The Arts and Humanities: Mapping Cultural Federalism in the U.S.

Introduction

The conceptualization of cultural policy as a public policy inquiry is a relatively recent phenomenon, particularly in the U.S. (Paquette & Redaelli, 2015; Schuster, 2002). This phrase has been looked at suspiciously for fear of uttering it with all the *dirigiste* implications, exemplified by the twentieth century government in Germany, Russia, and China (Wyszomirski, 2004). Pioneering studies of American cultural policy have embarked on descriptions of the overall system to provide a general overview (Mulcahy, 1987; Mulcahy & Wyszomirski, 1995; Netzer, 2006) and other studies have focused on different issues such as how the definitions of cultural policy issues have been changing at the federal level (McNeely & Shockley, 2006; Shockley & McNeely, 2009; Strom & Cook, 2004; Wyszomirski, 2004) and how state governments got involved (Lowell, 2008; Mulcahy, 2002; Schuster, 2002). What is missing in this growing line of inquiry is an analysis highlighting federal and state governments actions and the way they are connected.

In the U.S. there is not a national cultural policy with a clear course of action, but rather a very large number of policy measures that are the consequence of the organizational pluralism that characterizes American government in general (Netzer, 2006). This intricate net of organizational relationships has been referred to as *cultural federalism* (Griswold, 2016; Kammen, 1996; Mulcahy, 2002), but it has never been fulling investigated. Cultural federalism refers to the organization of the cultural sector around several actors resulting from a federal framework aiming to sustain a pluralistic society (Wright 1990; Wright 1978). This conceptualization is based on an understanding of American federalism through the multi-level

governance model, which explains policymaking as interlocking not only different levels of government through intergovernmental relations (Wright 1990; Wright 1978), but also resources of private actors (Peters & Pierre, 2001; Redaelli, 2016; Andranovich & Anagoson, 2015; Radin & Posner, 2010).

This article will examine cultural federalism using a public administration approach that maps the governmental organizations involved focusing on the arts and humanities. The use of the term *mapping* links this research to the pioneering studies of the administrative structure of cultural policy (Schuster, 2002; Schuster et al., 2003). Drawing from Schuster, this article proceeds further articulating the term mapping as a form of analysis based on a framework that connects literature about issue formulation (Dunn, 2008; Guess & Farnham, 2011; Kingdon, 2011) and policy implementation (Friedman, 2006; Ripley & Franklin, 1982; Gormley & Balla, 2004). The unit of analysis is the bureaucracy, which is considered the most tangible instrument addressing matters identified as being part of public concern (Ripley & Franklin, 1982; Sandfort & Moulton, 2015). In particular, the focus will be on understanding how Congress has framed the arts and humanities as a matter of concern for the federal government, how the institutional diversification of the arts and the humanities developed and what is the relationships between the resulting organizations at federal and state level.

The article will start with an overview of cultural federalism intertwined with the explanation of the choice of analytical framework to analyze it and the data sources chosen for its investigation. The remainder of the article will continue with a description of the major aspects of the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities Act of 1965 that make the case for the creation of two major federal agencies, and it will describe the consequent development of a state bureaucracy for the arts and humanities. Before offering a few conclusive thoughts, the

article will describe the current map of American cultural federalism and provide a snapshot of the revenues of the organizations involved.

Mapping Cultural Federalism

A long, complicated history, brought issues of cultural policy onto the federal agenda. Under the U.S. Constitution, the federal government has limited power. Specifically, the 10th Amendment holds that all the powers not given to the federal government in the constitution are reserved to the states (Salkin, 2015). The responsibility for cultural development was not one of the powers that the Founding Fathers wanted to delegate to Congress or the President (Mark, 1969). So, there is no constitutional claim for providing support to cultural activities at the federal level.

Under the Roosevelt administration, major arts and cultural programs were developed as part of the Works Progress Adminisrtation (WPA), but few more decades of debates were necessary before the establishments of federal agenices devoted to the arts nad the humanities (Binkiewicz, 2004; Larson, 1983; Mark, 1991; Berman, 1984) In 1964, The Commission on the Humanities wrote a report for President Kennedy stating the value of the humanities for the nation, and claiming that a diversity of support coming from public and private entities was necessary to strengthen the freedom and variety of scholarship (Commission on the Humanities, 1964). The report was written to make a case for federal support, but at the same time it reiterated the need for a mechanism that included several sources and was not limited to the government. "The day must never come when scholars and artists can look only to the federal government for the help they need; still less should they depend on a single agency" (Commission on the Humanities, 1964, p. 9). The subsequent system of government support of cultural needs, that was not limited

to the federal government, but included collaborations at all levels and enhanced pluralism, has been called cultural federalism (Griswold, 2016; Kammen, 1996; Mulcahy, 2002).

Cultural federalism refers to an organizational ramification shaped by federal design and implies an understanding of American federalism based on the multi-level governance model (Peters & Pierre, 2001; Redaelli, 2016). This model describes policymaking as interlocking different vertical levels of the government, which leverages intergovernmental relations, as well as engaging the resources of independent actors, which enhances a pluralistic society (Andranovich & Anagoson, 2015; Radin & Posner, 2010). In the cultural sector the result is the development of a pluralistic approach initially has engaged primarily the private sector and local governments (Cowen, 2009; NEA, 2012), this analysis aims to understand the implication of the involvement of the federal government and the creation of cultural federalism. For the analyst of cultural policy, the multiplicity of government decision makers and the reliance on "arms-length" relations between government and nonprofit organizations appears to be incoherent, but it is important to highlight that it is a characteristic of American public policy in many spheres (Netzer, 2006).

