Authority of King County (the semi-privatized successor to the King County Office of Cultural Resources) both have bigger budgets than the key state cultural agencies. Wealthy philanthropists and local foundations also play a key role especially in support of capital projects. But ongoing philanthropic support for operating expenses is difficult to find, creating a situation in which many arts organizations become more highly dependent than they would like upon ticket revenue for their ongoing support.

Interestingly though, the connection between economic development, tourism and culture seems to be stronger at the local level in the State of Washington. For example, many places such as Bellingham, Mt. Vernon, and King County support arts organizations from their hotel-motel tax revenues. Particularly in smaller communities, the ability of arts organizations to obtain local governmental support hinges on their ability to sell the economic benefits of their programs. In a sense, the argument employed by these organizations is that support from the hotel-motel tax will generate “cultural tourism,” which in turn will generate additional revenues for the town. (This economic argument is also employed at the state level with capital projects since the projects produce additional tax revenue and economic activity.)

The distributional consequences are complicated.

Understanding the distributional consequences of state cultural policy is a bit complicated given the multiplicity of public and nonprofit agencies receiving funding and the many different funding sources supporting the arts. Nonetheless, the pattern of state support for the arts does have certain implications:

- ❑ The state has helped support countless small local public and nonprofit organizations with small grants. These small arts organizations, such as The Jazz Project in Bellingham or the Northwest Children’s Theatre in La Conner, are not very attractive to established private national or local foundations or other donors (because they are so small and/or new). These organizations are sometimes able to use whatever state grants they do receive to leverage other (local) funding sources for additional grants.
- ❑ By supporting new and small organizations, which, by their nature, may be less attractive to private funding sources, the state—especially WSAC—has also contributed to a substantial increase in the number of nonprofit arts and cultural organizations in the state in the last twenty years.
- ❑ But the small size of these grants also means that many of the smaller recipient organizations are always operating on the edge of survival and are highly dependent upon ticket revenues for that survival. These organizations often operate with just a few staff and relatively few volunteers. (Indeed, it is typically the large organizations such as the Seattle Symphony that can count on a significant cadre of volunteers.) Thus, the structure of funding tends to keep administrative staff very lean, making it difficult for these organizations to develop a diversified base of support that would enhance their prospects for sustainability, especially in the current lean funding environment.

- ❑ Perhaps not surprisingly, state support of culture tends to steer clear of “edgier” or controversial organizations or programs. In general, “edgier” art tends to be supported either by local funding sources such as the Seattle Office of Arts & Cultural Affairs or on a completely fee-based, ticket basis. Thus, state cultural programs tend to be “mainstream,” a reflection of the preference for formal nonprofit or public organizations and of the political divisions within the state, which make supporting controversial cultural programs a risky political move.
- ❑ But the State of Washington does play a key redistributive role in channeling at least some public funding to the many small communities around the state. Many arts organizations in these communities would not have any money save their state grants.
- ❑ Financial support for neighborhood or ethnic associations involved in the arts tends to be from local funders such as the Seattle Office of Arts & Cultural Affairs, national foundations such as the Wallace-Reader’s Digest Funds or the Ford Foundation, or the federal government. (Recently, for example, NEA awarded \$25,000 to WSAC for a Latino Infrastructure Initiative.)
- ❑ WSAC has played a notably important role in supporting Washington artists. Through programs such as Art in Public Places and Arts in Education and through its grant to Artist Trust for fellowships, WSAC directly supports artists. And the grants also provide artists with a legitimacy and cachet that they can use to obtain more financial support.
- ❑ Native American tribes present a special case within the state’s overall cultural policy. In general, the state has not provided extensive and/or ongoing support for tribal cultural projects. The exceptions have been the Folk Arts Program of WSAC and the cultural resource projects of the land-based agencies. (But even the latter

tend to be complicated and tied to the agencies’ agendas rather than to the cultural priorities of particular tribes.) As in other aspects of cultural policy, the federal government also remains important as a direct funder of tribal cultural programs.

Attention must be paid to the cultural infrastructure.

WSAC directly supports the cultural infrastructure through its ongoing support to cultural organizations and artists, although the funding is often very modest. But it has provided a crucial legitimacy for many artists and cultural organizations that these organizations have been able to leverage for additional funding.

