

Encouraging the Arts through Higher Education Institutions:
Arts Policy Implementation in Virginia

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation investigates the role of public higher education institutions in state-level arts policy in the state of Virginia. The strength of public support for the arts historically has been measured by per capita arts spending, as determined by appropriations to state arts agencies. However, this is a very thin measure that misses an increasingly important contributor to the arts policy landscape—higher education institutions. As direct sources of funding for the arts decline, universities increasingly are contributing to the state arts landscape with the construction and operation of performing arts centers. Framed by resource dependency theory and rational choice institutionalism, this research sheds light on the motivations of actors contributing to the arts policy field in a resource-scarce environment. Evidence suggests that public higher education institutions invest in the co-curricular arts to capitalize on and acquire resources, including image and prestige, and to fulfill their public service missions. Although higher education institution performing arts centers are contributing to the state's arts landscape, they are only informally participating in arts policy formulation and implementation. These findings have financial and decision-making implications for arts policymakers, university administrators, and arts agencies as the inclusion of public higher education institutions in the arts policy field affords new opportunities and challenges for the state encouragement of the arts.

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CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this dissertation is to situate and understand public higher education institutions' investment in performing arts centers as an important component of state-level arts policy. Through an investigation of process and institutional motivations surrounding the establishment of performing arts centers at public higher education institutions, this research closes a gap in our understanding of comprehensive public support for the arts and culture at the state level. Findings support the claim that public higher education institutions are a solution to problems facing the arts policy field, specifically limited financial, capital, and political resources.

The State-Level Arts Policy Problem

States and localities have been exploring new ways to secure funds to preserve and stimulate the advancement of their cultures and heritage (Miller & Yudice, 2002) amidst a national decline in public support for the arts. This diminishing financial support is exacerbated by the longstanding normative question of the appropriate role of the state in funding arts and culture. Although the arts and culture have long been supported by the American state, questions still remain about the ability to separate aesthetic judgment from politics. As a result, persistent problems related to resources and legitimacy plague the arts policy field at the federal, state, and local levels. State arts agencies are the most direct vehicle for public support of the arts and culture at the state level. Yet, these agencies continue to be questioned by policymakers faced with intractable budget and program demands.

In its simplest form, the term *arts policy* refers to the “public support for museums, the visual arts (painting, sculpture, and pottery), the performing arts (symphonic, chamber and choral music; jazz, modern dance, opera and musical theater, and ‘serious’ theater), historic preservation, and humanities programs (such as creative writing and poetry)” (Mulcahy 2006, p. 321).¹ Although Mulcahy’s definition provides a detailed list of included programmatic areas, it remains an overly simplified definition of arts policy. As Schuster revealed in his 2003 work on cultural mapping, there are numerous policy actors contributing to the arts policy field including nonprofit and state agencies. Although Mulcahy’s definition is useful in identifying a boundary for what is included in the term arts policy, the definition remains problematic (DeVereaux, 2006). A lack of agreement about what is included in arts policy complicates our understanding of total public support for the arts and culture and remains a barrier to clearly identifying influential policy actors and measuring policy outcomes.

One novel means of advancing arts policy today is by harnessing the indirect funding that comes from higher education institutions (Cowen, 2006). This is among myriad indirect policy influences in the arts sector, including private actors, public agencies, and foundations. Traditionally, universities have been viewed as consumers and producers of the arts and culture (Bishop, Kavanagh, & Palit, 2010; Pollak, Hager, & Rowland, 2000; Tepper, 2004), but have not been considered significant players in public arts policymaking (DiMaggio, 1991; Woddis, 2013). However, public higher education institutions have embraced the arts and entertainment through their ever-expanding mission of public service. Colleges and universities have grown not only to become knowledge providers, but also to fill vital community service functions including healthcare and economic development. This growth is challenged in a climate of reduced state

¹ See K. V. Mulcahy (2006) for a thorough treatment of the terms *cultural policy* and *arts policy*.

resources for the financing and operation of higher education institutions. Nonetheless, a more thorough examination of the roles played by higher education institutions in arts policy provides a fresh perspective on how institutions may coordinate to implement policy during challenging economic times. Two emerging trends—the establishment of major performing arts facilities on campuses and the partnerships of nonprofit arts organizations with higher education institutions—create a need for closer scrutiny of emerging trends in the public arts policy process.

Research Questions

This dissertation asks why performing arts centers are being built on the campuses of public higher education institutions in Virginia. This project was sparked by my observation of arts facility growth at public higher education institutions in the state. I investigate the facility and program development of 13 performing arts centers that exist on college and university campuses in the state (out of a total 39 public higher education institutions). I also explore the impact of these facilities on state-level arts policy in a state with minimal direct resources assigned to the arts and culture.

More specifically, this dissertation seeks to explicate the phenomenon of cultural facility building on college campuses despite a reduction of state support to higher education. Do higher education institutions invest in the co-curricular arts to acquire resources, to serve the community, or for other reasons? The investment in the co-curricular arts by state institutions leads to a secondary question: how and why do public higher education institution performing arts centers contribute to state-level arts policy in Virginia? If higher education institutions are taking on new roles and acquiring resources for the arts, then are state arts agencies relying on

these institutions to implement arts policy? This research focuses on Virginia because of the state's significant investment in performing arts centers on public university campuses, and because of its low ranking in per capita arts spending (NASAA, 2013).

Ultimately, this research investigates the motivations and behaviors of public institutions in a resource-scare environment. I situate the state-level arts policy problem in the resource dependency (Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978) and rational choice institutionalism (Horn, 1995; Knott & Miller, 1987; Moe, 1991) literatures. Both theories help to frame my approach to research and give insight into the problem and research questions. As instruments of the state, both the state arts agency and public higher education institutions depend on tax revenue and legislative appropriations. At the same time, both agencies are being asked to do more with less public money, even in a financially healthy state like Virginia. Resource dependency theory sheds light on why the state might use higher education institutions in arts policy implementation and why public higher education institutions may find new resources by investing in the arts and culture. Co-located in the Education Secretariat within the state's administrative structure, the arts and higher education are conveniently organized for collaboration in Virginia. This research questions the intentionality of this design to determine how organization influences arts policy implementation in the Commonwealth.

To understand arts institutions in this public context, I completed process research to understand how the circumstances surrounding arts policy in Virginia developed over time. I analyzed the budget histories of performing arts centers located on public college and university campuses in Virginia, completed a legislative history of the Virginia Commission for the Arts, and interviewed arts policy professionals and higher education administrators in the state. I completed the historical analysis first, and was able to fill in gaps and confirm findings through

in-depth interviews. I then analyzed both the histories and interviews to understand the motivations of higher education institutions investing in the co-curricular arts and their impact on arts policy practices in the state.

Plan of Study

This dissertation is composed of seven chapters. In this introductory chapter, I define the state-level arts policy problem and possible solutions afforded by public higher education institutions. This context lays the groundwork for research and the theoretical foundations that underpin this dissertation.

In Chapter 2, I further explore the arts policy and higher education literatures. I focus on the arts at the state level, and the characteristics of the policy field that challenge current understanding and research. I then review higher education literature that addresses higher education's interest and investment in the co-curricular arts through recent examples of partnerships and facility building. I tie these literatures to the Virginia context by defining the state's economic, political, and cultural characteristics, and discussing the arts and higher education in this landscape.

In Chapter 3, I explain the theoretical foundations of this research—resource dependency theory and rational choice institutionalism. I review each theory and its implications for state-level arts policy in Virginia. Resource dependency theory sheds light on why public actors may collaborate in a resource-scarce environment, and serves as the foundation for three research propositions, including that higher education institutions offer a solution to arts policy challenges in the state. I examine the organization of the arts and education at the state level through the rational choice analysis of institutions. Specifically, I draw upon institutional choice theory,

bounded rationality, and reorganization to understand how the organization of institutions affects policy outcomes. I posit that the location of the state arts agency within the Education Secretariat encourages the use of public higher education institution arts centers in advancing arts policy.

In Chapter 4, I present my approach to research and my scholarly perspective as a scientific realist (Lane, 1996). My research design allowed for the interpretation and analysis of context and politics in a complex environment, an approach necessary to study “emergent actions and activities by which collective endeavors unfold” (Van de Ven & Poole, 2005, p. 1387). I discuss the data collection techniques that address the four propositions that I develop in Chapter 3. This includes a detailed review of scope, research sample, and data collection instruments. I explain my process for analyzing qualitative data, based on Saldana’s 2009 “Codes-to-Theory Model for Qualitative Inquiry,” and conclude with a discussion of limitations and the ways that I attempted to overcome my own biases as a researcher.

In Chapter 5, I provide findings from the legislative history of the Virginia Commission for the Arts and the budget histories of arts centers at public higher education institutions in Virginia. These data begin to answer both research questions that address higher education institutions’ motivations to build arts centers and their involvement in state-level arts policy. I uncover the public investment made in these performing arts centers, and discuss the timing of their construction authorization and completion.

In Chapter 6, I build upon the findings of my legislative and budget histories with data from in-depth interviews with 24 arts policy professionals and higher education administrators. These data further answer my research questions and lend support to my stated propositions. Where appropriate, I reference examples from budget histories to illuminate points made by

interview subjects. I offer four aggregate theoretical dimensions as a result of my qualitative data reduction process.

In Chapter 7, I discuss the findings from the previous two chapters through a summary of research and observations. Additionally, I focus on implications for theory and practice, even offering predictions for future state-level arts policy implementation. I conclude with an example from practice that reaffirms the need to “re-envision” state arts agencies in a contemporary climate.

Significance of Research

This research contributes to the literature on state-level arts policy, a policy area that has been largely ignored in scholarship and on the political agenda. Additionally, it deepens understanding of how arts practitioners (individuals and organizations) participate in the arts policy process (Woddis, 2013). Because public support for the arts is uncertain, it is necessary to investigate arts policy as it develops in contemporary practice at the state level (with the encouragement of federal-level distributive grants). Traditionally, states have relied on their arts agencies to provide financial support to the arts. Yet, over time, proposals to restructure or completely eliminate these state agencies have been made, especially in response to political pressures and economic recessions. As a result, states have had to consider alternatives for supporting the arts and culture. These alternatives, and the reasons states have selected them, remain largely unexamined to date.

The case of Virginia suggests that one solution to the arts policy problem is higher education institutions. States may consider these institutions as a means of advancing public support of the arts, and for that matter, a means of fostering public support for higher education.

Seeking the best position for their organizations and additional resources, state arts agencies and higher education institutions may find solutions to complex policy problems in one another. As DeVereaux (2006) has observed, “The arts community is vulnerable to ever-changing winds of the political environment, responding, and often failing to lead in setting policy directions” (p. 169). Understanding arts policy implementation in new ways, specifically through public higher education institutions, may afford new opportunities for arts policy and expand our knowledge of public institutions acting in a resource scarce environment.

Conclusions

Findings from this research give insight into state-level arts policy practice, specifically providing a more comprehensive understanding of Virginia’s public investment in the arts through the inclusion of higher education institution performing arts centers. I argue that public higher education institution arts centers are a solution to arts policy challenges at the state level and like the state arts agency, encourage arts access, participation, and education for the citizens of the Commonwealth. The reasons that higher education institutions invest in the co-curricular arts are varied, yet several common themes arose from this study. Colleges and universities invest in arts centers to capitalize on and acquire resources, enhance their level of academic quality and prestige, and serve their surrounding communities. The state’s significant investment in these facilities is an indirect arts policy mechanism channeled through the higher education system. These findings lend support to four propositions informed by resource dependency theory and rational choice institutionalism that contribute to understanding of public actors and institutions responding to a resource-scarce environment.

CHAPTER 2

POLICY SETTING: RELEVANT LITERATURE AND GAPS FOR INVESTIGATION

There is a significant amount of scholarly work about federal-level arts policy (Binkiewicz, 2004, DeVereaux, 2003), but knowledge of state-level arts policy, and specifically how it is implemented by the states, remains a gap in the arts and cultural policy literature. Of specific interest to the arts policy landscape and implementation is the presence of performing arts centers and co-curricular arts programs on the campuses of public colleges and universities.² These major producers of arts and culture often are the most diversified and accessible arts organizations serving communities, particularly in rural areas. Yet, they remain largely absent from discussions of what generally is considered to be public investment and/or encouragement of the arts and culture. In this chapter, I aim to close this gap in understanding by reviewing state-level arts policy and the role of higher education institutions in contributing to the co-curricular arts both generally and within the specific context of the Commonwealth of Virginia.

Because this research draws upon scholarship on both arts policy and higher education, the literature review is composed of three main sections: state arts policy, higher education institutions with a focus on the co-curricular arts, and arts policy and higher education in Virginia. In the first section, I review the history of state-level arts policy and define the policy field and actors participating in this landscape. I next address the unique characteristics of the policy area including the criticism and lack of knowledge that plague the field. In the second section, I present a brief background on the role of higher education institutions in society and then discuss the co-curricular arts in this context. Public higher education institutions have long

² I define the co-curricular arts as arts programs and activities that complement or supplement academic curriculum.

embraced public-service oriented missions and fill important service roles in society. This role is being extended to the advancement of arts and culture through the investment in the co-curricular arts. In the third section, I discuss these literatures in the context of Virginia, particularly noting the state's economic, political, and cultural characteristics. These different streams of scholarly literature provide the context for this research and help to reveal the opportunities and challenges that public higher education institutions afford to state-level arts policy.