Schuster (2002) developed pioneering research to develop an understanding of this complex organizational nest of American cultural policy and started an analytical description of the numerous agencies involved, focusing on the state level. This article draws from his work and brings attention to the investigation of the multi-level governance of cultural policy, identifying the organizations dedicated to culture within the two levels of government, bringing to the forefront how cultural needs became policy issues at federal level and what kind of organizations were developed to implement the policy. This exercise is conducted based on a framework that connects literature about issue formulation and policy implementation. Policy issues are

problems affecting the public, in relation to which the government should take action (Dunn, 2008; Guess & Farnham, 2011; Kingdon, 2011). They can be categorized as a set of unrealized needs, values, or opportunities and phrased as actionable statements, based on which expenditures can be made and personnel deployed. The diagnosis of a problem is quite complex and requires as much time, if not more, than the time allocated to considering alternative solutions. This is way an important step in policy analysis is to understand how an issue gets framed as a matter of governmental action (Kingdon, 2011). This study looks at issue formulation not as an historical analysis, but from a public administration perspective that studies public policies as determined by a combination of legislative undertakings and actions of implementing organizations (Friedman, 2006).

The unit of analysis is the governmental bureaucracy, which is considered a crucial action of government to support a policy issue and to implement the needs and values framed by the policy. Recent trends in policy analysis focus on implementation and consider bureaucracies the most tangible instrument for addressing matters identified as being part of public's concern (Ripley & Franklin, 1982; Sandfort & Moulton, 2015). Moreover, bureaucracies have been highlighted as the democratic instrument of policymaking (Gormley & Balla, 2004). They are a clear and rich analytical unit for at least two reasons. First, they are a tangible phenomenon of our reality. Second, they are at the intersection of two crucial main steps of policymaking, policy formulation and implementation. Considering that bureaucracy is characterized by the rule of law and its main activity is implementing laws (Hill & Hupe, 2009; Peters & Pierre, 2003), the starting point will be the first federal law concerned with cultural policy: The National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities Act of 1965.

This analysis of cultural federalism investigates how cultural policy issues have been framed, and what actions have been undertaken in order to develop a multi-level governance, in particular at federal and state level. It is carried out as a mapping exercise that identifies the organizations, describes their governance and revenues, highlights their links and connections, and enhances the values that grounded their establishments. Using a public administration perspective based on the therotical grounding described above, the article engages with a variety of sources such as the U.S. Code, final reports and websites of the different agencies examined, income surveys, historical documents, and 990 tax forms. The underlying questions will be: How did Congress frame the arts and humanities as a matter of governmental concern? What kind of organizations has the government established to address that concern? What kind of resources and multi-level governance emerged from it?

The Arts and Humanities at Federal Level

The National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities Act of 1965 (2016) created the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities, the purpose of which is to "develop and promote a broadly conceived national policy of support for the humanities and the arts in the U.S." (National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities Act of 1965, 2016). Today the foundation is composed of the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA), National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH), and the Federal Council on the Arts and the Humanities, an interagency committee of Federal officials, and the Institute of Museum and Library Services (IMLS). As stated in the law, the Foundation has no administrative or programming identity separate from its components. The focus of this article is on the NEA and NEH, which were the first two groundbreaking agencies formed right after the enactment of the law and that

represented the first bureaucratic investment towards the arts and humanities at the federal level. Indeed, national commitment to culture emerged few decades before in the 1930s with the WPA that supported several art projects (Binkiewicz, 2004). "The WPA years represented the highest point of government support for the arts, but the support emanated from a need for economic recovery, rather than from any deeply held societal value in support of the arts" (Mankin, 1995, p. 91).

In the initial section of the law, titled "Declaration of findings and purposes," Congress states with strong colors the importance of the arts and humanities for the U.S. The arts and humanities belong to all American people and their relevance for the nation has several facets. They reflect American cultural heritage and the diverse values of all American persons and groups. Moreover, the law enhances how the world leadership of the U.S. should not be concerned solely with power, wealth, and technology, but also with the realm of ideas and of the spirit that is represented by the arts and the humanities. The government should support a climate encouraging freedom of thought, imagination, and inquiry, preserving American artistic multicultural heritage, as well as supporting new ideas. The purpose is to foster citizens who are critical thinkers and enact a strong democracy, showing mutual respect for their different values, and to understand the past and better view the future. A preparation in the arts and humanities allows all citizens to recognize the aesthetic dimensions of everyday life and the diversity that comprises American cultural heritage.

Given the relevance of the arts and humanities for the nation, the law states that their support should come from both the private and public sector, including the federal government. The Act acknowledges the debate on the role of government in the arts and humanities, and suggests that, even though cultural support is primarily a matter for private and local initiative, it is also an

appropriate matter of concern for the federal government. “It is necessary and appropriate for the Federal Government to complement, assist, and add to programs for the advancement of the humanities and the arts by local, State, regional, and private agencies and their organizations” (National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities Act of 1965, 2016).

Scholars have defined the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities Act of 1965 (2016) as “the most ambitious piece of cultural legislation in American history” (Zainaldin, 2013, p. 30). The rationale for the depiction of the public purpose of the arts and humanities is quite articulate, providing a persuasive language for the need of government intervention and support. In particular, several scholars have highlighted the powerful way in which the Act portrays the role of the federal government (Mulcahy, 1987). Indeed, local and private entities have priority, while the federal role is to assist and encourage a multi-faceted and diverse cultural policy (Mark, 1969, p. 11). Its major role is as leader and partner, with a central focus on national cultural needs (Netzer, 2006).