WSAC also plays a crucial, more indirect role in the development of the infrastructure supporting the arts community in the state through a variety of initiatives. For many years, WSAC has supported Artist Trust with a major grant of over \$65,000. Artist Trust provides direct grants to artists as well as assistance in landing additional grants. It also offers information and referral services for artists and help with practical problems such as health insurance and pensions.

While Artist Trust supports working artists, the Washington State Arts Alliance and the Arts Network of Washington State have been important in helping cultural organizations. The Arts Alliance was created in the 1980s as a membership organization comprised of arts organizations. The Arts Network was “spun-off” from the Arts Alliance shortly thereafter and focused on providing technical assistance to local arts organizations. It also sponsored an annual “Cultural Congress,” a conference offering workshops for arts organizations on a variety of important concerns such as board development and fundraising.

The Arts Alliance has tended to focus on advocacy throughout its history. Recently the Arts Network and Arts Alliance have agreed to join forces again, so after a short transition period, Arts Network will cease to exist and the technical assistance

programs will be subsumed under the Arts Alliance.

The partnership between WSAC and the reconfigured Washington State Arts Alliance is a very important one and reflects, in part, the funding constraints faced by WSAC. But the partnership is a constraining one as well since WSAC has had to work through the Arts Network and the Arts Alliance both to implement its programs and to gain political support for its work. Thus, WSAC faces restrictions to its ability to quickly respond—via technical assistance—to emergent issues in arts policy such as entrepreneurship, earned income, earmarked taxes, cultural districts, venture philanthropy,⁷ endowment campaigns, and the integration of the arts with social services.⁸ In short, many cultural organizations face tremendous pressure to develop earned income revenue streams that go beyond selling tickets, but many cultural organizations are ill equipped to move in this direction. WSAC could play a role in helping these organizations achieve this transformation, but their ability to directly respond is hampered by the indirectness of technical assistance funding.

Beyond the arts agencies, the state's investment in the cultural infrastructure has been primarily limited to the capital grants available through the Building for the Arts program and the Capital Projects Fund for Washington's Heritage, as well as to occasional line-item appropriations in the capital budget. Some infrastructure funding is provided through the Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation's limited grant programs, but they are more beholden to federal than to state funding.

Lessons Learned for National and State Cultural Policy

As Margaret Wyszomirski has noted, we are in the midst of a paradigm shift in cultural policy.⁹ While the cultural sector is extraordinarily diverse, it is nonetheless possible to delineate the outlines of the old paradigm, which, to a large extent,

was predicated upon the centrality of the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) as the prime mover in cultural policy making in the United States.¹⁰ The centrality of NEA in this respect was undergirded by four key assumptions:

- ❑ “Culture is good for you.”
- ❑ The public accepts and values the importance of the arts in people's lives.
- ❑ Through its advisory panels NEA is able to reward excellence in art.
- ❑ NEA grants help certify excellence in arts.¹¹

Arguably, our study emphasizes the close association between NEA and WSAC since WSAC has until recently also been underpinned by these assumptions: it has relentlessly advocated for the importance of the arts, it focuses on artistic excellence, and it has worked extensively through advisory panels to certify artists and artistic organizations.

Significantly, the old paradigm was characterized by other key assumptions that were also reflected in both NEA and WSAC policies:

- ❑ The role of a public cultural agency was to support nonprofit and public arts organizations. One of the implications of this was that it was seen as inappropriate for cultural agencies to launch their own programs or projects or, indeed, to pursue any policy that could be interpreted as being anything other than reactive to what was already going on in the field. Another implication was that cultural policy became disdainful—or at least skeptical—of the mixing of art and commerce. As a result, a sharp distinction was made between art and entertainment,¹² and no substantial policy with respect to the cultural industries has emerged in the United States as it has elsewhere. A third implication was that a distinction was also established between the arts and the humanities, which was reflected in the creation of both the NEA and NEH—a structure then

⁷ See for example, Nina Kressner Cobb, “The New Philanthropy: Its Impact on Funding Arts and Culture,” *The Journal of Arts Management, Law and Society*, Vol. 32, No. 2, Summer 2002, 125-143.