State Arts Policy

History. Born of federal arts policies during the late 1960s, state arts agencies (SAAs) exist in all U.S. states and territories for the purpose of funding artists, arts organizations, and other institutions with arts programming.³ The original design of the federal-state arts support system effectively mandated the creation of state agencies. In order to receive financial assistance from the U.S. government, each state had to create an arts agency, and agency plans had to be approved by the National Arts Foundation⁴ (S.165 & S.1316: National Arts Legislation, 1963). Initially, SAAs received most of their funding from the federal level, but beginning in the 1980s, federal arts monies were redirected to support SAAs through matching fund programs. DiMaggio (1991) dates the reversal of federal and state budgetary roles to 1989, when “state appropriations totaled approximately 60 percent more than the National Endowment

³ Some SAAs were founded prior to the establishment of the NEA. The Utah Arts Institute (est. 1899) and the New York State Council on the Arts (est. 1960) were the first state-level arts agencies to develop in the U.S. Within a few years after the establishment of the NEA in 1965, all 50 states and 6 U.S. jurisdictions had developed a state arts agency (NASAA, 2010).

⁴ Several proposals for a national arts committee were made in the mid-twentieth century, including the National Council on the Arts and Government, the Federal Advisory Commission on the Arts, and the National Arts Foundation. The founding of the National Endowment for the Arts resulted from these discussions.

for the Arts (NEA) grant budget” (p. 223). He described this as a “*de facto* devolution of arts funds from the federal government to the states” (DiMaggio, 1991, p. 223). In fiscal year 2013, the average amount of support for SAAs was made up of 78.6 percent legislative appropriations, 12 percent NEA funds, 5.3 percent line item appropriations, 2.3 percent other state funds, and 1.9 percent private and miscellaneous funds (NASAA, 2013).

Although the presence of a national arts agency and 56 state and jurisdictional arts agencies may suggest that the arts have strong public support, long-lasting challenges to arts policy persist at the federal, state, and local levels. The most notable controversies happened at the federal level in the late 1980s and 1990s after public funds were directed to art that was considered by many to be obscene. The NEA was attacked by religious and political conservatives, and in turn, SAAs also faced public criticisms. As a result, SAAs began to rethink their missions and use of resources in order to combat their weak political profiles and budget difficulties, and to increase demographic participation (Cherbo & Wyszomirski, 2000; Lowell, 2004, 2008). Today, SAAs typically support public-minded projects that align with state government priorities, such as arts education and the development of the “creative economy,” instead of funding individual artists (Florida, 2002; Lowell, 2008; National Governors Association, 2009). Although the substantive programs of SAAs have changed over time (Lowell 2004, 2008), their governance and funding mechanisms have not altered significantly.

In recent years, states increasingly have sought to restructure or completely eliminate their SAAs. While restructuring efforts are not new, greater numbers of such efforts have become a reality, particularly after one state (Kansas) eliminated funding to its arts agency. In 2011, Kansas governor Sam Brownback defunded the state’s arts commission, but kept the agency alive as a nonprofit organization that is responsible for generating all of its revenue,

including revenue lost from the NEA (Maynard, 2012). In 2011, the National Assembly of State Arts Agencies (NASAA) collected and published a list of major budget reduction or restructuring proposals, citing 13 states taking major action in fiscal year 2012 and 10 in fiscal year 2013.⁵ While defunding SAAs might be considered the most severe outcome of such proposals, many states are seeking to alter arts agency structures and/or consolidate them with other governmental bodies. For example, previously independent agencies of arts and culture are being moved to departments of commerce, economic development, and tourism in an effort to address state funding gaps and to streamline operations. Although these moves to defund or restructure arts agencies serves as a budgetary and/or political solution for some states, such actions challenge the independent governance structure of SAAs.

As the public arts sector strives to overcome declining support and to combat criticism at the state and local levels, arts actors are forced to become more innovative in order to demonstrate their importance and relevance to those outside their own coalition. Wyszomirski (2000) has observed that, “to become more policy effective, the present arts community needs to evolve into at least an arts policy community, if not into an even more extended cultural policy community” (p. 100). The arts policy landscape is changing and expanding, but exactly how seems to be an unanswered question.

The arts policy field. Although the arts sector is a small, specialized, and close-knit community (McCarthy, 2006), the public encouragement of the arts is fragmented and often ambiguous, with funding coming from various agencies (Hofferbert & Urice 2001; Mulcahy 1992; Woddis, 2013). Therefore, it is useful to understand the state-level arts policy field, as it is

⁵ See “Major State Arts Agency Budget and Restructuring Log,” 2011 and “State Arts Agency Legislative Status Summary Report Fiscal Year 2013,” 2012 by the National Assembly of State Arts Agencies.

traditionally defined. A policy field is “an identifiable set of elements in a specific environment that directly shape local public service provision” (Stone & Sandfort, 2009, p. 1056). Stone and Sandfort’s (2009) policy fields framework “helps one analyze how actual relationships among major institutions and key stakeholders influence the exertion of power and flow of resources, such as money, information, and clients” (p. 1056).

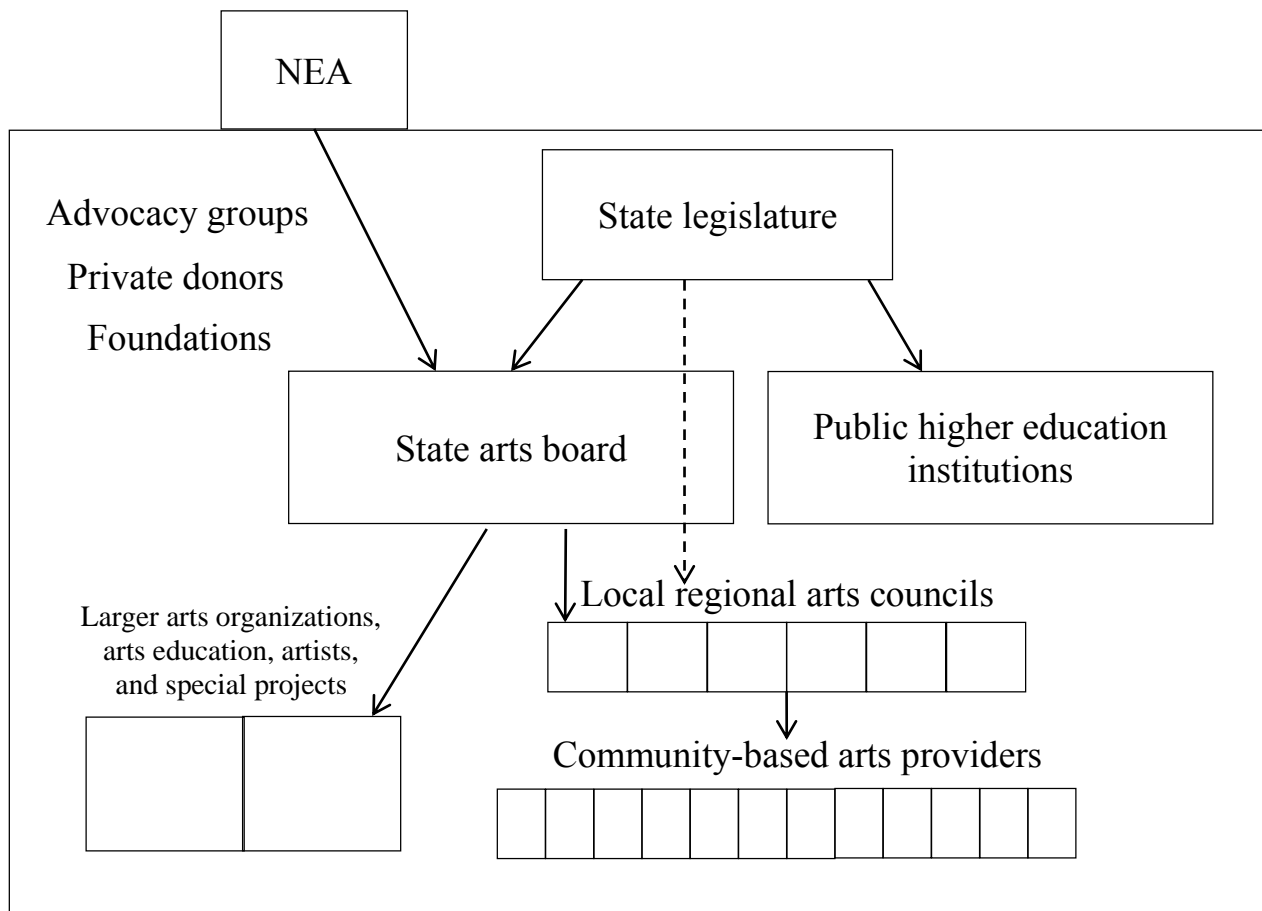
The way that the traditional arts policy field is usually constructed as a top-down system with few actors who are instrumental in distributing grants to artists, arts organizations, and arts programs at other types of institutions. In this conception of the field, Berman (1992) suggested that the “politics of ‘the arts’ is clearly a cycle; funds are distributed to organizations created by the distribution of funds” (p. 110). State and local elected officials determine appropriations for state arts agencies and sometimes directly to arts organizations through line item appropriations. Additionally, state and local-operated arts and cultural organizations receive direct appropriations in addition to grant awards. Organizations and individuals that receive grants from state arts agencies are included in the policy field as grant recipients. In this construction of the arts policy field, the arts agency is paramount and at the center of policymaking.

Missing from this traditional conception of the field, however, are non-arts agencies and institutions of higher education that contribute to the field as producers and funders of art (Schuster, 2003) as well as actors in policymaking. As the boundaries of the state-level arts policy field have extended beyond the traditional boundaries of formalized state arts agencies, scholars have called for a more comprehensive understanding of the field (Schuster 1989, 2003). This is especially true as arts advocates engage in partnerships with non-arts agencies, including higher education institutions in pursuit of resources and collaboration opportunities (Schuster,

2002). By failing to account for the contributions of these public institutions, citizens, arts advocates, and policymakers may misunderstand states' total support for the arts and culture.

I represent the arts policy field with the inclusion of public higher education institutions as a direct recipient of funds for the arts and culture in an educational context in Figure 1. In this depiction of the field, higher education institutions are positioned to not only receive funds to produce art, but also have the ability to influence local arts councils and arts organizations that are searching for financial support. This dissertation research in part explores the effects of including public higher education institution performing arts centers in the policy field.

Figure 1. State-Level Arts Policy Field Including Public Higher Education Institutions



Note. Adapted from “Minnesota’s System of Public Funding in the Arts after Decentralization,” by J. F. Lowell, 2004, *State Arts Agencies 1965-2003: Whose Interests to Serve?*, p. 12. Copyright by RAND. Used under fair use, 2014.

Characteristics. There are several characteristics of the arts as a policy area that challenge the understanding of this issue as well as related academic research. First, arts policy in the U.S. has always faced criticism given controversy over the appropriate role of government in determining an official arts policy (Miller & Yudice, 2002; Mulcahy, 2002; Mulcahy & Swain, 1982). Second, and related to the first issue, is the question of “who decides?” (Schuster, 1990) or who *should* decide? Field experts, independent from political officials, guide most arts funding programs. Although this arrangement assures that experts, not politicians, make artistic-related decisions, it hampers policymakers from possessing a thorough knowledge of the field. Third, the terms arts policy and cultural policy are not well defined, and thus this misunderstanding adds confusion to the understanding of the policy area (DeVereaux, 2003, 2006). Definitions of arts and cultural policy are not used consistently, and this is complicated by the fact that each state classifies the arts differently. Fourth, an accurate measurement of state support for the arts has proven very difficult to achieve. Some scholars argue that total state arts support is not well understood because agencies are becoming more interdependent and fragmented (Cowen, 2006; Hofferbert & Urice, 2001; Schuster, 2003). These themes are often repeated in relevant literature, and this confusion contributes to the fact that policymakers may not have a complete view of the cultural policy landscape (Schuster, 2003).

Criticism. Article I, Section 8 of the U.S. Constitution gives Congress the authority to tax and spend to promote the progress of science and the “useful arts.” However, the “useful arts” are not well defined and may encompass many categories beyond the performing and visual arts. Even though it acts under delegated congressional authority, the National Endowment for the Arts, the federal agency charged with promoting the progress of the performing and visual arts,

is a much-contested governmental institution (Becker, 2002; Binkiewicz, 2004; Lewis & Brooks, 2005).

Some argue that the role of the NEA falls outside of the appropriate scope of government action, and that providing artistic freedom while protecting the public's interest is impossible. At the time of the agency's creation in 1965, common congressional arguments against national arts funding was that federal aid was simply not needed, that a national foundation would interfere with freedom of expression, and, moreover, that if they received federal assistance, the organizations would have less incentive to acquire funds from private sources (Binkiewicz, 2004). Articulating his concern for government's involvement in promoting the arts, Congressman Bruce Alger (R-Tex.) "bemoaned that the long arm of the Kennedy administration might reach into every aspect of American life" (Binkiewicz, 2004, p. 61). Because Congress controlled annual appropriations, however, their fears were assuaged and legislation proceeded.