An important observation emerging from the analysis of this legislation is that Congress framed issues of cultural policy as concerned with supporting the arts and humanities. Each of the two categories includes a set of different activities that is defined and in section 952 of the law (see Table 1), but their relevance for the nation is argued by articulating the benefits that both bring to the American people. However, even if in terms of values the arts and humanities go hand in hand, from a bureaucratic standpoint the law developed two different organizations charged to support the cultural activities included in each specific category. In fact, after describing the purpose of the Foundation’s stating the value of the arts and humanities as embedded in each other, the act continues by generating two separate sections, each one

describing a distinct federal agency: the NEA established to support the arts, and the NEH established to support the humanities.

Table 1-Arts and Humanities Definitions

The President appoints the Chairperson for both of the Endowments, with the advice and consent of the Senate. Each of the two Endowments is served by a respective advisory body, the National Council on the Arts and the National Council on the Humanities (NEA, 2000). They include members of the Senate, members of the House of Representatives, and 18 members appointed by the President from among private citizens according to criteria that assures a wide representation. The Act also specifies how no federal supervision should impact programming, establishing the arm's-length rule implied in this endeavor. Therefore, even though the governance of both agencies is determined by political appointments, the decision on which programs are deserving of funding support is determined by advisory panels of experts that determine the merit of the projects (Leff, 1995). Currently, as specified in section 959, provisions require that panels are composed of individuals reflecting a wide geographic and ethnic representation and diverse artistic and cultural points of view, but also lay individuals who are knowledgeable in the arts but who are not in the arts as a profession. The Chairperson makes the final decision, as is general practice in the federal government (Netzer, 2006).

The NEA has gained more visibility than the NEH among the general public for several reasons. First, as pointed out by the legislative father of the NEH, Rhode Island Senator Claiborne Pell, the performing and visual arts interact with audiences in a way that some core humanities tasks, such as research and writing, may not. Second, the term "humanities" is not

well understood and its meaning has been debated mainly in circles revolving around higher education, whereas conversations about what the arts are have been animating wider circles including local communities. Third, the NEA has been the center of attention for controversy emerging from the content of some funded exhibits (Miller, 2000; Shockley & McNeely, 2009; Zeigler, 1994).

Even scholars have been paying more attention to the NEA. Some described the intricate but successful history of the national government's involvement in supporting the arts (Binkiewicz, 2004; Larson, 1983; Mark, 1991), some other scholars have highlighted how this government involvement has also brought a political component within the arts world and government support has not only affected commerce in the arts; it has also accelerated their politicization (Finn, 1984). Finally, some scholars have studied the impact of federal money over time and raised some doubts on the value of the NEA in its ability to leverage private funding. In fact, Borgonovi and O'Hare (2004) claim that the introduction of the agency appears to not have increased donations, as at the institutional level grants do not increase art giving to their recipients.

The Arts and the Humanities at State Level

After the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities' Act and the establishment of two federal agencies, a robust infrastructure was also developed at the state level, following two different paths. The NEA quickly focused on the development of a ramified infrastructure encompassing a state arts organization in each state. The NEH was reluctant in developing such infrastructure because its possible connections with local organizations serving a general

audience was perceived as challenging the agency's purpose. In this section, the article describes how these two different paths unfolded.

State Arts Agencies

In section 954 of the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities Act of 1965 where Congress established the NEA, one of the requirements for the work of the agency was to provide funds to the states for the establishment of a state arts agency (SAA). This requirement spurred the birth of SAAs around the nation. The establishment of state arts agencies preceded the NEA. The first agency was created in Utah in 1899, and 18 states already had an agency before 1965. By 1975 there was a SAA in all 50 states and the six U.S. jurisdictions (NASAA, 2016). Considered "children of the NEA" (Lowell, 2004, p. 4) the SAAs served as the NEA's broad-reaching support hubs for the arts and were created in response to the federal government's financial incentive to provide excellence and access in the arts. They also built a national constituency for the federal agency (Urice, 1992).

In the debate preceding the establishment of the NEA, some opponents of government support for the arts feared that a centralized bureaucracy would widen existing cultural disparities between the big cities, smaller cities, and rural areas (Lowell, 2004). This prompted a key provision in the legislation, requiring the establishment of state agencies serving the people in the communities of each of the several states. Section 5 (g) of the National Foundation Act of 1965 required that the NEA provides no less than 20% of its funding to state arts agencies and created a catalyst for the creation of SAAs in all the states that did not have already one (Urice, 1992). Moreover, states wanting to receive federal money needed to create a state arts agency and match funding through their legislature. The Federal-State Partnership program mandated by

law to begin in 1967 (NEA, 2000), and thanks to the stimulus of the federal government the creation of state arts agencies brought programs that provided performances or exhibitions in communities who previously did not have the opportunities to participate in such activities (Scott & Scott, 1970).

The SAAs were established as government agencies and their placement within the structure of state government comes in multiple variations: 23 are independent agencies, 8 are within cultural resources departments, 8 are within economic development departments, 5 are within tourism departments, and 3 are within state departments. Alaska's SAA is in the Department of Education and Early Development, and Hawaii's SAA is in the Department of Accounting and General Services. Vermont's SAA is a nonprofit organization, but is designated by legislature to receive funding by the state (NASAA, 2014). This variety of placements within the structure of state government could be the result of different ways of thinking about the arts and their connections with other aspects of policymaking. For instance, Alaska might enhance the educational value of the arts and therefore supports its connection with policymaking in education. Moreover, different placements have different types of structural advantages. Independent agencies have the advantage of a direct line of communication with the governor and legislature; embedded SAAs have the advantage of resource sharing and increased potential for collaborative initiatives. The National Assembly of State Arts Agencies (NASAA) observed that between 1994 and 2014 the average appropriation to independent SAAs increased by 52.9%, faring better than any embedded agency.