⁸ Margaret Wyszomirski, “Arts and Culture,” in Lester M. Salamon, ed., *The State of the Nonprofit Sector*, (Washington, D.C.: Brookings, 2002), 213.

⁹ Margaret Wyszomirski, “Federal Cultural Support: Toward a New Paradigm,” *The Journal of Arts Management, Law, and Society*, Vol. 25, No. 1, Spring 1995, 69-83; Wyszomirski, “Arts and Culture,” 187-217.

¹⁰ Kevin V. Mulcahy, “The State Arts Agency: An Overview of Cultural Federalism in the United States,” *The Journal of Arts Management, Law, and Society*, Vol. 3, No. 1, 2002, 67-80.

¹¹ See Mulcahy, 2002. Another interesting discussion of the last two bullets in particular can be found in Stephen E. Weil, *Making Museums Matter* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2002), Chapter 17, “Reduced to Art,” 175-176.

¹² Wyszomirski, “Federal Cultural Support,” 1995.

replicated at the state level as reflected in the State of Washington.

- ❑ NEA and WSAC were created to serve the interests of arts organizations not other types of organizations such as social service agencies that might also be interested in the arts or in culture more broadly.
- ❑ The notions of philanthropy that were used in policies and programs were traditional ones in the sense that NEA and WSAC expected arts organizations to raise additional funds through philanthropic channels (such as Corporate Council for the Arts/ArtsFund or local arts organizations such as the Seattle Office of Arts & Cultural Affairs) or from individual donors.

The arts and culture in the United States are clearly in a transition period to a new paradigm, and this is reflected in what we have seen in Washington State. NEA appears to be in an irreversible decline with respect to its ability to serve as the agenda-setter for cultural policy in the United States, though recent initiatives by Dana Gioia, current chairman of NEA, signal a possible move back in this direction through developing programs and initiatives of its own (much to the predictable dismay of individual arts organizations).¹³ This shift then is another compelling reason to pay attention to any study of cultural policy at the state level: to the extent that we are in a new era characterized by more decentralized cultural policy, it is vital to understand what are currently the prime drivers of cultural policy at the state level and what they are likely to be in the future. The State of Washington—due to its demographic and political characteristics—offers a highly useful window on our understanding of the present and future of a more decentralized cultural policy.

Many justifications are offered for decentralization. As noted earlier in this chapter, the more general political arguments for decentralization and devolution pertain to the hoped-for benefits of

greater innovation and efficiency at the lower levels of government.¹⁴ With specific reference to the arts, some have argued that NEA (and the old paradigm) tended to impose a form of “elitist” art on the country, especially through its implicit process of “certification.”¹⁵ Kevin Mulcahy, for one, has argued that a diminished NEA and a more decentralized cultural policy might promote more “cultural democracy” and hence less elitism.¹⁶ This would in turn spur greater innovation in the arts and perhaps break down traditional barriers between the arts and the community. In Mulcahy’s view, in a devolved cultural world state arts agencies would assume two key functions: (1) institutional subsidy for basic operational and maintenance costs of cultural organizations, especially those with strong public missions; and (2) arts education. Local arts agencies would focus on working with artists and cultural organizations especially as that work relates to under-represented art forms and cultural traditions.¹⁷

But, this vision for state arts agencies is predicated in large measure on some of the underlying political assumptions noted at the beginning of this chapter. Sustained funding of the arts and culture at the state level, and of state arts agencies in particular, hinges on a transformed state policy and politics that would include the modernization of state legislatures and the rise of a new political culture that views the arts as integral to the experience of the state’s citizens.

As far as the State of Washington is concerned, one might be skeptical about the likelihood of a transformed political culture or of the ability of the state to support state arts agencies in the manner and to the extent suggested by Mulcahy’s vision. Despite the support of many leading civic leaders in the state, its cultural agencies still remain heavily dependent upon federal funding for their budgets, and this support is often non-discretionary. Other state agencies support the arts and culture only to the extent that they are tied directly to one of their core

¹³ For a discussion of the increasing importance of state cultural policy vis-à-vis federal cultural policy, see J. Mark Schuster, “Sub-National Cultural Policy—Where the Action is? Mapping State Cultural Policy in the United States,” *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, Vol. 8, No. 2, 2002, 181-196.