Congressional control of annual appropriations and lingering questions about the value of the agency, have remained challenging for the NEA. In the wake of its creation, the NEA first received increasing appropriations, but its budget was cut by 9.7 percent (\$15.3 million) in fiscal year 1982 during President Reagan's administration (NEA, 2010). Following the agency's most controversial period of the "culture wars," the NEA reorganized in 1996 after a budget reduction of over 39 percent (\$62.8 million). According to the NEA (1996), the reorganization was aimed at adapting to a new environment with fewer public dollars, greater fiscal responsibility, and the need to remain relevant to the community. The restructured agency included a more streamlined staff and new types of available grants. Most funding available to individuals was eliminated in 1995 Congressional legislation (NEA, 1996, p. 5).

The history of the NEA and the criticism it has engendered are well documented. Scholars have given less attention to the effects that these controversies have had on the states even though states face the same criticisms that animated change and restructuring at the federal level. DeVereaux (2006) has argued that “following the culture wars, public officials questioned the legitimacy of the arts and this brought about policy change” (p. 178). State arts agencies continue to confront the same arguments against public support for the arts that arose during the founding of the NEA.

Who decides? Related to one of the criticisms facing public support for the arts is the question of “who decides?” (Schuster, 1990). On behalf of a society premised upon constitutional guarantees of free speech and freedom of expression, the U.S. accepts and promotes art of many forms including works that may seem distasteful or disturbing. So that political issues do not interfere with artistic expression, independent boards and field experts award public funds to arts programs.

At the state level, independent boards govern state arts agencies and delegate funding decisions to regional coordinators. This process prevents elected officials from determining program and funding decisions (Lowell & Ondaatje, 2006; Mulcahy, 1992; Rushton, 2002; Smith & Berman, 1992). However, this governance structure has had several unintended consequences. First, elected officials have had limited knowledge of arts agency activity, and in turn, have given little attention to the policy area (Lowell & Ondaatje, 2006; Schuster, 2003). Second, the existence of an independent governance structure means that policies determined outside the established system compromise the independent decision-making process that is intended. For example, Mulcahy (1992) noted that some arts administrators believe that direct appropriations “violate the council and panel review system that was designed to ensure the

allocation of arts funds based on cultural need or value rather than due to political pressure” (p. 14). Indeed, direct appropriations to arts organizations increase total public support for the arts, yet without the independent guidance of SAAs, political officials, rather than arts experts, make the decisions in awarding these limited funds.

Terminology. A third challenge for the arts policy field is the inconsistent use of terms and a lack of understanding about arts and cultural policy in general. Confusion about the use of words and definitions is not unique to this policy area (Stone, 2001), but in part because arts policy is a relatively low-salience and low-budget policy area, scholars and arts advocates have not advanced a common understanding of the arts and culture. DeVereaux (2006) has addressed “language problems in the arts:”

Apart from very obvious difficulties in deciding what qualifies art, there is the added problem that we fail to distinguish between art as an abstract concept, art as a category of objects, and art as an individual thing. The distinction is not trivial. When we use these terms in sloppy ways, it makes it difficult to discern, whether from the perspective of instrumental or intrinsic value, what kinds of conclusions we are drawing and how we expect to implement them as policy objectives. (p. 172)

DeVereaux (2006) wrote about the “category” of art, which has ill-defined boundaries that are constantly being pushed to become a “warehouse for collecting the many things to which the label applies” (p. 173). Deciding what is to be included in and excluded from this large swath of possibilities can be problematic for both policymakers and scholars. This is particularly evident in Mulcahy’s 2006 essay that examined the terms arts and cultural policy. Mulcahy argued that the definition of culture is especially complicated and that contemporary use of the word in politics is meant to mean “the arts” (2006, p. 320). Yet, the lines between culture and the

arts are quite blurred and further complicated when categorized as nonprofit or private industries. Libraries, sculptures, fairs and festivals, aquariums, modern dance, and public broadcast television are just a few of the many mediums that might be “collected” into the label of cultural and arts policy. UNESCO attempts to categorize these medium by distinguishing between tangible and intangible cultural heritage. Tangible cultural heritage includes paintings and sculptures while intangible cultural heritage includes “oral traditions, performing arts, and rituals” (UNESCO, 2014).

Broadly, cultural policy refers to the governmental strategies and activities that promote “the production, dissemination, marketing, and consumption of the arts” (Rentschler, 2002, p. 17; see also Mulcahy, 2006, p. 320). To complicate matters, it can be argued that in the U.S., there is no arts policy to speak of and that this is by design. According to the NEA, “Direct public support is not used to impose arts policy. Instead, government decisions on arts funding tend to be driven by experts in a given field or discipline” (NEA, 2012, p. 3). Compared to arts policies in other countries, this strategy is limited to a small amount of funding to organizations and artists, research, and preservation that is widely devolved to states, localities, private foundations, and citizens.

Measuring state support. Public funding for the arts and culture comes from many direct and indirect sources, and therefore it is difficult to assess total public expenditure in this area. One way that a state’s contribution to the arts is measured is with per capita arts spending, defined on the basis of legislative appropriations to SAAs. Obviously, this measurement is limited, because only explicitly directed funds are included. As early as 1989, Schuster wrote about the “flawed” nature of using per capita comparisons to understand the field of arts policy, observing that “it suffered from selective vision—only the most visible arts funding agencies

were counted” (p. 15). More recent research on mapping cultural policy in the state of Washington has added additional evidence that a per capita comparison or ranking is problematic. Schuster (2003) has described Washington’s cultural policy system as a “rich and complex mix of agencies and nongovernmental organizations engaged in cultural policy at the state level” (p. iii.). Although there has been significant research on arts and cultural funding at the federal level, additional work and measures of assessment are needed at the state and local levels to fill in the gaps of this limited research.

The future of public arts funding is likely to include disguised forms of support, but effective support nonetheless (Cowen, 2006; NEA, 2010). Interdependent agencies, like transportation, housing, social services, education, and the arts, will implement arts policies in ways that will be challenging to track. Pollak, Hager, and Rowland (2000) have observed that arts researchers often focus research on stand-alone nonprofit organizations that are easily identified. Learning about arts organizations embedded within larger institutions is more difficult. Blurred boundary lines and sector fragmentation are significant reasons why state-level arts policy is not well understood.

Nevertheless, those engaged in the arts policy field must recognize its policy footprint extends beyond a simple measure of state appropriations to arts agencies. As Schuster (2003) has suggested:

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 governments is a much better indicator of a state’s cultural vitality and its commitment to developing the cultural life of its citizens. (p. 219)

Taking a more comprehensive approach to arts policy will help the arts to redefine its place in public life and to remain politically relevant (Cherbo, Stewart, & Wyszomirski, 2008; DiMaggio, 1991; Lowell & Ondaatje, 2006; Schuster, 2002).

Higher Education Institutions and the Co-Curricular Arts

Higher education institutions have always been home to the production and consumption of the arts—schools of music, arts studios, and performing theaters are commonplace on college and university campuses. This academic-focused pursuit, however, has changed over time to one that serves both the academic and local community populations (Biemiller, 2011; Ross, 1977). In their study of arts organizations embedded within larger academic institutions, Pollak, Hager, and Rowland (2000) found that the role of arts on campus “extends beyond the classroom or studio curriculum” (p. 146). Because of the lasting relationship between education institutions and the arts (Dempster, 2004), it is appropriate to consider public higher education institutions to be functioning in the arts policy field. Cowen (2006) described the university system as an “underappreciated vehicle” for arts funding. To understand this relationship, I review several aspects of higher education and its inclusion of the co-curricular arts. These include: public service, financing and governance, the concept of the creative campus, cultural facilities, and partnerships.

Public service. In addition to education and research, higher education institutions are committed to public service, including health-care delivery, economic development, and public entertainment (Bok, 2103; Bowen, 1996; Duderstadt, 2000). Speaking specifically about service at public universities, Duderstadt (2000) observed:

Beyond the traditional university missions of creating and transmitting knowledge to students, the public university is also viewed as a primary mechanism for distributing knowledge to society. These institutions reflect some of society's most cherished goals: opportunity through education, progress through research, and cultural enrichment. (p. 44)

An outcome of these multiple roles and public service missions, however, is the "problem of needless growth" (Bok, 2013). Bok (2013) argued that universities often undertake ventures that are costly, complicated, consume staff time, and might be performed better by others. In an assessment of university growth, Hutchins (1936) stated that it is a "good principle of educational administration that a college or university should do nothing that any other agency can do as well" (as cited in Kirp, 2003, p. 111). Specifically, Bok (2013) took issue with institutions that create programs not because of mission, but because of other motives such as pleasing a donor, attracting prestigious faculty, or generating revenue.

University leaders have struggled to define the university's contribution to, and appropriate role in, society. This struggle is fueled by competing views on university mission statements (Newfield, 2003). These internal differences and the external environment play a role in determining the direction of higher education. As Kerr (1995) stated:

These directions have not been set as much by the university's visions of its destiny as by the external environment, including the federal government, the foundations, the surrounding and sometimes engulfing industry. The university has been embraced and led down the garden path by its environmental suitors; it has been so attractive and so accommodating; who could resist it and why would it, in turn, want to resist? (as cited in Newfield, 2003, p. 117)

Public service is one contribution that public higher education makes to society. Additionally, higher education institutions, through specific public service missions, provide administrative capacity and economic viability to states. In many policy areas, the university extends administrative capacity and resources for programs that benefit citizens. These services are becoming otherwise diminished by the state because of budgetary constraints and a desire for localized policy decision-making (Loss, 2012). Recent budget cuts to higher education institutions raise concerns about the future of these community-service programs.

It is well known that higher education institutions are economic engines; they contribute to community development and revitalization initiatives and are major employers in some areas (Lane, 2012). Perry and Wiewel (2005) found that universities “contribute in important ways to the economic health and physical landscape of cities, serving as all but permanent fixtures of the urban economy and built environment” (p. 3). Similarly, Schultz (2012) has stated:

Not only should universities be engaged in regional and social cultural development, they must acknowledge their ability to shape and grow the region’s economy. Higher education institutions should collaborate with local industry to help them overcome technical challenges, provide access to university facilities, and work with them to provide appropriate training programs. (p. 136)

It is not surprising then, that higher education institutions may be involved with, among many other priorities, municipal arts and culture plans that are meant to stimulate economic development and civic vitality (Kemp, 2004; National Governors Association, 2009).

Financing and governance. Higher education financing and governance is crucial to understanding higher education’s role in society, especially in a climate of state budget cuts to public colleges and universities. Because there are decision-making bodies external to each

higher education institution at the state level, it is important to acknowledge this component of higher education in any discussion of policy implementation. Duderstadt (2000) explored this relationship:

The relationship between public universities and state government is a particularly complex one, and it varies significantly from state to state. Some universities are structurally organized as components of state government, subject to the same hiring and business practices as other state agencies. Others possess a certain autonomy from state government through constitutional or legislative provision. All are influenced by the power of the public purse—by the strings attached to appropriations from state tax revenues. (p. 57)

Duderstadt's (2000) comment highlights two critical facts about higher education. First, public higher education systems vary from state to state, so their practices and operations might not be easily compared. Second, public institutions depend on state revenue for operations and are "influenced" by this funding source. Kirp (2003) has suggested that priorities in higher education "are determined less by the institution itself than by multiple constituencies—students, donors, corporations, politicians—each promoting its vision of the 'responsive' (really the obeisant) institution" (p. 4). To be sure, the external environment and state relationships affect higher education institutions. State priorities may contribute to universities' decisions to undertake new initiatives, partnerships, and enterprises.

Because higher education institutions are dependent on outside financial sources, they must adapt in times of economic uncertainty. In an exploration of a dependency thesis, Newfield (2003) argued that, "changes in the economic environment intensify the university's state of financial dependence, which boils down to a dependence on market revenues" (p. 18). Certainly,

higher education institutions must respond to their environments to ensure financial stability. This is particularly the case for public institutions, which are experiencing severe budget reductions from the state. Weerts and Ronca (2006) also discussed the external pressures facing higher education institutions. The authors found that economic, political, governmental, state cultural, and institutional forces affect state support for public research universities. Unlike ever before, public universities are competing for resources within a fiscally constrained environment. This external climate leads some institutions to engage in new activities and partnerships that will result in new forms of revenue generation while others are rightsizing and narrowing their scope to focus on the core components of education.

Governance arrangements also affect the way in which higher education institutions do business. Kaplan (2004) described a governance system as, “the explicit and implicit procedures that allocate to various participants the authority and responsibility for making institutional decisions” (p. 23). Governance systems vary from state to state and between public and private institutions (Duderstadt, 2000; Kaplan, 2004). Duderstadt (2000) suggested, “Public universities are creatures of the state, clearly owned and governed by the public. They are held accountable to myriad state regulation and laws” (p. 46). Particularly for public institutions, governing boards are meant to “regulate and hold universities accountable to statewide priorities” (Knott & Payne, 2004, p. 14). Yet despite efforts to centralize statewide governing boards as a cost-saving solution, Knott and Payne (2004) have found that statewide boards that are decentralized and have few regulatory powers lead to higher measures of productivity and resources at higher education institutions. Governance structures matter, and in the context of state-specific research like this, it is important to consider this component of the higher education landscape.