SAAs are strongly connected with their state government, considering that the majority of funding comes from state appropriations and their governance is made up of commissioners appointed by the governor. The executive directors are variously appointed by the governor or

selected via a national search by the board. SAAs' major funding source is the appropriation from the state government. In fiscal year 2014, NEA funding made up 10.5% of SAAs' revenues, whereas legislative appropriations accounted for 75.8%. This means that the biggest influence of the SAAs' funding is the health of a state's overall budget. Moreover, as SAAs depend so heavily on legislative appropriations, that means they need to keep legislators happy about what they do in order to survive (DiMaggio, 1991).

State Humanities Councils

The NEH did not branch out into state agencies as quickly as the NEA and it was rather reluctant to follow the NEA example (Zainaldin, 2013). The NEH chair and staff rejected the state arts agency model as the wrong fit for their knowledge-based enterprise. They resisted local programming for a wider audience, focusing not on the general public, but the scholarly community (Miller, 1984). The aim was to have a similar role to the National Science Foundation, and advance the humanities primarily by supporting first-rate research (Finn, 1984). To change perspective, it took some maneuvering by the legislative father of the NEH, Rhode Island Senator Claiborne Pell. He watched the runaway public success of the better-known NEA. He understood that by nature, the performing and visual arts inevitably look outward to public audiences, in a way that some core humanities tasks, such as research and writing, may not. However, he looked at how the NEA provided local funding through state-level arts councils, tied into their respective state governments, as their major reason for a more successful formula. NEH had no such state-level counterparts (Ferington, 2015).

Pell convinced the NEH's second chair, Wallace Edgerton, to experiment with state-level humanities counterparts similar to the NEA's state arts agencies. Edgerton set up trial programs

in six states, trying out three different organizational approaches. Two states relied on "arts and humanities councils" to distribute or "regrant" NEH funds; two used existing adult education programs, and two more had new committees created for the purpose, drawing members from historical societies, libraries, educational institutions, and public television. The brand-new committees immediately proved to be the most successful (Ferington, 2015).

Within one year, 1971, Edgerton established thirty-six state nonprofit humanities councils to further distribute NEH funds all now following the volunteer committee model. By 1979, there was a citizen-governed humanities council in each of the 50 states, Puerto Rico, and the District of Columbia. By 1994, humanities councils had been added in the U.S. Virgin Islands, Guam, Northern Marianas, and American Samoa (NEH, 2016). Meanwhile, senator Pell had taken on the issue of the state committees, arguing that the committees should become permanent councils, something close to state agencies. In 1975, the committees became "councils." Governors were now entitled to appoint a few members to the council boards. However, they remain private nonprofit organizations.

The 1980s marked the end of a decade of experimentation and the beginning of councils as professional, independent grant makers and program developers rooted in local experience (Zainaldin, 2013). State Humanities Councils forged "public humanities" programs based on a civic methodology based on the confidence in the power of humanities-based dialogue to create just and informed civil societies (Kammen, 1996; Zainaldin, 2013). Moreover, the byproduct of this institutional development is the growth of public support for the humanities, showing how the federal and state programs are interdependent: the NEH needs the public work of the councils and the councils need the scholarship supported by the NEH. Together they can fulfill the idealism of the

1965 legislation: “Democracy demands wisdom and vision in its citizens” (National Foundation Act of 1965, 2016).

Cultural Federalism: Actors and Resources

The establishment of two federal agencies for the arts and humanities triggered the growth of the bureaucracy involved in the multi-level governance of the arts and humanities field, expanding the actors engaged in cultural federalism (See Table 2). The legislation addressed the arts and humanities in the same act, and it implemented the objectives stated by the law by creating two different federal agencies. These two agencies spurred a proliferation of other organizations, implementing the objectives of the law accordingly to the ideals of multi-level governance that interlocks different levels of government and engages the resources of independent actors (Andranovich & Anagoson, 2015; Radin & Posner, 2010). Nowadays SAAs and State Humanities Councils are present in all 56 states and jurisdictions. SAAs rely on the National Assembly of State Arts Agencies (NASAA), a nonprofit and membership organization that provides facts, research, and information, advocates for the arts in Congress, and connects and shares professional practices. Similar to NASAA, the humanities councils have a nonprofit membership organization, the Federation of State Humanities Councils, to keep them connected and support the diffusion of public humanities programs.

Moreover, the NEA created a partnership that grouped the SAAs in six Regional Arts Organizations (RAOs): Western States Arts Alliance, Arts Midwest, South Arts, Mid Atlantic Arts Foundation, and the New England Federation for the Arts.[1] RAOs are nonprofit organizations that receive government funding but also rely on private funding to operate. Regional arts programs emerged in the late 1960s, but the development of regional arts

organizations was encouraged in 1973 by the NEA's House reauthorizing committee. RAOs were formed to support programs that could be handled in a more cost-effective way on a multi-state basis. By federal legislation, RAOs and SAAs receive collectively 40% of the NEA's budget. RAOs assist in the distribution of grant funding and promote the development of local partners such as foundations, local arts agencies, arts organizations, corporations, businesses, and individuals.