¹⁴ For a further discussion of decentralization, devolution, and related trends in cultural policy, see J. Mark Schuster, “Deconstructing a Tower of Babel: Privatization, Decentralization, Devolution, and Other Ideas in Good Currency in Cultural Policy,” *Voluntas: International Journal of Voluntary and Non-Profit Organizations*, Vol. 8, No. 3, 1997, 261-282.

¹⁵ Lawrence D. Mankin, Shelly Cohn, Ronald W. Perry, N. Joseph Cayer. “The National Government and the Arts: Impressions from the State and Jurisdictional Arts Agencies,” *The Journal of Arts Management, Law, and Society*, Vol. 31, No. 3, Fall 2001, 184-197; Mulcahy, 2002; Wyszomirski, 1995.

¹⁶ Mulcahy, “The State Arts Agency,” 2002.

¹⁷ Mulcahy, “The State Arts Agency,” 2002.

ongoing programs. (And even many of these projects receive federal support.)

Indeed, one could argue that funding and policy roles have been reversed in surprising ways: local arts funders such as Corporate Council for the Arts/ArtsFund and the Cultural Development Authority of King County (formerly the King County Office of Cultural Resources) have been central to providing ongoing support for local arts organizations and to arts education (although the Seattle Office of Arts & Cultural Affairs recently decided to eliminate its funding for arts education). These funding sources, for example, have provided much more extensive support for operations than has WSAC. But WSAC has lately returned to the forefront in providing incentives to local arts organizations to serve underrepresented populations. To be sure, some of this targeting is driven by the new priorities of NEA and the Wallace-Reader's Digest Funds, which are funding WSAC's program. Nonetheless, the state has provided incentives for arts organizations to increase their programming for underrepresented groups. And, arguably, the research presented in this report suggests that this may be a preferable policy role for state arts agencies.

Marian Godfrey of The Pew Charitable Trusts has made this point in a more general form: "It is easier to make the political case for ongoing support the closer you are to organizations and the more ability you have to see their embedded role in the community. At a greater distance, at least in the 'new paradigm,' there is more pressure to justify public policies that support the arts when they are about social change or economic benefit, not what could be perceived as an entitlement."

Given their modest budgets, Washington's cultural agencies are structurally unsuited to be major sustaining supporters of the various manifestations of the arts and culture in Washington. But these agencies could be very important in pushing arts and cultural organizations to serve new communities and to adopt innovative

management practices. As Vera Zolberg recently commented, the entire conception of how the arts relate to community building is changing, so a leading role for WSAC (and other state arts agencies) could be very transformative for artists, arts organizations, and localities.¹⁸ WSAC's move toward Community Consortium Grants in its Arts in Education program is a case in point.

The problem with this strategy is fundamentally a political one. As Paul DiMaggio has noted, state arts agencies are faced with two pressing political imperatives: (1) they must spread their money around to many large and small organizations throughout the state, and (2) they must develop a diverse set of supporters (partly through a broad-based, allocation strategy).¹⁹ But they must also be prepared to respond sufficiently to the politically well-connected major arts organizations. (In the case of WSAC, these political imperatives are even more urgent because of the WSAC governance structure—a commission comprised of important civic leaders from around the state.) These political imperatives constrain the ability of state arts agencies to push innovation and reach out—on an extensive basis—to new constituencies. Moreover, recent budget cuts and the prospect of additional cuts further limit the political options of these important state arts agencies.

In short, the old paradigm of cultural policy appears to be in sharp decline. But a new paradigm, led by a cooperating consortium of state cultural agencies, has been elusive. Perhaps an agency that reported directly to the governor—as many state arts agencies and some, broader cultural agencies do—would be freer to experiment with new paradigms and arrangements, but perhaps not. Such an arrangement might not enjoy the broad-based political support that the current, more independent agencies enjoy or as much assistance from a healthy private nonprofit sector. Yet, it is possible to envision a new role for state cultural agencies that would shift from the old paradigm to a new paradigm in which

¹⁸ Vera L. Zolberg, "Current Challenges for Cultural Policy," *The Journal of Arts Management, Law, and Society*, Vol. 32, No. 4, 2003, 295-307.