Creative campus. Participating in and preserving culture has always been a part of academia (Bishop, Kavanagh, & Palit, 2010; Bowen, 1996; Ross, 1977). But beyond training new generations of artists, creativity—considered a byproduct of artistic participation—has been embraced as one element of successful future societies (Florida, 2002; Tepper, 2004). Universities are embracing this call for creativity in an effort to strengthen the academic environment and better equip graduates to succeed in a global work force. Tepper (2004) spoke to the conditions for creative work, including collaboration, cross-cultural exchange, and interdisciplinary exchange. He noted also that we are in need of new methods to measure such important conditions on college campuses (Tepper, 2004). Researchers at the Urban Institute defined the cultural vitality of a campus as “evidence of creating, disseminating, validating, and supporting arts and culture as dimension of everyday life” (Jackson, Kabwasa-Green, & Herranz, 2006). The authors suggested that “the presence of opportunities to participate” is one important factor in encouraging the cultural vitality of a campus (Jackson, Kabwasa-Green, & Herranz, 2006). A 2011 report of academic administrators and arts leaders formed as “ArtsEngine” at the University of Michigan made a similar argument:

Integrating art-making and the arts enables the university to fulfill its responsibility to society by producing new generations of leaders who are adept in the use of all their creative and cognitive faculties, and by providing an incubator for original creative work in the arts that is not constrained by market economics. Only the university can fulfill this vital social role. (p. 5)

Partnerships. The creative campus movement is thriving and could lead to partnerships formed in the educational context that could strengthen the arts in communities (Carlisle, 2011;

Prioleau, 2001). Mulcahy (2006) spoke to the advantages of blending the cultural and educational communities:

First it is an example of coalition building to broaden the constituency in support of the arts and culture. Second, exposure to cultural activities at any level of the education system increases dramatically the likelihood of future participation and, consequently, broader support for a public cultural policy. (p. 321)

Because of their interest and investment in culture, higher education institutions might be considered an appropriate partner for arts and cultural organizations. This has especially been the case since the financial recession of 2007, which led to decreased governmental and private funding for many nonprofit organizations. Kiley (2013) reported on the new phenomenon of museum-university partnerships, citing recent examples around the country including the Manges Museum and the University of California-Berkeley, the Textile Museum and George Washington University, and the Jewish Museum of Florida and Florida International University. In these examples, administrators of both the museums and the universities believed that the partnerships were opportunities for growth and financial viability (Kiley, 2013). In Kansas City, Missouri, a local foundation, the state and city, and the University of Missouri-Kansas City have committed to fund a new Downtown Campus for the Arts, which would house the university's conservatory of dance and music in the city center. The partnership fills the university's facility demand, will contribute to the region's long-range community revitalization and economic development goals, and bring increased activity to the city's Kauffman Center for the Performing Arts (University of Missouri-Kansas City, 2013).

Although there are advantages to these types of arrangements, Kiley (2013) notes drawbacks as well. The possible disadvantages raise interesting questions about the missions and role of higher education institutions in civic life:

The museums in question often lose autonomy when they become part of larger institutions, which can leave them neglected when leadership or priorities change. Such action also raises the question of whether universities, many of which haven't exactly been thriving financially, are taking on dead weight when they acquire struggling institutions, and whether the resources they pour into supporting such partners will distract from other priorities. (p. 1)

Cultural facilities. Coinciding with the participation in arts and culture is the need for related facilities on college campuses. As Pollack, Hager, and Rowland (2000) noted, "When the resources of community-based organizations are limited, university facilities can be of great benefit to the community. In turn, community members and groups can help keep facilities operating at full capacity and generate revenue for the university" (p. 2). In addition to supporting arts and cultural activities in localities, higher education institutions expand their capital assets and facilities in order to compete with peer institutions. Speaking to this phenomenon, Newfield (2003) wrote, "Growth was also part of a competitive system in which universities ranked themselves against their peers, poached faculty, imitated successful programs, and dreamed of glory" (p. 28). It is not surprising, then, that 22 percent of cultural infrastructure projects during the cultural building boom (1998-2001) were defined as academic-owned (Woronkowitz et al., 2012).

One goal of this dissertation research is to understand why higher education institutions invest in the co-curricular arts generally, and specifically in arts facilities. To be sure, arts

facilities support academic programs and student interests. But what leads higher education institutions to invest resources in infrastructure that benefits students, community members, and the surrounding region? Because there is little extant scholarship to support this inquiry, I compared the reasons why higher education institutions and municipalities invest in sports facilities. Although sports facilities differ in that they are generally for-profit entities, sports facilities, like cultural facilities, are thought to promote economic development, instill a sense of civic pride, and function as a community resource. Another comparison can be drawn between arts and sports facilities in how they are created through public-private partnerships. Cummings et al. (2005) found that university leaders were instrumental in forging public-private partnerships with cities to further agendas in the arts, entertainment, sports facilities, and tourism. Regardless of the fact that cost-benefit analyses showed that sports facilities were a poor public investment, municipalities built sports facilities in pursuit of economic benefit, urban development benefit, and symbolic benefit (Long, 2013). Both the arts and sports, classified as “entertainment,” require significant facility investments. However, their perceived benefits to communities outweigh their substantial costs.

Public art activity and higher education share similar aspirations in terms of human development and education. In terms of policy implementation and outcomes, there is much overlap between the two areas. It may not be surprising that the boundaries of these policy areas have blurred throughout history and in turn strengthened one another. But, as the literature suggests, the intersections between the arts and higher education have come somewhat naturally and perhaps have not been intentional. In this research, I explore this relationship in order to

uncover advantages and disadvantages that may be useful in guiding state-level arts policy decisions.

State Arts Policy and Higher Education in Virginia

So far, I have addressed the literature related to state arts policy and higher education on a national scale. Additional context is needed about Virginia, the state that I selected for research. In this section, I describe the economic and fiscal health of Virginia and discuss the arts policy and higher education landscapes in the state. These data connect the literatures that I have discussed on a broad scale to the state-level with an understanding of the political, economic, and cultural climate of Virginia. I include a more complete history of the Virginia Commission for the Arts in Chapter 5.

The Commonwealth of Virginia. Virginia is an economically healthy state and is also acknowledged for excellence in government performance. This position is important in understanding the state's support for higher education and to a lesser extent, its support for the arts and culture. The following statistics provide a snapshot of Virginia's economic and political position (Thurmaier & Willoughby, 2001).

Virginia has higher than average income levels, a lower than average unemployment rate, and continues to grow in population. In 2011, per capita income was \$33,040, higher than the national average of \$27,915, and median household income was \$63,302, higher than national average of \$52,762 (United States Census Bureau, 2013a).⁶ The 5.8 percent unemployment rate was almost 2 percent points lower than the national average of 7.3 percent (Bureau of Labor

⁶ Income calculated from 2007-2011 in 2011 dollars.

Statistics, 2013).⁷ In 2013, Virginia's population was 8,185,867 and ranked twelfth in the nation (United States Census Bureau, 2013b). Percent population change between 2010 and 2012 was 2.3 percent, higher than national average of 1.7 percent (United States Census Bureau, 2013a).⁸

Known to be one of the best fiscally managed states in the nation, Virginia outperforms other states in terms of per capita expenditures and debt, and has held an AAA bond rating for 75 years (Commonwealth of Virginia, 2013). In 2010, Virginia ranked 13th lowest among states for state and local government expenditures with per capita expenditures of \$8,548, lower than the national average of \$10,089. Per capita debt was \$7,721, lower than the national average of \$9,163, ranking the state twenty-third lowest in the nation (Commonwealth of Virginia, 2013). The Commonwealth operates a biennial (two-year) budget cycle, with a new budget adopted in even-numbered years and adjusted in odd-numbered years.

Virginia may traditionally be fiscally conservative, but it has a history of electing governors with varying political party affiliations. Virginians elected a Democratic governor in 2013 after choosing a Republican in 2010. Prior to that election, Republicans were elected in 1993 and 1997, and Democrats were elected in 2001 and 2005. Virginia limits its governor to one four-year term in office. At the time of this research, the Senate of Virginia (40 members) was equally divided between Republicans and Democrats, and the House of Delegates (100 members) was controlled by Republicans.

These state characteristics are meant to set the context of this research—higher education and the arts in Virginia. To be sure, the economic and political climate of any state directly

⁷ Unemployment rate from August 2013.

⁸ Population, percent change, April 1, 2010 to July 1, 2012.

affects its spending on public programs. Although these data show Virginia as being fiscally sound, they also portray fiscal restraint, especially in the aftermath of the 2007 recession.

State arts policy in Virginia. It is widely perceived that Virginia ranks low among other states in terms of public investment in the arts and culture. This perception is rooted in comparative state data on per capita arts spending. In this assessment, Virginia ranks 38th in the nation, spending only .47 cents per person annually on the arts (NASAA, 2013).⁹ According to Hofferbert and Urice (1985), “Social investment policy norms constitute the strongest element structuring state arts support,” (p. 326); states that lead in “social investments such as natural resources, education, and transportation also provide more for the arts” (p. 326). This finding suggests that arts funding depends on a state’s economic and political climate. This is particularly true of a “small scale” policy (Hofferbert & Urice, 1985) like the arts.

In Virginia, the arts and education are co-located within the Education Secretariat in the executive branch. Because states vary in the ways in which the arts are organized, it is important to consider this organization in Virginia. Table 1 identifies the departments located within the Education Secretariat, including the Virginia Commission for the Arts and six other state-operated culture agencies. The combined general and nongeneral FY 2013 funds for the seven cultural agencies total \$99,616,452. This equals just .62 percent of the total \$16.1 billion dollar Office of Education budget (Virginia Department of Planning and Budget, 2013).

⁹ Ranking calculated by total state funds including appropriation to arts agency and other state funds.

Table 1. Departments Located within the Virginia Education Secretariat

Virginia Commission for the Arts
Frontier Culture Museum of Virginia
Jamestown-Yorktown Foundation
The Science Museum of Virginia
Virginia Museum of Fine Arts
Gunston Hall
The Library of Virginia
Virginia Community College System
Department of Education
State Council of Higher Education
Roanoke Higher Education Authority
15 four-year higher education institutions
1 two-year higher education institution

Note. From “Virginia State Government Organizational Chart - Executive Branch,” by the Office of the Secretary of the Commonwealth, 2013 and “The 2013 Executive Budget Document - Summary for Office of Education,” by the Virginia Department of Budget and Planning, 2013.

All seven of Virginia’s arts and cultural agencies contribute to the cultural vitality of the state in different ways. The Commission for the Arts is unique in that it is the leading grant-making organization to nonprofit arts organizations and artists in the state. Its mission is to encourage participation and invest in the arts for all Virginians (Virginia Commission for the Arts, 2012b). The Commission was established in 1968 as the Virginia Commission of the Arts and Humanities, and became the Virginia Commission for the Arts in 1979 (Virginia Commission for the Arts, 2012a). Thirteen Commissioners, appointed by the governor, guide the

agency along with a small staff of four. I provide a thorough legislative and budget history of arts policy and the Commission in Chapter 5.

Public higher education in Virginia. Virginia is home to 39 public higher education institutions, including 15 four-year institutions, 23 community colleges, and 1 two-year institution (SCHEV, 2013b).¹⁰ With no centralized governing body, the state is considered to have one of the more decentralized higher education systems in the country (JLARC, 2013).¹¹ While the State Council of Higher Education in Virginia (SCHEV) acts as the state’s coordinating body and makes policy recommendations on areas such as budget, enrollment, and technology needs (SCHEV, 2013a), boards of visitors at each institution hold the primary budget, tuition, and operating authority (JLARC, 2013).

Although higher education in Virginia is considered to be among the best in the country, a 2003 SCHEV report found that higher education institutions in the state were “underfunded in all measures” (p. 38). Citing two economic recessions within the past 15 years, the same report concluded that “the condition of higher education funding in Virginia is inextricably tied to the economic well-being of the Commonwealth and each has an undeniable effect on the other” (SCHEV, 2003, p. 38). This statement held true in the 2007 recession that led to further rounds of deep budget cuts for higher education across the country. Virginia’s overall economic trends serve as a basis for higher education’s budget and tuition trends over time. In Virginia, state appropriations per full-time equivalent student have declined by 11.1 percent between 2006 and 2011. This was similar to the national average 12.5 percent decline (SHEEO, 2011). This

¹⁰ See Appendix A for a complete list of public higher education institutions in Virginia.

¹¹ See the Restructured Higher Education Financial and Administrative Operations Act of 2005 (Restructuring Act), which provides a greater degree of authority and autonomy to specific universities in Virginia.

information is important in understanding what factors lead to growth and new construction projects on college and university campuses.

The reduction in state funding to higher education has shifted costs to students and families through increased tuition. Yet, despite the rising cost of higher education, enrollment in Virginia continues to grow and is greater than the national average. Full-time equivalent undergraduate student enrollment increased 40 percent between 1991-1992 and 2011-2012. Enrollment, along with increased expenditures on auxiliary enterprises including housing, dining, intercollegiate athletics, and campus recreation (JLARC, 2013), have led to new facility demands and construction growth.