Table 2 - Cultural Federalism Actors

This chart of the organizations involved in American cultural federalism at the federal and state levels highlights how multi-level governance interlocks different levels of government, enhancing vertical intergovernmental relations and leveraging resources coming from different actors. In 2014, the SAAs received 10.5% of their funding from the NEA, but the majority of their funding comes from the state, the appropriation from which accounted for 75.8% of the total budget. In the same year, the State Humanities Councils received 56.5% of their funding from the NEA, 17.4% by private contributions and 14.3% by State and local government. Their legal structure as nonprofit organizations allows for a greater variety of sources such as individual and local government contributions. NEA and NEH findings come from Congress appropriations, whereas NASAA and the Federation are membership organizations whose funding comes exclusively from their members. The RAOs receive their main contributions by the federal government and by their programs services, leveraging income from their constituencies.

Figure 1 - SAAs and Humanities Council's Funding Sources

An overall summary of the revenues of the arts and humanities organizations demonstrate how much each organization contributes to the field and how they compare to each other. It also

clearly highlights the success of the SAAs, which gradually started surpassing the NEA in the early 1990s (Mulcahy, 2002).

Figure 2 - Total revenues 2014

Besides a pluralistic source of revenues, cultural federalism includes an interesting variety of governance structures. This variety allows for the creation of a leadership that comes from different areas of civil society and creates a bureaucracy representative of a pluralistic society. As described in the section about the federal level, the NEA and NEH are served by an advisory body that includes a mix of elected officials from Congress and private citizens appointed by the President. SAAs' board of directors is composed of commissioners appointed by the governor. The executive directors of SAAs are elected to be on the board of their members' organization NASAA, whereas the Federation board includes executive directors from states and territories across the nation, but also public members. State Humanities Councils are nonprofit organizations and their board is selected internally among members of the community; however, since 1975 the governors were also entitled to appoint few members. RAOs have board of directors with representatives of arts organizations from the different states included in the region.

The multi-level governance of American cultural federalism draws attention to three interesting aspects. First, there is an interdependence of organizations that are linked to each other in several ways (Hesmondhalgh et al., 2015). For example, the NEA provided the seeds for the creation of the SAAs and the states are continuing to make them grow. Federal and state organizations' activities complement each other, strengthening the connective links of cultural federalism (Kammen, 1996). Second, the role of government is not authoritarian, but rather weak. As authority is dispersed, no one group of officials can take the lead in formulating policy

(Howlett, Ramesh, & Perl, 2009). This can avoid issues of censorship and allow artistic freedom to flourish in a pluralistic and democratic society. Third, a fragmented bureaucracy can address problems in their complexity and adapt programs to specific contextual situations in different locations. The creation of the SAAs aiming to address and enhance the cultural uniqueness of each state is a clear example of this point.

Even though the overall governance of these different organizations is the display of a pluralistic society and engages the resources of different actors, scholars have also pointed out how this sprawling development of organizations has a few drawbacks. The most evident is that this type of governance structure makes government intervention almost invisible. This aspect is clearly testified by the widespread misconception of American cultural policy that the government is practically absent in matters of arts and culture. Another major drawback is that it is extremely difficult to create a long-range plan under this system (Mark, 1969). As there is not a controlling force there can be no single plan and evaluation of its impact.

Conclusions

Mapping cultural federalism in the U.S. brought to the forefront two major actions of the American government in creating a support for cultural activities: (1) the National Foundation Act of 1965, a major law articulating the value of the arts and humanities for the nation, and (2) an intricate array of organizations leveraging funding from different sources and involving people from the different communities in their governance. The historical overview of the creation of SAAs and Humanities Councils displayed the development of a multi-level governance and the interplay among the different levels of government and the tangled links with the private and nonprofit sectors.

Overall, the presence of the government in matters of cultural policy emerges as not *dirigiste*, but quite pervasive, providing a leading role in the shaping of the system and intergovernmental relations. Mapping cultural federalism demonstrated how the American government was able to intervene in matters of cultural policy while avoiding the downfalls associated with totalitarian states. The law articulated the value of the arts and humanities by considering them together, however it proceeded providing a definition of what is included in each category and established two separate federal agencies supporting these two different sets of cultural activities. The further implementation at state level - through SAAs and Humanities Councils - showed American government's commitment to supporting a broad and variegated cultural sector.

This study demonstrates the benefit of approaching research in cultural policy from a public administration perspective, focusing on bureaucracy as a rich unit of analysis and using multi-level governance as theoretical framework to approach federalism. Mapping the ramifications of organizations helps to navigate this intricate bureaucracy, clarify the amount and sources of public funding involved, and identify the arguments articulating the public value of this enterprise. This helps to bring within the broader public policy discussion the arts and humanities highlighting the specific characteristics of their demands on public administration activities. Finally, this approach greatly helps practitioners who will better understand the fragmented and complex picture of cultural policy through the identification of the different actors and the clarification of the way they are connected. This empowers them to develop a robust network as a foundation of a stronger cultural sector.

Despite the clarity and insights provided, this investigation offered only a limited picture of the complexity of cultural federalism. First, as mentioned in the section describing the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities Act, other federal agencies are included in the

foundation. An examination of the IMLS and its contribution to cultural federalism would provide further understanding of how issues of cultural policy are framed and what kind of resources are invested by the government. Second, this overview of aggregated data at state level gave a sense of the impact that the creation of federal agencies had at the state level. However, it needs to be noted that a great amount of variation exists among states on how much they contribute to the arts and humanities. The presentation of aggregated data misses this aspect and future research could investigate these differences, alongside the variety of programming. This further research could help better understand cultural federalism as a bureaucratic system based on a multi-level governance and created to support and enhance the cultural differences among states.