¹⁹ Paul DiMaggio, "Decentralization of Arts Funding from the Federal Government to the States," in Stephen Benedict, ed., *Public Money and the Muse: Essays on Government Funding of the Arts* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1991), 228-229.

they would still support local arts and cultural initiatives throughout the state but would also focus on becoming catalysts for innovation and experimentation in the arts and culture including pushing local non-governmental funding sources to be more receptive to new approaches to art and culture.

This catalyst role would also suggest a gradual move away from two important aspects of current state arts policy and, to a lesser extent, current local arts policy. First, agencies such as WSAC still tend to operate through an individual grant model. But in a new era of arts and cultural policy, this approach is becoming increasingly problematic for two reasons: (1) the dramatic growth in the arts and cultural sector (an estimated \$1 billion investment in capital construction for arts organizations in King and Pierce counties in the last twenty years) means that grants to individual organizations involved in all sectors of cultural policy are almost ridiculously out of proportion to what these organizations perceive as their “need,” and (2) the focus on individual grants and projects tends to produce a fragmentation and atomization in the support of cultural policy. In place of the individual grant model, WSAC, as well as the other state and local agencies involved in cultural policy, would be well-advised to consider using the very modest funds available to encourage new forms of collaboration, community participation and buy-in, and public-private partnerships such as business-nonprofit alliances taking advantage of both in-kind and cash contributions. WSAC has already initiated a program along these lines in their Arts in Education program with its Community Consortium Grants. Given the enthusiasm generated by these grants, it appears clear that this type of grant fits with the emerging “new paradigm” of arts and cultural policy and could serve as a model for other similar initiatives.

Second, a tendency exists at both the state and local levels in Washington to focus on the economic benefits of arts policy. The Building for the Arts program, for exam-

ple, is sold partly on this basis. Another notable example is Corporate Council for the Arts/ArtsFund, which has for many years published a periodic report on the economic benefits of the capital investment in the arts in King and Pierce counties. WSAC has continually searched for ways to make the economic benefits argument credible in the belief that the governor and the state Legislature are inclined to pay more attention to this argument than to others.

But the emergent paradigm in arts funding—incorporating new conceptions of the community—would seem to suggest a move away from direct economic benefits as the compelling *raison d'être* to a more complex and comprehensive view of the contributions of the arts to community vitality, civic life and social capital.²⁰ Jobs are, after all, transitory, while the contributions to civic life of cultural policies can endure for generations. In the end, there is little substitute for clearly articulated, well-designed policies.

²⁰ See, for example, Wyszomirski, “Federal Cultural Support,” 1995. For a local example, consider the new building of the Northwest Museum of Arts and Culture in Spokane. This facility is a testimony to the capacity of an arts institution to promote civic life through its design and programs, factors whose contribution to community life go well beyond the actual (temporary) jobs created by the construction project.

Postlude

In closing, let us return to the thought with which we began: State level support for the arts, humanities, heritage, and allied forms of culture has, for some time, been an important source of direct government support to these endeavors in the United States. Moreover, it is now widely recognized that not only legislation, but also the projects, programs, and policies of a broad set of state-level agencies have an important impact on the cultural life of a state. State cultural agencies, and their grant-making programs in particular, provide the most visible support for culture, but the combination of policies and programs across state government is a much better indicator of a state's cultural vitality and its commitment to developing the cultural life of its citizens.

The State of Washington is a case in point.

We have demonstrated that cultural policy, whether or not it is articulated as such, permeates many corners of a state's bureaucracy. Exploring those corners in Washington, we have come upon surprises, but we have also come upon programs and projects that are pretty much what one might have expected. We have come upon disappointments and lost opportunities, but we have also come upon striking successes and opportunities that have been fully embraced. We have found innovation, and we have found standard operating procedures. Washington has turned out to be particularly interesting because of the variety of institutional forms embodied in the main cultural policy agencies; they illustrate well the advantages and disadvantages of these various forms. In short, the ecology of state cultural policy in Washington turned out to be rich, complex, and instructive.

For the most part, we were outsiders to the State of Washington. We were not commissioned by the state, nor by any of its agencies. Rather, with the support of The Pew Charitable Trusts, we were able to bring an opportunity to the cultural policy table of the State of Washington: the opportunity to have the cultural policy of the state—both direct and indirect, both explicit and implicit—documented and analyzed from an outsider's viewpoint. We hope that we have demonstrated that there is considerable value in such an approach.