Specific to this research, I observed growth in cultural facility building at higher education institutions in Virginia. I identified 13 performing arts centers located on college and university campuses within the state to include in this research.¹² Unlike a purely academic facility, these performing arts centers serve both the academic and local communities. Four of the facilities had been constructed or planned to open after 2010, including centers at George Mason University, James Madison University, Virginia Tech, and Virginia Commonwealth University. Although many Virginia institutions award degrees in the performing arts disciplines (acting, dance, and music), the schools' arts facilities supporting those academic programs vary widely and often extend beyond these programs to support community arts and cultural needs. I provide a more detailed description of my arts facility selection process in Chapter 4.

¹² Hager and Pollak (2002) defined performing arts centers as centers that produce work outside of the presenting organization.

Summary

The long-standing criticism and lack of knowledge surrounding public support for the arts and culture perpetuates arts policy's status as politically and financially weak. Arts policymakers have embraced new initiatives including economic development and restructuring or consolidation to remain relevant in today's economic climate. But, as the literature shows, state-level support of the arts extends beyond what is typically measured in terms of appropriations to state arts agencies. That being the case, there is room for public policies that encourage arts access and participation to be reconsidered or redefined in a way that does not necessarily include defunding state arts agencies. Part of this redefinition could include increased interaction with performing arts centers on the campuses of public higher education institutions.

As colleges and universities continue to define their role in society, some are embracing the arts by establishing formal partnerships with nonprofit organizations and enhancing cultural activities for students to better prepare them for a global workforce. But as Virginia's economic climate suggests, both the arts and culture and higher education are managing public budget reductions, which are not predicted to rebound. This position raises questions about the motives of public higher education institutions embracing the arts and their impact on the public arts landscape.

Through this relevant literature, I revealed gaps for investigation and set the stage for my research. I have reviewed state-level arts policy and higher education on a national level and the intersections that might be found between these two contextual areas. I offered further detail on these policy areas in the state of Virginia. In the following chapter, I discuss two theoretical frames that offer explanation to the blending of public art activity and higher education institutions at the state level.

CHAPTER 3 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

“...problem solving is an ongoing process involving interaction with the environment, which changes the set of constraints and opportunities we face” (Jones, 1999, p. 309).

Arts policy serves as the context for this research, but institutional behavior and policy implementation are at the heart of the inquiry and situate this research in the public administration literature. Examining arts policy through the lens of the policy process would be one approach to investigating Virginia’s policy field. With this approach, the appropriation history of the Virginia Commission for the Arts may reveal an incremental budgeting approach and a more predictable mechanism for the advancement of the arts throughout the state (Jones, 1999; Thurmaier & Willoughby, 2001). However, an interesting gap for investigation and the point of this research is to explain the emergence and the meaning of public higher education institution performing arts centers in state-level arts policy. Funding for the arts through these centers presents a more complex reality that cannot be reduced to an investigation of funding history alone. As such, the choices made by actors in a resource-scarce environment and the design of institutions are better lenses for investigating this complexity.

Resource dependency theory and rational choice institutionalism inform the research questions and propositions and contribute to understanding of why organizations and actors of interest might behave in new and different ways. Both of these theories have been used extensively in different areas of scholarship. At its core, resource dependency theory sheds light on organizational behavior and choice through the lens of survival and interdependence (Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978). Rational choice institutionalism, founded from rational choice theory, uses

the anticipated behavior of individuals to “analyze how institutions influence outcomes” (Weingest, 1996, p. 174 as cited in Goodin & Klingemann, 1996). These two theories inform my four research propositions.

Resource Dependency Theory

In their seminal work, “The External Control of Organizations,” Pfeffer and Salancik (1978) defined the resource dependent perspective through organizational survival and interdependence in open environments:

The key to organizational survival is the ability to acquire and maintain resources. This problem would be simplified if organizations were in complete control of all the components necessary for their operation. However, no organization is completely self-contained. Organizations are embedded in an environment comprised of other organizations. They depend on those other organizations for the many resources they themselves require (p. 2).

All organizations are dependent on others for resources of some type. This includes monetary as well as nonmonetary resources, such as turf, autonomy, people, political standing, and information (Bardach, 1998, p. 164). In an exploration of the relationship between public sector agencies and nonprofit service providers, Sidel (1991) defined resources as “anything of value, tangible or intangible, that can be exchanged between organizations” (p. 544). In addition to differentiating between resource types, there are different determinants of resource dependence including resource importance, resource allocation, and alternatives (Bacharach & Lawler, 1981; Emerson, 1962; Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978; Sidel, 1991). Resource importance is how critical a resource is to an organization. Resource allocation is “the extent of discretion over the allocation and use of a resource possessed by another social actor” (Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978,

p. 47-48). Alternatives define the availability or lack of alternative resource suppliers (Malatesta & Smith, 2011; Saidel, 1991). These three resource determinants provide a basis of control for the external organization over the focal organization.

Interdependence, or a two-way flow of resources (Saidel, 1991), is central to resource dependency theory. In an open environment, “interdependence exists whenever one actor does not entirely control all of the conditions necessary for the achievement of an action or for obtaining the outcome desired from the action” (Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978, p. 40).

Interdependence can be competitive or symbiotic, and asymmetric or balanced. No matter the type of relationship between organizations, an element of influence or exchange exists between the focal (resource dependent) organization and the external organization.

Scholars have attempted to advance and test Pfeffer and Salancik’s (1987) resource dependency theory and Emerson’s (1962) earlier work on dependency. Citing ambiguities in the original resource dependence model and a lack of empirical work, Casciaro and Piskorski (2005) built upon Emerson’s dependence model to distinguish two dimensions of power: power imbalance and mutual dependence. Through an investigation of mergers and acquisitions (constraint absorption), the authors argued that their revised resource dependency model, including power imbalance and mutual dependence, was more complete than the original model, which integrated the two into a single construct of interdependence.

Gulati and Sytch (2007) focused on joint dependence as a function of the logic of embeddedness, suggesting that:

...higher levels of joint dependence necessarily increase the depth of economic interaction between exchange partners, jumpstarting a stronger relational orientation...The increased relational orientation in turn results in increased levels of

joint action, higher trust between partners, and a more advantageous information exchange in the dyad. (p. 33)

Confirming this logic, the authors found a positive relationship between joint dependence and performance between automotive manufacturers and suppliers in the U.S. (Gulati & Sytch, 2007).

Interorganizational exchange. Resource dependency theory is most applicable to research in the field of interorganizational exchange and collaboration. Bardach (1998) observed, “If an agency’s resource base depends on some other agency, the focal agency will be willing to cooperate with the other agency” (p. 24). Similarly, in an examination of cooperation in policy implementation, Lundin (2007) suggested that, “The motivation for working together is the need to overcome a lack of resources” (p. 653). To be sure, there are many benefits to organizational collaboration. Bardach (1998) also spoke to agencies’ willingness to exchange resources in order to enhance public value and engage in “smart-practice.” He provided case examples of successful inter-agency collaborations that resulted in program improvements and cost savings (Bardach, 1998). A commitment to improve service, scarce resources, interdependence, and structural complexity all contribute to organizations’ motivation to coordinate with others (Bardach, 1998; Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978).

Each in a resource dependent position, arts agencies and public higher education institutions may be willing to cooperate with one another if they perceive that there are opportunities to develop new resources or to share existing resources found in facilities, people, and political relationships. In the arts policy landscape, these institutions are interdependent—working in the same sphere and delivering similar services to citizens. If the two institutions

were committed to improving the arts and culture landscape, then the likelihood for interorganizational exchange would increase.

On the other hand, there are an equal, if not greater, number of perceived or real reasons for organizations to resist resource exchange and collaboration. This particularly becomes the case when resources become scarce or the supply unreliable (Pfeffer & Salancik, 1989, p. 3). To this point, Lundin (2007) found that an organization “will avoid interactions with others if the benefits of cooperation do not exceed the costs since cooperation is complicated, is costly, and involves a loss of autonomy” (p. 653). Similarly, Bardach (1998) cited numerous motivations for protectionism, where self-interested organizations are more concerned with survival than with achieving possible benefits from organizational exchange. Risk-aversion, increased activities and responsibilities, loss of job security, change in status, loss of turf, and loss of autonomy, are just some of the reasons why organizations may be fearful of collaborating with others (Bardach, 1998; Saidel, 1991). In an assessment of the advantages and disadvantages of organizational exchange, Bardach (1998) argued that “collaborative opportunities lie in wait in much greater number than people consider acting on them” (p. 198).

Two additional consequences to interorganizational exchange include power asymmetry and homogeneity. Emerson (1962) explored the “power aspects of social relations” in his early discussion of dependency, titled “Power-Dependence Relations” (p. 32). Resource dependency theory suggests that scarcity leads to power asymmetry that may affect interorganizational coordination and outcomes. Another consequence for resource dependent organizations is that they become homogeneous, a phenomenon that DiMaggio and Powell (1983) termed “institutional isomorphism.” These authors argued that a position of dependence, ambiguity,

fewer alternatives, and uncertain technologies and goals are signals that one organization in a population will become similar to others in the same environment.

Resource dependency theory and interorganizational exchange have gained importance in the public administration literature as government has become increasingly interconnected and interdependent (Alexander, 1995; O'Toole & Montjoy, 1984). Saidel (1991) used Emerson's 1962 resource dependency model to examine the relationship between government and nonprofit service providers. Comparing four service sectors, the author's data revealed symmetrical resource dependence between government and nonprofit social service agencies.

Of particular interest to this research, Saidel (1991) found that the state arts agency (arts, culture, and humanities sector) had the greatest degree of dependence on nonprofit organizations as compared to the other sectors included in research. These findings suggested that just as nonprofits were willing to coordinate for monetary resources, government agencies were equally dependent on nonprofits to deliver services that the agencies might not be able to implement otherwise. Gazley and Brudney (2007) examined the "purpose and perils" of government-nonprofit partnerships and outlined the benefits and perceived consequences of these arrangements. According to their research, public and nonprofit organizations partner in order to buffer external uncertainties and to save costs. Resource dependency theory helps to explain the likelihood of organizations partnering in service delivery (Gazley & Brudney, 2007, p. 393).

Resource Dependency Theory and Arts Policy

Much of the resource dependency theory literature that I have reviewed so far addressed the relationships between public agencies and nonprofit organizations, specifically including examples about nonprofits delivering public services. I must draw attention to the fact that my

research focuses on two public institutions—arts agencies and public higher education—both of which are dependent on state funding. The significant difference in this intra-governmental agency relationship is that the state is not in the position of purchasing service delivery from either institution included in the relationship. Instead, the two governmental institutions exist in the same policy field, each delivering similar public services with respect to the arts and culture. The arts and culture form a particularly interesting context to examine through the lens of resource dependency theory, especially in light of Saidel’s 1991 research that found unique characteristics about this policy area.

Saidel (1991) argued that *nonmonetary* resources were particularly important in the dependence relationship between the state arts agency and nonprofit arts organizations. This was the case despite the fact that the arts had the smallest percentage of state revenues as compared to other service areas included in research. Public support for the arts in the U.S. is extremely limited, and arts programs have always relied on a mixture of resource types. State support simply acts as an important supplement to arts organizations that are funded primarily by private donations. With newfound public resources from higher education institutions, state-level arts policy may gain legitimacy and be buffered from external environmental pressures.

Similarly, public higher education institutions depend on a complex mixture of funds to fulfill their expansive missions to education and society. Higher education institutions, already committing resources to the production of arts programming and facilities, may capitalize on these outputs as contributions or value added to the public arts field. By fulfilling a needed service for the state, higher education institutions may be able to acquire new resources towards this end in a climate of overall declining state support.

Resources. As previously mentioned, organizational resources take many forms (Bardach, 1998). In the context of this research, both public arts agencies and higher education institutions possess different types and amounts of resources. Specifically, higher education institutions control significant state resources, including financial resources, autonomy, legitimacy, political strength, and capacity. In Virginia, for example, over \$1.5 billion is allocated by the state's general fund to higher education each year. This is in addition to revenue generated by tuition and fees and federal and private sources that contribute over \$3 billion annually (SCHEV, 2013c). Because of the organizational size of higher education institutions, they have a large network of human contacts. Political strength is found within the institution's governing board members, often appointed by the governor, administrative leadership, and a broad base of alumni, current students, and families.

The state arts agency pales in comparison to higher education institutions in terms of monetary and nonmonetary resources. In fiscal year 2013, the total agency revenues for SAAs in all states and territories in the U.S. ranged from \$1,443,908 to \$40,701,700 (NASAA, 2013).¹³ Here, organizational strength does not come from an operating budget, but instead from sector-specific expertise and knowledge that is unique to professionals and organizations working in the arts and culture. Agency commissioners, often appointed by the governor, are important to extending their agencies' political and professional networks in light of their relatively small operating budgets.

As I have argued, both the public arts agency and higher education institutions possess certain resources. Value seemingly would be added to the arts policy field if these agencies capitalized on their strengths through interorganizational exchange. I consider the advantages

¹³ Range does not include special jurisdictions.

and disadvantages of the exchange of three important resources in the arts context—legitimacy, turf, and autonomy.