---

[1] Western States Arts Alliance (California, Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Montana, Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, Utah, Nevada, and Wyoming), Arts Midwest (North Dakota, South Dakota, Minnesota, Iowa, Michigan, Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio), Mid-America Arts Alliance (Nebraska, Kansas, Oklahoma, Texas, Missouri, and Arkansas), South Arts (Kentucky, Tennessee, Louisiana, Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia, Florida, South Carolina, and North Carolina), Mid Atlantic Arts Foundation (Virginia, West Virginia, Maryland, District of Columbia, New York, Pennsylvania, Delaware, New Jersey, and the US Virgin Islands), and the New England Federation for the Arts (Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Vermont).

References

Andranovich, G., & Anagoson, T. J. (2015). Public Administration and Governance in the USA. In A. Massey & K. Johnston (Eds.), *The International Handbook of Public Administration and Governance* (pp. 199–225). Cheltenham UK; Northampton MA: Edward Elgar. http://doi.org/10.4337/9781781954492.00016

Bauerlein, M., & Grantham, E. (2009). *National Endowment for the Arts: A History 1965-2008*. Washington, DC: National Endowment for the Arts.

Berman, R. (1984). *Culture & politics*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America.

Binkiewicz, D. M. (2004). *Federalizing the muse : United States arts policy and the National Endowment for the Arts, 1965-1980*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press.

Commission on the Humanities (1964). *Report of the Commission on the Humanities*. Washington, D.C.

Cowen, T. (2009). *Good and Plenty: The Creative Successes of American Arts Funding*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

DiMaggio, P. (1991). Decentralization of Arts Funding From The Federal Government To the States. In S. Benedict (Ed.), *Public Money and The Muse: Essays on Government Funding for the Arts* (pp. 216–252). New York, N.Y.: Norton & Company.

Dunn, W. (2008). *Public Policy Analysis: An Introduction*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Prentice Hall.

Ferington, E. (2015). To Bring the Humanities to All Americans, NEH Needed Local Partners.

Humanities. The Magazine of the National Endowment for the Humanities, *36*(5).

Finn, C. E. (1984, September). Endowing Culture. *Commentary Magazine*. Retrieved from https://www.commentarymagazine.com/articles/the-democratic-muse-by-edward-c-banfield-culture-and-politics-by-ronald-berman-excellence-equity-the-national-endowment-for-the/

Friedman, B. L. (2006). Policy Analysis as Organizational Analysis. In M. Moran, M. Rein, & R. E. Goodin (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Public Policy*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.

Gormley, W. T. J., & Balla, S. J. (2004). *Bureacracy and Democracy. Accountability and Performance*. Washington, D.C.: CQPRess.

Gray, C. (2010). Analysing cultural policy: incorrigibly plural or ontologically incompatible? *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, *16*(2), 215–230. http://doi.org/10.1080/10286630902935160

Griswold, W. (2016). *American Guides: The Federal Wrtiers Project and the Casting of American Culture*. London: The University of Chicago Press.

Guess, G. M., & Farnham, P. G. (2011). *Cases in Public Policy Analysis* (3rd ed.). Washington D.C.: Georgetown University Press.

Hesmondhalgh, D., Oakley, K., Lee, D., & Nisbett, M. (2015). *Culture, Economy and Politics. The Case of New Labour*. Basingstoke; Palgrave Macmillan.

Hill, M., & Hupe, P. (2009). Implementing Public Policy: An Introduction to the Study of Operational Governance. In *Implementing Public Policy* (pp. 32–41). London; Thousand

Oaks; New Delhi; Singapore: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Howlett, M., Ramesh, M., & Perl, A. (2009). *Studying Public Policy: Policy Cycles and Policy Subsystems* (3rd ed.). Don Mills, Ont.; New York: Oxford University Press.

Kammen, M. (1996). Culture and State in America. *The Journal of American History*, *83*(3), 791–814.

Kevin V. Mulcahy. (1987). Government and the Arts in the United States. In Milton C. Cummings Jr. & Richard S. Katz (Eds.), *The Patron State: Government and the Arts in Europe, North America and Japan* (pp. 311–332). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Kingdon, J. W. (2011). *Agendas, Alternatives, and Public Policies*. Boston, MA: Longman Scientific Publications.

Larson, G. O. (1983). *The Reluctant Patron: the United States Government and the Arts, 1943-1965*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Leff, T. P. (1995). The Arts: A Traditional Sphere of Free Expression? First Amendment Implications of Government Funding to the Arts in the Aftermath of Rust v. Sullivan. *American University Law Review*, *45*(2), 353–414.

Lowell, J. (2004). *State Arts Agencies 1965-2003. Whose Interests to Serve?* Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation.

Lowell, J. F. (2008). *State Arts Policy: Trends and Future Prospects*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation.

Mankin, L. D. (1995). Federal Arts Patronage in the New Deal. In *America's Commitment to*

Culture (pp. 77–94).

Mark, C. (1969). *A Study of Cultural Policy in the United States*. Paris: UNESCO.

Mark, C. (1991). *Reluctant Bureaucrats: The Struggle to Establish the National Endowment for the Arts*. Dubuque, IO: Kendall/Hunt Publishing Company.

McNeely, C. L., & Shockley, G. E. (2006). Deconstructing US Arts Policy: A Dialectical Exposition of the Excellence-Access Debate. *Social Justice*, *33*(2), 45–62.

Miller, S. (1984). *Excellence & equity: the National Endowment for the Humanities*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky.