We have looked at one state and have focused, for the most part, on one point in time—the present. We have constructed a “map,” which is but one representation of the cultural policy terrain. We trust it will turn out to be a useful map to those who are concerned with one or another aspect of the cultural policy of Washington; but only the most fortunate of cartographers knows exactly what the use of the map he is about to craft will be. Through our map, perhaps some will see their place in the cultural policy ecology more clearly; perhaps others will find that some aspect of the policy system that they have found particularly perplexing has been clarified; perhaps we have pointed to opportunities that some have not perceived before; and perhaps we have highlighted aspects that others will feel ought to be improved.

Yet, we also understand that any map is limited in its ability to clarify the terrain. The value of this work would be greatly enhanced with the completion of similar mapping projects in other states, particularly states whose institutional ecologies differ from Washington's. This would

facilitate comparison, and only with such information would one be fully able to give an accurate account of the determinants of effective state cultural policy.

The Council of Europe through its Program of Reviews of National Cultural Policies afforded the opportunity for a wide-ranging conversation on the nature and future of national cultural policy in Europe. It is our hope that our work, modeled on this precedent, has taken the first small step toward the same type of conversation at the state level in the United States.

Appendices

Interviews

We are particularly grateful to the many individuals who agreed to be interviewed or who provided us with information relevant to this project. The job titles that are given below are the individuals' titles at the time of our primary conversations with them.

- Daniel Aarthun, Capital Projects Manager, Building for the Arts Program, Office of Community Development
- Randy Abrahamson, Assistant Historic Preservation Officer, Spokane Tribe of Indians
- David Allen, Founding Director, Executive Council for a Greater Tacoma
- Richard Andrews, Managing Director, Henry Arts Gallery, University of Washington
- Peter Antolin, Senior Budget Assistant to the Governor, Budget Division, Office of Financial Management
- William Arntz, Executive Director, Seattle Aquarium
- Eli Ashley, Director, The Broadway Center for the Performing Arts
- Toni Aspin, Managing Director, Richard Hugo House
- Putnam Barber, President, The Evergreen Society
- Katherine Baril, Chair, Jefferson County, Washington State University Cooperative Extension Service
- Miriam Barnett, Chair, Washington State Arts Commission
- Harriet Beale, Outreach and Implementation Manager, Puget Sound Water Quality Action Team, Office of the Governor
- Linda Bellon-Fisher, Manager, Arts in Education Programs, Washington State Arts Commission
- Bitsy Bidwell, Community Arts Development Program Manager, Washington State Arts Commission
- Benji Bittle, Arts Manager, Culture and Tourism Division, Tacoma Economic Development Department
- Margaret Ann Bollmeier, President and CEO, Washington Commission for the Humanities
- Rick Bonino, Entertainment Editor, *The Spokesman-Review*
- Phoebe Bosche, Managing Director/Co-Publisher, *The Raven Chronicles*
- Allyson Brooks, State Historic Preservation Officer, Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, Office of Community Development
- Teresa Brum, Director, Spokane Historic Preservation Department
- Steve Burns, Executive Director, Washington Wine Commission
- Lyll Bush, Program Director, Washington Commission for the Humanities
- Rita Calabro, Director of Facilities and Operations, Meany Hall for the Performing Arts, University of Washington
- Josi irene Callan, Director, Museum of Glass/International Center for Contemporary Art
- Robert Carriker, Professor, Department of History, Gonzaga University
- Sharon Case, Lobbyist
- Kristine Castleman, Acting Executive Director and Chief Financial Officer, Seattle Arts Commission
- Ron Chew, Director, Wing Luke Asian Museum
- Rick Cooper, Policy Director, Department of Natural Resources
- Barbara Courtney, Executive Director, Artist Trust
- Kimberly Craven, Executive Director, Governor's Office of Indian Affairs
- Brooke Creswell, Music Director, Yakima Symphony Orchestra
- Reidun Crowley, Market Development, Non-Profit Facilities Financing, Housing Finance Commission