Legitimacy. Public arts agencies may interact with higher education institutions to gain the resource of legitimacy. Not only can art programming be controversial, but also any form of public support for the arts is widely debated in the U.S. Because arts and cultural organizations have struggled with criticism of what they fund and why they fund it, they may gain legitimacy by establishing partnerships with more respected organizations like higher education institutions (Saidel, 1991). As was confirmed in Saidel’s (1991) research, arts policy advocates argue that government support of the arts acts as a catalyst for other types of funds. The National Assembly of State Arts Agencies (2010) made this argument in a document titled, “Why Should Government Support the Arts?”:

Dollars from a state arts agency provide a widely recognized “seal of approval” that helps grantees to raise additional funds from individuals, corporations and foundations and to attract partners in entrepreneurial and earned income ventures. For every \$1 of total grant funds awarded by state arts agencies nationwide, about \$40 in matching funds is secured from earned or contributed funds. (pp. 8-9)

Extending this argument, if public or nonprofit arts organizations formed partnerships or exchanged resources with public higher education institutions, then these affiliations might similarly serve as a “seal of approval” or signal that these arts programs were legitimate.

Turf. Turf is defined as “the domain of problems, opportunities, and actions over which an agency exercises legitimate authority” (Bardach, 1998, p. 164). Certainly, interorganizational exchange and sharing turf could advantage arts policy implementation. But what would this exchange in the arts policy field mean related to the scope of public higher education

institutions? Academic institutions participate in auxiliary enterprises and co-curricular programs for a variety of reasons, including furthering their missions and earning revenue. By embracing the performing arts, Ross (1977) argued that campuses are “victims of [their] own success” because they “now must find ongoing ways for funding the stream of arts activities that were once considered peripheral to arts departments, but have now emerged as central to our mission[s]” (p. 77). Embracing arts activities at this level may be perceived as mission creep and ancillary to academia’s core purposes.

Bardach (1998) argued that it “is a reasonable hypothesis that the more agencies find themselves competing for the same resource niche, be it funding or problem domain or clientele group, the more they will distrust others’ motivations, fear each other’s enhanced visibility, hide information about their own resources, and thus experience more difficulty in collaborating” (p. 179). By becoming active in the arts policy landscape, higher education institutions could be a threat to the domain that the state arts agency historically has controlled. On the other hand, by exchanging resources, higher education institutions and the arts agency could embark on “new turf” (Bardach, 1998) in a spirit of finding new and innovative solutions to state-level arts policy problems.

Autonomy. Public arts agencies and nonprofit arts organizations that coordinate with higher education institutions are at risk of losing autonomy (Kiley, 2013; Lowell & Ondaatje, 2006). Nonprofit organizations may be driven to reprioritize their programs or mission. Public agencies might risk losing the independent grant review system that is designed to keep politics separate from arts, considered to be “an arms-length paradigm” (Cherbo, Vogel, & Wyszomirski, 2008, p. 18; see also Lowell & Ondaatje, 2006). If higher education institutions become involved in decisions of this nature, then the objectivity of the public arts grant award processes may be

compromised. This outcome would be expected as higher education institutions are more politically powerful than arts agencies. Related to this point, Sidel (1991) found that public bureaucracies “also experience reduced autonomy when nonprofit providers who deliver high priority services are scarce and/or politically powerful” (p. 551). I place emphasis on the author’s findings that the politically powerful institution may not be the main service provider. In the case of this research, the state’s arts service provider is the state arts agency, not higher education institutions. The possible loss of autonomy between two organizations could mean that the appropriate role of *either* may be compromised.

Resource dependency theory sheds light on the possible role of higher education institutions in state-level arts policy. After reviewing this theory and its application to arts policy, I developed three related propositions for research. These propositions outline my best estimates as to why public arts agencies and higher education institutions might invest in the co-curricular arts and interact with one another in the arts policy field. These propositions are based on theory and my familiarity with the context in which these institutions operate.

P1: Public higher education institutions offer a solution to arts policy challenges in Virginia.

P2: Public higher education institutions in Virginia participate in arts policy in order to access resources.

P3: The Commonwealth of Virginia involves public higher education institutions in arts policy in order to access resources in support of the arts.

The first proposition focused on policy challenges requires further explanation. As I mentioned in the first two chapters, financial resources, policy knowledge and understanding, and political legitimacy remain barriers to the arts policy field. With proposition one, I am suggesting that higher education institutions may help the field to overcome these monetary and

nonmonetary challenges. It is important to note that this argument extends beyond financial capacity.

Rational Choice Analysis of Institutions

Rational choice theory is a widely accepted theory about the way in which institutions influence outcomes (Beckert, 1999; Horn, 1995; Knott & Miller, 1987; Lewis, 2003; March & Olsen, 1989; Moe, 1995; Seidman, 1998; Weingast, 1996). According to Weingast (1996), “the rational approach to institutions begins with a set of individuals, each with well-defined preferences. Strategic interaction of individuals within a well-defined context is the hallmark of the approach” (p. 169). Weingast (1996) noted that scholars who use the rational choice approach to analysis may be divided into two basic camps. In the first, are scholars who view institutions as fixed and exogenous. In the second, are those who see institutions changing and endogenous. Because of the changes facing processes and institutions involved in state-level arts policy, I focused on the rational choice approach to the study of institutions and the endogenous influences that serve as explanations for their development and evolution.

Institutional choice theory. Institutional choice theory comes from the study of political institutions and the interactions between bureaus, politicians, and interest groups (Kettl, 2000; Moe, 1995). The theory is heavily influenced by rational choice theory and similarly applies economic theory to politics. In political institutions, bureaucratic design imposes an element of control and certainty on otherwise uncertain relationships (Horn, 1995; Hult & Walcott, 1989; Kettl, 2000; McCubbins, 1985; Pierson, 2000). Beckert (1999) has argued that “in highly complex situations, the calculation of strategic decisions of others based on optimizing strategies becomes impossible. Institutions reduce uncertainty by creating expectations in the behavior of

others” (p. 782). Moe (1991) likewise has suggested that political institutions not only “are structured for performance, but also for protection against political uncertainty” (p. 124; see also Kettl, 2000).

The element of uncertainty central to politics gives actors reason to insulate agencies in order to ensure policy outcomes (Lewis, 2003). Political actors cannot be certain who will hold power in the future, and so one way to protect policy design is through the design of institutions (Pierson, 2000). But, as Moe (1995) argued, this approach to agency design in pursuit of insulation has consequences on agency effectiveness or “technical rationality” (p. 138). According to Moe (1995), uncertainty is “the driving force that causes the winning group to favor structural design it would never favor on technical grounds alone” (p. 137). These arguments speak to the administrative design of the state. With regard to this research, the co-location of the arts and education within the Education Secretariat may insulate the arts, a low-salience policy area, from criticism and elimination.

Institutional choice theory assumes that organizational design, procedures, and rules are shaped by the preferences of utility-maximizing actors (Horn, 1995; Knott & Miller, 1987; Seidman, 1998). As Smith has argued, “Administrative structure, the organizational characteristics that shape decision-making processes, exerts a powerful influence on the objectives public agencies pursue” (as cited in Krause & Meier, 2003, p. 259). In discussion of institutional choice, Knott and Miller (1987) asserted that structure results from the choices of actors responding to various incentives (p. 258). This claim can be applied to the re-organization of Virginia’s state arts agency, which had been moved from education to economic development and returned to education. These moves were caused by legislators, not arts policy administrators or those working in the arts field. Location is important, because as Horn (1995) argued,

“institutional choices that determine the character of administrative organization are important in part because they influence ‘who gets what’ out of the political process” (p. 3). Such arguments underscore the importance of organizational design, and the implications of organizations designed by rational and self-interested individuals. Summing up this line of research, Moe (1989) observed that “the relevant players and the underlying balance of power may vary from agency to agency, but the driving force of their politics is the same: players try to impose structures that will protect and advance their own best interests” (p. 289).

Bounded rationality. Although rational choice theory provides a predictable way to anticipate agent behavior and its influence on institutional design and organization (Hay, 2004), it is equally important to give consideration to alternate explanations (Hay, 2004; Jones, 1999; Miller, 2000; Simon, 1976). Rational choice theory assumes that people take deliberate actions and that there is a connection between actions and goals (Simon, 1976, 1995; Weingast, 1996). However, scholars have noted flaws in this assumption because of the limits of human rationality or “bounded rationality.” More specifically, Simon (1976, 1995) and March and Simon (1958), theorized that humans are limited in the amount of knowledge, understanding, and skills that they might use in decision-making processes.

Constraints such as incomplete information, computational limitations, incompatibilities among goals, and ignorance of possible courses of action, bound rationality and create gaps between actors’ actions and goal achievement (Jones, 1999; Simon, 1995). Therefore, in situations of uncertainty, humans “satisfice,” or make decisions that are acceptable, but may not achieve the best end-result on behalf of the organization (Simon, 1995). Miller (2000) went so far as to say that we should expect dysfunction in the decision-making abilities of rational actors. Simon (1976) wrote, “In an important sense, all decision is a matter of compromise. The

alternative that is finally selected never permits a complete or perfect achievement of objectives, but is merely the best solution that is available under the circumstances” (p. 6). A lack of understanding about the arts and culture creates similar limitations for policymakers who are making decisions with the best available information. This is not always complete information, and as I have previously argued, for the arts and culture, complete information at the state level is nonexistent.

Considering the many impediments to rationality, to what extent do actors reveal their preferences in the decisions they make? How can actors discern or even anticipate the preferences of others in order to make choices accordingly and protect their own interests? Weingest (1996) found that a “rational utility-maximizing agent will not reveal true information about his or her preferences to someone whom the agents knows will use this information to construct institutions that will work against his or her interests” (p. 148). Neoinstitutionalists focus on how larger institutional structures and designs shape the rational choices of organizational actors (Frumkin & Galakiewicz, 2004). In a similar vein, Simon (1995) explored the importance of social context in light of bounded rationality:

To understand human behavior, especially in a social context, one must have a large store of knowledge about the minds of the actors, what they know and believe, what they want, what they are currently attending to, how they structure the world around them. Included in these actors’ beliefs are convictions about the legitimacy and reliability of various channels of information that seek to inform or influence them. In making predictions of human behavior, the auxiliary assumptions (based, it is hoped, on sound empirical studies) that postulate the states of mind of actors are far more important than consequences deduced from a formal definition of rationality. (p. 60)

Rational choice theory as a foundation for institutional choice theory and its assumptions sheds light on how actors make decisions and form institutions. Certainly boundaries to rationality, context, and actors' beliefs affect their choices as well.

Beckert (1999) argued that we “can analyze processes of organizational change based on a dynamic model which takes institutions, strategic agency, and the necessity for reduction of uncertainty in social life as its core parameters” (p. 779). Many theories have been advanced to explain organizations and decision making, and their thorough application is outside the scope of this research. Needless to say, however, this stream of literature shows that institutional design both is *influenced by* and *influences* the decisions made by rationally bounded actors. In turn, these influences affect policy implementation and organizational outcomes.

Reorganization. Institutional choice literature contributes to knowledge on the reorganization of institutions, as changes in agency design often reflect the outcomes of institutional rational choice as opposed to simply rational choice matching solutions to perceived problems (March & Olsen, 1989). Reorganization efforts are symbols of action and leadership in administrative reform (March & Olsen, 1989). Salamon (1981) has asserted that reorganization “often becomes an alternative to action, a way to express concern about a program for which no resources are available (as cited in March & Olsen, 1989, p. 90). Another reason for reorganization may be to further tighten the control of bureaucratic agents. In their analysis of defense regulation, Mayer and Khademian (1996) concluded that “...as the goals of institutions or processes become more ambiguous or a matter of dispute, the greater the tendency to rely on procedural constraints as a mechanism for controlling the behavior of a regulatory bureaucracy” (p. 184). Agency reorganization is one mechanism that would impose procedural constraints.

This literature on reorganization suggests that the perception of change and reform may be more important than the results. Seidman (1998) underscored this point by arguing that it “is a myth that we can solve deep-seated issues after a reorganization” (p. 4). In fact, in his analysis of the impact of reorganization on employment and expenditures, Meier (1980) found that state expenditures actually *increase* after reorganization. Clearly, organizational reform can be used to give the impression of change. Yet, because organizational systems have the capacity to actively shape their environments, the effect of reorganization should not be ignored in the policy context (Hult & Walcott, 1989; Ranson, Hinings & Greenwood, 1980). The possible positive outcomes, paired with at least the perception of administrative reform, contribute to the continued use of restructuring to “right size” organizations in order to achieve improved efficiency and effectiveness (Chackerian, 1996; Keidel, 1994).

Rational Choice Institutionalism and Arts Policy

This review of institutional choice theory offers several necessary considerations for the examination of state-level arts policy in Virginia. Specifically, I focus upon the role of agency in and the organization of institutions.

First, agency is important within the context of institutions (Beckert, 1999). Utility maximizing actors design the structures that will promote their interests. As such, institutional choice theory assumes that bureaucratic institutions act as powerful agents, instilling influence on political actors. Specifically, this research examines the role of public higher education performing arts centers as emerging actors in the arts policy field and the organizational placement of the SAA with regard to its policy outcomes. The organization of SAAs differs from state to state. Some arts agencies are situated with departments of economic development, while

others are situated within stand-alone departments of culture. In Virginia, and eight other states, the arts agency is organized within the office of education (see Appendix B). The intentions and decisions of actors in the policy field are important to understanding its arrangement today. For example, the prevalence of performing arts centers on the campuses of public higher education institutions may reflect the organizational design with which they are embedded. As a result, higher education institutions become hosts to performing arts centers designed to take on this public activity.