Miller, T. (2000). The National Endowment for the Arts in the 1990s. A black Eye on the Arts? *American Behavioral Scientist*, *43*(9), 1429–1445. http://doi.org/10.1177/1056492611432802

Mulcahy, K. (2002). The State Arts Agencies: An Overview Of Cultural Federalism in the United States. *Journal of Arts Management, Law & Society*, *32*(1), 67-80.

Mulcahy, K. V., & Wyszomirski, M. J. (1995). *America's Commitment To Culture: Government And The Arts*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

NASAA. (2014). *State Arts Agency Placement: Frequently Asked Questions*. Washington, D.C.: NASAA.

NASAA (2016, January 14). *The State Arts Agencies Story* [Video File]. Retrieved from http://www.nasaa-arts.org/About/About-State-Arts-Agencies.php.

National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities Act of 1965, 20 U.S.C., Ch. 26, §§ 951- 960

(2016).

NEA (2000). *The National Endowment for the Arts 1965-2000: A Brief Chronology of Federal Support for the Arts*. *The National Endowment for the Arts*. Washington, DC: NEA.

NEA. (2012). *How the United States Funds the Arts*. Washington, D.C.: NEA.

NEH. (2016). *NEH Timeline*. Retrieved January 19, 2016, from https://www.neh.gov/about/history/timeline

Netzer, D. (2006). Cultural Policy: An American View. In V. Ginsburgh & D. Throsby (Eds.), *Handbook of the Economics of Art and Culture* (Vol. 1, pp. 1223–1251). Amsterdam; Boston, MA: Elsivier.

Paquette, J., & Redaelli, E. (2015). *Arts Management and Cultural Policy Research*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. Retrieved from http://www.palgrave.com/us/book/9781137460912

Peters, B. G., & Pierre, J. (2001). Developments in Intergovernmental Relations: Towards Multi-level Governance. *Policy and Politics*, *29*(2), 131–135. http://doi.org/10.1332/0305573012501251

Peters, B. G., & Pierre, J. (2003). The Role of Public Administration in Governing. In *The SAGE Handbook of Public Administration* (pp. 1–9). London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Radin, B. A., & Posner, P. (2010). Policy Tools, Mandates, and Intergovernmental Relations. In R. F. Durant (Ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of American Bureaucracy* (pp. 447–471). Oxford, UK; New York: Oxford University Pres.

Redaelli, E. (2016). Creative Placemaking and the NEA: Unpacking a Mulit-Level Governance.

Policy Studies. *37* (4), 387-402. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/01442872.2016.1157857.

Ripley, R. B., & Franklin, G. A. (1982). *Bureaucracy and Policy Implementation*. Homewood, Illinois: The Dorsey Press.

Salkin, P. (2015). Land Use Regulation in the United States. In G. Knaap, Z. Nedovic-Budic, & A. Carbonell (Eds.), *Planning for States and Nation-States*. Cambridge, MA: Lincoln Institute of Land Policy.

Sandfort, J., & Moulton, S. (2015). *Effective implementation in practice: integrating public policy and management*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Schuster, J. M. (2002). Sub-National Cultural Policy-Where the Action is: Mapping State Cultural Policy in the United States. *The International Journal of Cultural Policy*, *8*(2), 181–196.

Schuster, J. M. (Ed.). (2003). *Mapping State Cultural Policy: The State of Washington*. (2003). Chicago, IL: Cultural Policy Center-The University of Chicago.

Scott, & Scott, M. (1970). The Federal-State Partnership in the Arts. *Public Administration Review*, *30*(4), 376–386. http://doi.org/10.1177/109821408100200313

Shockley, G. E., & McNeely, C. L. (2009). A Seismic Shift in U.S. federal Arts Policy: A Tale of Organizational Challenge and Controversy in the 1990s. *Journal of Arts Management , Law and Society*, *3*(1), 7–23. http://dx.doi.org/10.3200/JAML.39.1.7-23

Strom, E., & Cook, A. (2004). Old Pictures in New Frames: Issue Definition and Federal Arts Policy. *Review of Policy Research*, *21*(4), 505–522. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1541-1338.2004.00091.x

Urice, J. K. (1992). The Future of the State Arts Agency Movement in the 1990s: Decline and Effect. *The Journal of Arts Management, Law, and Society*, *22*(1), 19–32. http://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10632921.1992.9944392

Wright, D. S. (1978). *Understanding Intergovernmental Relations: Public Policy and Participants' Perspectives in Local, State, and National Governments*. Monterey, CA: Duxbury Press.

Wright, D. S. (1990). Federalism, Intergovernmental Relations, and Intergovernmental Management: Historical Reflections and Conceptual Comparisons. *Public Administration Review* 2, 168–178.

Wyszomirski, M. J. (2004). From Public Support for the Arts to Cultural Policy. *Review of Policy Research*, *21*(4), 469–484. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1541-1338.2004.00089.x

Zainaldin, J. (2013). Public Works: NEH, Congress, and the State Humanities Councils. *The Public Historian*, *35*(1), 28–50. http://doi.org/10.1525/tph.2013.35.1.28

Zeigler, J. W. (1994). *Arts in Crisis: The National Endowment for the Arts Versus America*. Chicago: Chicago Review Press.