- Walt Crowley, President and Executive Director, HistoryLink
- Margit Dimenti, Associate Director, Simpson Center for the Humanities, University of Washington
- Peter Donnelly, Executive Director, Corporate Council for the Arts
- Darlene Doyle, Art Teacher, Oroville School District
- Lorin Doyle, Collections Manager (Program Manager), Art in Public Places Program, Washington State Arts Commission
- David Edwards, President, Board of Trustees, Washington State Historical Society
- Tom Edwards, Jr., “Xwomiksten,” Resources Protection, Lummi Nation Natural Resources Department
- Bruce Eldredge, Executive Director, Eastern Washington State Historical Society/Northwest Museum of Arts and Culture
- Jim Ellis, Parks Planner, Washington State Parks and Recreation Commission
- Josie Emmons, Manager, Culture and Tourism Division, Tacoma Economic Development Department
- Steve Excell, Chief of Staff, Office of the Secretary of State
- Jack Faris, Vice President for University Relations, University of Washington, and Chair, Washington Commission for the Humanities
- Jim Farmer, Park Manager, Fort Worden State Park
- David Fenton, Executive Director, Clark County Historical Museum
- Robert Fimbel, Chief, Resource Stewardship, Washington State Parks and Recreation Commission
- Amanda Swain Floan, Assistant Director, Washington Commission for the Humanities
- Ann Focke, Executive Director, Grantmakers in the Arts
- Jim Fox, Special Assistant to the Director, Interagency Committee for Outdoor Recreation
- Adeline Fredin, Historic Preservation Officer, Confederated Tribes of the Colville Reservation
- David Freece, Executive Director, Cowlitz County Historical Museum
- Nancy Frey, Executive Director, Bainbridge Arts and Humanities Council
- Mary Frye, Awards Program Manager, Grants to Organizations, Washington State Arts Commission
- Phyllis Gallegos, Chair, Commission on Hispanic Affairs
- Julia Garnett, Director, Cultural Council of Greater Tacoma
- Chuck Gibilisco, Watchable Wildlife Coordinator, Wildlife Program, Washington Department of Fish and Wildlife
- Jen Graves, Arts Writer, *The News Tribune*
- Greg Griffith, Deputy State Historic Preservation Officer, Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, Office of Community Development
- Michael Groesch, Staff Coordinator, Transportation Committee
- Paul Gutierrez, Chair, King County, Washington State University Extension Service
- Regina Hackett, Art Critic, *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*
- Michael Halleran, Divisional Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences, University of Washington
- Karen Hanan, Executive Director, Arts Northwest
- Jerry Handfield, State Archivist
- Peter Herzog, Parks Planner, Washington State Parks and Recreation Commission
- Michael Houser, Architectural Historian, National and State Register Program Director, Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, Office of Community Development
- Helen Howell, Deputy Chief of Staff, Office of the Governor
- Susan Howson, Fiscal Analyst, Capital Budget Committee, House of Representatives
- Stella Ireland, Executive Director, North West Children’s Theatre
- Donna James, Director, Seattle Film and Video Office
- Leann Johnson, Cultural Services Manager, City of Vancouver Cultural Services
- Gretchen Johnston, Executive Director, Washington State Arts Alliance
- Colleen Jollie, Tribal Liaison, Washington State Department of Transportation
- Bill Jolly, Environmental Program Manager, Washington State Parks and Recreation Commission
- Carol Jolly, Deputy Director, Governor’s Executive Policy Office

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- Kyle Taylor Lucas, Tribal Liaison, Department of Natural Resources
- M. L. Lyke, Lifestyles, *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*
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- Jeff Wheeler, Park Ranger, Cama Beach, Washington State Parks and Recreation Commission
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Documents Consulted/Cited

Washington

In studying the state cultural policy of Washington we consulted a wide variety of brochures, guidelines, application forms, press releases, and newsletters of the various agencies, programs, and organizations we visited. We have made no attempt to summarize all of these documents here.

We also conducted a systematic reading of the web sites of all of the state agencies and programs discussed in this report. Most of these web sites can be accessed easily through the Access Washington web site: <http://access.wa.gov/>

Finally, we systematically searched the laws of the State of Washington, accessing the Revised Code of Washington through either Access Washington or the web site of the Washington State Legislature: <http://search.leg.wa.gov/pub/textsearch/default.asp>

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