Second, the way in which the arts are organized in Virginia could insulate this contested policy area from political influence. Miller (2000) has argued that there are several advantages to insulating bureaucratic agents, enabling them to commit to public goals, protect public policies from being undermined, and find stability and security from political interference.

Organizational theorists explore the impact of environment, yet organizations also have the capacity to constrain environmental impacts in different ways. As Pfeffer and Salancik (1978) wrote, “Every event confronting an organization does not necessarily affect it... Thus one reason why elements of an environment may have little impact is that the organization is isolated or buffered from them” (p. 12).

In order to investigate the usefulness of institutional choice theory to explain the existence of public higher education institution performing arts centers in Virginia, I relied heavily on actors’ perceptions of the meaning of their decisions affecting policy implementation. Simon (1976) argued, “Decision-making processes hold the key to the understanding of organizational phenomenon” (p. xl). Prior to embarking on my research, I studied this line of organizational theory to develop a proposition that may explain why Virginia, where the arts and

education are organized together, might have made the decision to implement policy in such a way.

P4: The institutional location of Virginia's state arts agency within the Education Secretariat encourages the use of public higher education institution performing arts centers in advancing state-level arts policy.

Summary

In this chapter, I have assayed two theoretical frameworks that undergird my inquiry. I reviewed resource dependency theory and rational choice institutionalism and their relevance to the state arts policy field and this research. To be sure, other prominent theories could be applied to a question of arts policy implementation at the state level. Narrowing in on two theories, however, allowed me to better articulate specific research questions and the four propositions outlined in this chapter. In the following Chapter 4, I detail my research design that is informed by the theoretical understandings and gaps discussed in this chapter.

CHAPTER 4 RESEARCH DESIGN

Given the expansive context of this research—higher education and arts policy—I made many design decisions on how best to understand the unfolding phenomenon in these fields. In this chapter, I discuss these decisions including my position as a researcher, techniques used, and my rationale for employing these techniques. I used legislative and budget histories as my first order analysis and in-depth interviews as my second order analysis. Although my research was an iterative process, it was important to maintain transparency in research design and implementation. This chapter details my processes.

Scientific Realism

In an attempt to understand a complex arrangement in which many levels of analysis are embedded into the object of research, this research design embraces scientific realism. Unlike positivism, in which theory is reduced to observable variables (Lane, 1996, 1997) scientific realism uses theory to “describe complex real-world processes” (Lane, 1996, p. 365). Although positivist approaches are appropriate for many contexts and offer accuracy in predicting outcomes, realists are attentive to the multiple possibilities that explain dynamic situations and processes. Lane (1996) suggested that scientific realism:

emphasizes model-theoretic forms of explanation; the search for causal processes that underlie and explain observed phenomena, and the creative role of the scientific community not as a source of political subjectivity but as a moral force in the progressive search for knowledge about the real world. (p. 363)

Similarly, Tsoukas (2005) argued that researchers should acknowledge complexity in organizations. He stated, “A complex form of understanding sees the world as being full of

possibilities, which are enacted by purposeful agents embedded in power-full social practices.” (Tsoukas, 2005, p. 5).

My approach to the study of state-level arts policy in Virginia is founded in the realist tradition. Because there has been little research completed on the subject, it may not be possible to reduce policymaking decisions about arts implementation to measurable variables in the positivist sense. A positivist approach toward my subject would not capture the world full of possibilities, enacted by purposeful agents, as Tsoukas (2005) described. In my examination of public arts institutions, I embraced context, politics, and the “power of strategically situated individuals to understand, confront, and change circumstances” (Lane, 1997, p. 6).

Organizational theories allow some prediction of human behavior, but because decision-making processes are complex, a realist approach to research best addresses these complexities. Process research (Langley, 1999; Lane, 1997; Tsoukas & Chia, 2002; Van de Ven & Poole, 2005) embraces the realist epistemology and allowed me to investigate the unfolding phenomenon of performing arts centers on the campuses of higher education institutions in Virginia.

Van de Ven and Poole (2005) combined two different ontological views that scholars hold about organizations and two different epistemological approaches to the study of organizations to create a typology of four approaches for studying organizational change. A review of these approaches is useful in explaining my choice of research design.

The Van de Ven and Poole (2005) typology of approaches for studying organizational change includes two primary ontological views of organizations as either things or processes. With the first, an organization “is a social entity or structure (a thing or a noun) that retains its identity while changing from one state to another over time” (Van de Ven & Poole, 2005, p. 1380). In this conceptualization, organizations are studied as nouns or social entities and include

subjects such as “identity, structure, culture and performance” (Whetten, 2005 as cited in Van de Ven & Poole, 2005, p. 1378). In the second, an organization “is simply a reification of a set of processes that maintain the organization by continuously structuring it and maintaining its boundaries in a field of other processes that are continuously breaking down the organization and its boundaries” (Van de Ven & Poole, 2005, p. 1380). This latter conceptualization suggests that organizations should be studied as verbs or social processes (Whetten, 2005 as cited in Van de Ven & Poole, 2005, p. 1378). Similarly, Tsoukas (2005) described these two views in terms of strong and weak forms of organizational change. In the weak form, processes can be reduced to the action of things that may be described as “variables” while in the strong form, actions and things are byproducts of the process.

On the opposing axis, the typology presents two epistemological approaches to the study of organizational change—the variance method and process narratives. With the variance method (Mohr, 1982), change is represented by a dependent variable and observed over time on a selected dimension (Van de Ven & Poole, 2005). Alternately, process narratives explain change based upon a sequence of events and/or a story or historical narrative (Van de Ven & Poole, 2005).

Table 2. A Typology of Approaches for Studying Organizational Change

Ontology: An organization is represented as being:			
		A noun, a social actor, a real entity ('thing')	A verb, a process of organizing, emergent flux
Epistemology (Method for studying change)	Variance Method	Approach I Variance studies of change in organizational entities by causal analysis of independent variables that explain change in entity (dependent variable)?	Approach IV Variance studies of organization by dynamic modeling of agent-based models or chaotic complex adaptive systems
	Process Narratives	Approach II Process studies of change in organizational entities narrating sequence of events, stages or cycles of change in the development of an entity	Approach III Process studies of organizing by narrating emergent actions and activities by which collective endeavors unfold

Note. Adapted from “Alternative Approaches for Studying Organizational Change,” by A. H. Van de Ven and M. S. Poole, 2005, *Journal of Organization Studies*, 26 (9), p. 1387. Copyright by SAGE. Used under fair use, 2014.

Approach III best fits the aim of my research as a study of “organizing by narrating emergent actions and activities by which collective endeavors unfold” (Van de Ven & Poole, 2005, p. 1387). This typology bridges my position as a scientific realist and my decision to undertake process research. As Tsoukas and Chia (2002) have noted, “Only by placing ourselves at the center of an unfolding phenomenon can we hope to know it from within” (p. 571). The process research method allowed me to approach the phenomenon of arts centers on public university campuses in an iterative manner, where theory informed data and data informed theory throughout the study (Orton, 1997). Some scholars have attempted to codify process research (Lane, 1997; Pettigrew, 1992), but as Langley (1999) suggested, process data are messy

and not “neatly sliced and packaged” (p. 692). I offer a brief review of process research to highlight the characteristics of this research method.

Process Research

How did Virginia come to build multiple performing arts centers at public higher education institutions and what is their role in state-level arts policy? Answering these questions require an analysis of *process*. Process research aims to understand why circumstances develop over time and is used for the study of “organizational change, decision-making, learning, innovation, implementation—phenomena that, by definition, imply action, change and temporal flux or ‘organizational becoming’” (Langley, 2008). Van de Ven (1992) argued that it is ideal to observe events in real time, in their natural setting, without *a priori* constructs guiding the research study. Because arts centers actively were being built on public university campuses in Virginia at the time of this research, the investigation of this phenomenon or process necessitated a method that did not rely on historical narratives alone. Instead, stakeholders active in and influencing the policy field were central to the research design and to the understanding of the process outcome.

In process research, phenomena are treated as fluid, connected, and embedded in context and temporal arrangement. Although process can be informed by history, events, and categories, Tsoukas and Chia (2002) argued that organizational phenomena should not be “treated as entities, as accomplished events, but as enactments—unfolding processes involving actors making choices interactively, in inescapably local conditions, by drawing on broader rules and resources” (p. 577). Unlike a historical narrative that may reduce process to a series of stages or positions, process research should acknowledge the microscopic and ongoing changes that

manifest in everyday actions and actors (Pettigrew, 1992; Tsoukas & Chia, 2002). My research aims to explain patterns embedded in numerous layers of analysis and context. Process research enabled me to capture nuances in a complex environment that might not be possible with other research methodologies.

With respect to the two theoretical foundations informing this research—resource dependency theory and rational choice institutionalism—I required a research method that allowed me to capture the strategic actions of involved actors (Lane, 1997; Pettigrew, 1992). In a brief review of social processes analysis, Pettigrew (1992) accounted for the effect of human agents and noted that “differences in power, knowledge, and other resources provide different opportunities for the realization of influence in social processes” (p. 8). Giving similar attention to the “power of strategically situated individuals” in the political process, Lane (1997) advanced the politics model as a type of qualitative research that acknowledges the “politics” in institutions and the political process that affect the distribution of resources. The emphasis on process and the interactions of actors that is “recognizably political” (Lane, 1997, p. 15) is what makes the politics model distinct from other methods of social science research. With respect to my inquiry, knowledge of resource dependence and institutional design will inform the process that I aim to explore and understand.

Scope

This research focused upon developments within the state of Virginia, which was selected for data collection for three reasons. First, Virginia ranks in the lower range of state spending on the arts relative to other states (NASAA, 2013).¹⁴ This ranking indicated a poor

¹⁴ Ranking is determined by per capita spending.

commitment to public arts spending at the state level. Second, Virginia public higher education institutions are home to many performing arts centers (four of which have opened or are planned to open after 2010). While numerous higher education institutions throughout the country have arts centers, Virginia's large number of public higher education institutions and their recent investments in arts infrastructure projects provided opportunity for exploring the relationship between arts policy and public higher education institutions. Third, Virginia's state arts agency is organized within the Education Secretariat. Although previous research revealed that the organization of state arts agencies does not affect states' appropriations to the arts (Keeney & Keeney, 2012), there may be other reasons why Virginia organizes its state arts agency in the way that it does that have yet to be explained. Nine states, including Virginia, situate their arts agencies with education.¹⁵ Other SAAs are housed primarily in departments of economic development or culture and heritage.

I decided to complete research within the context of a single state after pondering the nature of case identification and research. Walton (1992) and Wieviorka (1992) addressed research cases developing in a theoretical context that is observable by the researcher. Studies are situated in theoretical (Wieviorka, 1992) and situational (Lane, 1997) contexts. This point is worth articulating, as it helps to explain my decision to undertake research within a single state. Drawing comparisons between cases, or in the example of this research, different states, requires "classifications, hierarchies, and correlations about what cannot, from the start and by definition, be reduced in such a way" (Wieviorka, 1992, p. 170). Although a multi-state comparison might have allowed me to identify what is "both specific to and representative of a larger phenomenon"

¹⁵ State arts agencies located within departments of education include AL, AK, IN, KS, NY, OH, OK, RI, and VA. See Appendix B for a complete list of the organization of state arts agencies.

(Wieviorka, 1992, p. 170), a thick description of one state—with respect to geography, temporal, and situational context—would ultimately benefit the field. Walton (1992) argued that by making typological distinctions, “we presume to know what defines a universe of communities or organizations, how one sampled case differs from another, and what is likely to affect their individual behavior” (p. 125). Given the complexities involved in process research and the differences between states, a state-by-state comparison would be an inappropriate approach with respect to my stated research questions.

The time frame of my research was from 1968 to the present. Virginia’s state arts agency was created in 1968. Although the majority of the performing arts centers included in the study opened in the late 1990s and early 2000s, the history of the Virginia Commission for the Arts is an important component of understanding state arts policy as a *process* in Virginia. The early 1990s marks a significant time period in the state’s arts policy history. At that time, the Commission faced deep budget cuts, and the agency was reorganized from the department of economic development to education (Virginia Commission for the Arts, 1991, January 16). Of the performing arts centers included in this research, 11 out of 13 were constructed after 1991.

Research Sample

Virginia has a robust public higher education system and is home to 15 four-year public institutions, 1 two-year public institution, and 23 community colleges (SCHEV, 2013b). Of these 39 institutions, I identified 13 that were home to a performing arts presenting center at the time of this study. Although there are many different types of arts infrastructures and programs located within higher education institutions, this research focused on multi-use, enclosed centers. I defined performing arts presenting centers as those that “produce work outside of the

presenting organization” (Hager & Pollak, 2002). Performing arts presenting centers were selected for this research over other types of arts infrastructure because they serve diverse artistic priorities and different audience groups, and because they account for 54 percent of total spending on cultural infrastructure projects (Woronkowicz et al., 2012). Auditoriums, arenas, or single-function spaces, such as playhouses and fine arts museums (Peterson, 2001), were not included in the sample. Additionally, academic-focused infrastructure such as university schools of music or artist series that existed outside enclosed, multi-use arts center did not meet the selection criteria.