Arts	Humanities
“The term "the arts" includes, but is not limited to, music (instrumental and vocal), dance, drama, folk art, creative writing, architecture and allied fields, painting, sculpture, photography, graphic and craft arts, industrial design, costume and fashion design, motion pictures, television, radio, film, video, tape and sound recording, the arts related to the presentation, performance, execution, and exhibition of such major art forms, all those traditional arts practiced by the diverse peoples of this country.[,] and the study and application of the arts to the human environment” (20 U.S.C. § 952, a).	“The term "humanities" includes, but is not limited to, the study and interpretation of the following: language, both modern and classical; linguistics; literature; history; jurisprudence; philosophy; archaeology; comparative religion; ethics; the history, criticism, and theory of the arts; those aspects of the social sciences which have humanistic content and employ humanistic methods; and the study and application of the humanities to the human environment with particular attention to reflecting our diverse heritage, traditions, and history and to the relevance of the humanities to the current conditions of national life” (20 U.S.C. § 952, b).

Table 1-Arts and Humanities Definitions

	Arts		Humanities	
Federal level	1965	NEA	1965	NEH
	1968	NAASA	1977	Federation of State Humanities Councils
	1974	RAOs	----------	----------
State level	1975 year by when all 50 states and 6 jurisdictions had a SAAs	SAAs	1994 year by when all 50 states and 6 jurisdictions had a State Humanities Councils	State Humanities Councils

Table 2 - Cultural Federalism Actors

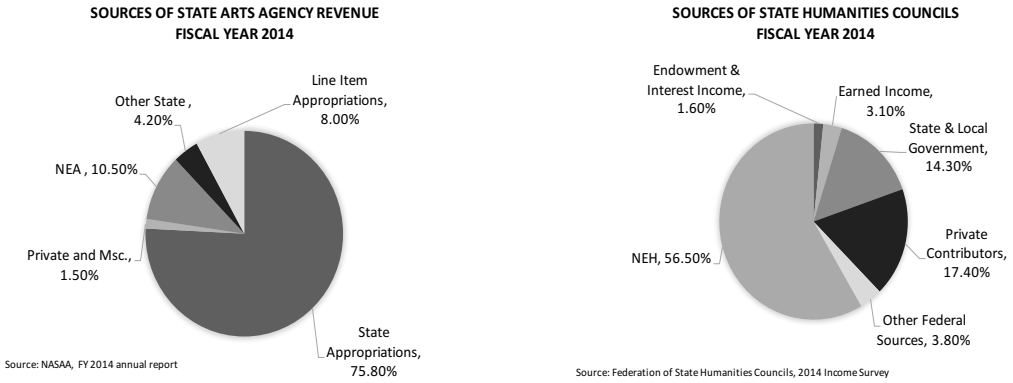

Figure 3 - SAAs and Humanities Council's Funding Sources

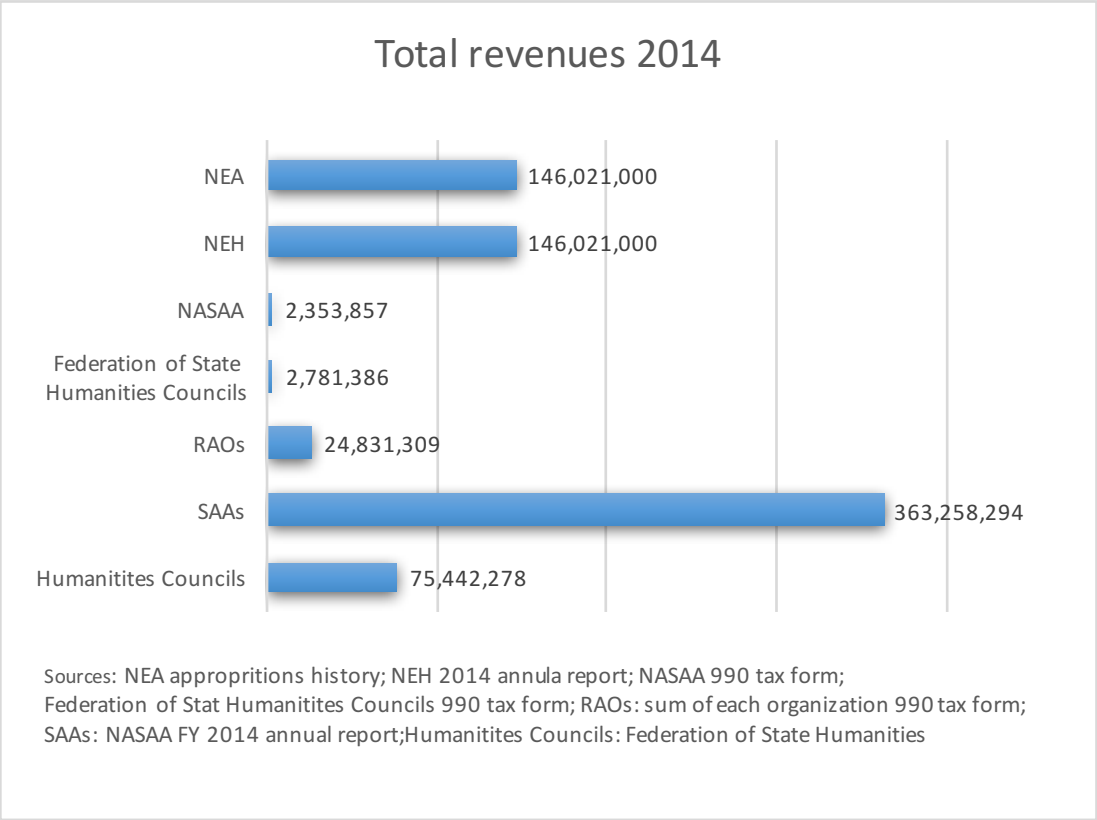

Figure 2 - Total revenues 2014