Using the Hager and Pollak (2002) definition described above, I first gathered information about performing arts centers at public higher education institutions from agency websites and print material. According to Marshall and Rossman (2011), an analysis of documents is useful in revealing the values and beliefs of actors in a particular setting. I began my inquiry by looking at the websites of the college or university’s performing arts department and/or performing arts presenting series. I examined the breadth of each presenting series as well as the mission and vision statements of performing arts departments and performing arts centers. Additionally, I looked for evidence of the institutions serving academic *and* community audiences. To complement this information or to fill in the gaps when information was not available, I searched for related news articles. Two main criteria were most important as I refined the research sample: the facility description and the presenting series. Schools with arts centers that served the community and met the Hager and Pollack definition (producing work outside of

the presenting organization) were included in the sample. The final research sample is listed in Table 3.¹⁶

Table 3. Public Higher Education Institutions in Virginia with Performing Arts Presenting Centers

Institution Name	Performing Arts Center Name
Blue Ridge Community College	Fine Arts Center
Christopher Newport University	Ferguson Center for the Arts
George Mason University	Center for the Arts
George Mason University	Hylton Performing Arts Center
James Madison University	Forbes Center for the Arts
Norfolk State University	L. Douglas Wilder Performing Arts Center
Northern Virginia Community College - Alexandria	The Rachel M. Schlesinger Concert Hall & Arts Center
Old Dominion University	The Diehn Fine and Performing Arts Center
Thomas Nelson Community College	Mary T. Christian Auditorium, Templin Hall
Tidewater Community College	Roper Performing Arts Center
Virginia Commonwealth University	Institute for Contemporary Art
Virginia Tech	Virginia Tech Center for the Arts
University of Virginia's College at Wise	Gilliam Center for the Arts

Data Collection and Instruments

This process research combined a legislative history of arts policy in Virginia, an archival budget analysis of public higher education institution performing arts centers, and in-depth interviews. First order analysis included the legislative history of arts policy in Virginia as well as the project and budget histories of higher education institution arts centers in Virginia. Second

¹⁶ See Table 7 for additional detail on each performing arts presenting center included in the sample.

order analysis included interviews with key arts policy professionals and higher education administrators. This method of triangulation (Crabtree & Miller, 1992; Eisenhardt, 1989; Lee, 1999; Yin, 2009) contributed to a rich understanding of *why* Virginia invests in performing arts centers at public higher education institutions.

Legislative histories and budget analysis. I completed legislative and budget histories prior to conducting the in-depth interviews with arts policy professionals and higher education administrators. This background data informed my interview questions and prepared me for interview discussion that was primarily topical in nature (Rubin & Rubin, 1995). The legislative histories not only offered background information, but also allowed me to consider the temporal order of arts policy development in the state of Virginia. The budget histories were important in determining the state's priorities related to the arts. Miller (1991) argued, "Budgets represent simultaneous flows of information through various choice structures" (p. 76). By examining the state's financial decisions, I was able to discern its priorities and timing of these priorities in arts policymaking (Miller, 1991; Thurmaier & Willoughby, 2001).

Virginia Commission for the Arts. I gathered the legislative history of arts policy in Virginia with primary documents from the Virginia Commission for the Arts. Although this information was limited and spotty at best, some Commission meeting minutes, publications, and policy proposals were available at the Library of Virginia, located in Richmond, VA. The history begins in 1968 with the Commission's creation and extends through 2013. Of course, the budget and appropriation history for the Virginia Commission for the Arts is central to understanding its past and future. I compared the Commission's budget history to Virginia's total and education budgets, and calculated the Pearson correlation coefficient to determine correlation. I looked for patterns within these budget histories and compared them with the appropriation history of

public higher education institution performing arts centers.¹⁷ I discuss these findings in Chapter 5.

Public higher education institution performing arts centers. I built upon my initial sample criteria to create a brief profile of each center in this study. Beyond providing basic information for each, I included key attributes that came from either my background investigation or from interviews. Although some shared commonalities, each arts venue had a unique creation story. These details gave great insight on why each center was built, when, and by whom.

Legislative history pertaining to the public higher education institution performing arts centers, however, was less available. The Virginia General Assembly does not keep records of floor discussion. Therefore, legislative discussion about the creation and approval of these centers was not available. Instead, I relied on authorizing budget documents to create a timeline and to provide context about the creation of these facilities. I retrieved authorizing budget information from the Virginia Department of Planning and Budget. Although this information was not immediately available on the agency's website, I was able to retrieve the data after contacting an agency representative directly.

Although one advantage of relying on legislative and budget histories in process analysis is that data collection does not disrupt ongoing events or the research setting (Lee, 1999; Marshall & Rossman, 2011), these historical analyses alone are limited contributions to the understanding of arts policy choices in Virginia. To fill in these gaps, I required the knowledge of actors in the policy area and thus completed in-depth interviews as my second order analysis.

¹⁷ Funding history was limited to capital construction costs and did not include authorizations for additions, renovations, and/or maintenance.

Interview protocol. In-depth interviews played an important role in many qualitative research design. The interview technique “yields data in quantity quickly” (Marshall & Rossman, 2011, p. 145) and provides data that is rich in breadth and depth (Fontana & Frey, 2005). Qualitative interviews offer important data, and this method is “flexible, iterative, and continuous, rather than prepared in advance and locked in stone” (Rubin & Rubin, 1995, p. 43). Specifically, I used in-depth interviews to uncover participants’ perspectives and to describe and offer explanation to complex interactions. Because there has been little scholarly research completed on state-level arts policy, my stated research questions necessitated this type of primary data collection technique, which allowed for and necessitated flexibility throughout the research process.

Rubin and Rubin (1995) have suggested that how we interview “depends, in part, on what it is that we are trying to hear” (p. 19). Although most interviews have a combination of more and less structured parts, my approach was closest to the semi-structured format and included several specific questions. On the whole, however, the interview questions were open-ended and allowed the interviewees to respond openly and in detail without significant researcher interference. With this interview technique, the participants’ perspectives are respected and “unfold as the participant views it (the emic perspective), not as the researcher views it (the etic perspective)” (Marshall & Rossman, 2011). This interview format allowed me to listen for and hear narratives, as opposed to more simple and concise answers. Rubin and Rubin (1995) addressed the characteristics of a narrative:

A narrative describes what happened, defines outcomes, or presents the stages of a social process. It is based on remembered history, with little elaboration, distortion, or intentional cover-up. It might begin, “So far as I can remember, this is what happened...”

A narrative may be analytical, but is usually not particularly emotional. The narrative is what the person believes happened. Researchers interview a number of those involved to obtain narratives on the same subject, because people experience or remember different parts of an event. The researcher combines several narratives to portray what occurred.

(p. 24)

Interview sample. Because my interviews focused on arts policy in Virginia, I employed a purposeful sampling technique (Strauss & Corbin, 1990) and selected participants who were knowledgeable and experienced practitioners in arts policy. I generated a preliminary list of interviewees based upon this relatively small policy field after completing background research about the state arts commission and performing arts presenting centers at public higher education institutions in Virginia. I gathered contact information for the interview participants from agency websites and made phone calls when the information was not available on the Internet. Although I had a preliminary list of interviewees at the start of my research, I relied on the snowball sampling technique (Crabtree & Miller, 1992; Marshall & Rossman, 2011) to add additional participants to the list. The snowball technique made up for my possible oversights in the preliminary list and allowed me to incorporate appropriate interviewees based on recommendations made by other subjects in the sample. Table 4 includes the final list of interview participants.

Table 4. Interview Participants

Organization	Profession	Interviewee Count (24)
Virginia Commission for the Arts	State-level arts professionals	4
Virginians for the Arts	State-level arts professionals	2
Arts Council of Fairfax County	Local-level arts professional	1
CultureWorks, Richmond	Local-level arts professional	1
Norfolk Commission on the Arts and Humanities	Local-level arts professional	1
Office of the Arts, Alexandria	Local-level arts professional	1
Blue Ridge Community College	Higher education institution administrator	1
Christopher Newport University	Higher education institution administrator	1
George Mason University	Higher education institution administrators	2
Hylton Performing Arts Center, George Mason University	Higher education institution administrator	1
Prince William County Board of Supervisors	Local-level policymaker	1
James Madison University	Higher education institution administrator	1
Norfolk State University	Higher education institution administrators	2
Old Dominion University	Higher education institution administrator	1
Schlesinger Concert Hall and Arts Center, Northern Virginia Community College	Higher education institution administrator	1
University of Virginia - Wise	Higher education institution administrator	1
Virginia Commonwealth University	Higher education institution administrator	1
Virginia Tech	Higher education institution administrator	1

Data collection. In total, I conducted 24 interviews over a period of 10 weeks. I interviewed 5 state arts policy professionals, 4 local arts policy professionals, 13 higher education institution administrators, 1 individual who represented both local arts policy and a higher education institution, and 1 individual who represented both state arts policy and a higher

education institution. Interviews lasted between 20 and 116 minutes and averaged 37 minutes in length. All interviews were conducted according to a research protocol approved by the Virginia Tech Institutional Review Board.¹⁸

Prior to conducting each interview, I assured participants that their responses would be confidential and that no identifying information would be revealed in the research results. I conducted in-person interviews in order to better observe the subjects at the time of the interview. In the rare instance that an in-person interview was not possible because of scheduling conflicts, I conducted the interview by telephone. I relied on an audio recording device to keep an accurate record of the interview data. In accordance with my research protocol, I notified and sought the permission of each interviewee of my intention to record the interviews. These audio recordings allowed me to be an active listener in the interviews, rather than just a note taker. Audio recording does have disadvantages, however. Interviewees may feel that their responses are “on the record” and subsequently withhold information that may be controversial. On the other hand, audio recording provides the assurance that one’s responses are recorded accurately (Rubin & Rubin, 1995). In addition to audio recording, I took select notes during the interviews to help me with pacing, to stay on track with the interview questions, and to take note of particularly interesting responses.

I used specific types of interview questions to encourage the participant to extrapolate on the topic with depth and detail. Kvale (1996) defined nine interview questions that range in type from introduction to silence or pause. I started with an introductory question that Kvale (1996) finds elicits “personal experiences about the phenomena under study and frame subsequent

¹⁸ See Appendices D-G for interview materials submitted to Virginia Tech’s Institutional Review Board.

questions” (as cited in Lee, 1999, p. 84). My introductory question was this: “There are many performing arts centers located on college campuses in Virginia, three of which were recently constructed. Why do you think that is?” I then used probing questions to “seek new information without necessarily stating the theme the interviewer wishes to pursue” (Kvale, 1996 as cited in Lee, 1999, p. 84). I used a range of these types of probing questions depending on how the participant answered the introductory question. I used a follow-up question to transition to new issues like state-level arts policy or higher education (again, depending on the nature of the previous responses). One example of a follow-up question was, “What is your continuing relationship with state and/or local arts agencies in Virginia?” I made sure to ask for clarification of meaning throughout the interview when necessary. With the semi-structured interview method, each interview was unique. As such, I employed different interview questions depending on the flow of the conversation.

I terminated interview data collection after I had spoken with a representative of each organization in which I had interest and after I reached a point of saturation (Bryant & Charmaz, 2007; Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Although each interview was different, similarities of instances and patterns eventually emerged. Bryant and Charmaz (2007) suggested, “Once the researcher is convinced that they understand what they see, can identify it in many forms, and it appears culturally consistent, then the category may be considered saturated and sampling may cease” (p. 243). Specifically, each arts center included in this study had a different history, yet as a group, they shared commonalities in their origin stories.

Credibility and validity. There are some challenges to in-depth interviewing that can limit the method’s credibility and validity (Rubin & Rubin, 1995). First, interviews are a two-way conversation, and require an element of trust and comfort on behalf of both parties (Marshall &

Rossmann, 2011; Rubin & Rubin, 1995). Trust can become a barrier to the quality of data obtained if interviewees feel uncomfortable or threatened and respond without candor. I worked to overcome these barriers by supplying information about my research in advance and sharing my common interests about the area of study to interviewees. Additionally, because the interview questions did not contain topics that could be perceived as threatening (Bradburn & Sudman, 1979), interviewees engaged in an open and conversational style during the interviews. Second, and related to the first challenge, is that interviews are a form of intervention and cannot be performed without disturbing the context or situation (Marshall & Rossmann, 2011). A third challenge is that interviews are not predictable (Rubin & Rubin, 1995). Despite my advance knowledge of the research area, I remained open to a variety of responses. Fourth, it is difficult for researchers to remain unbiased in the interviewing process. However, Rubin and Rubin (1995) have suggested neutrality “is probably not a legitimate goal in qualitative research” (p. 13). I relied on pre-stated research questions, theoretical frameworks, and propositions to help guide my research and interviews. Although these techniques could not eliminate bias, they allowed me to systematically target the same areas of inquiry in each interview session.

Transcription, Coding, and Analysis

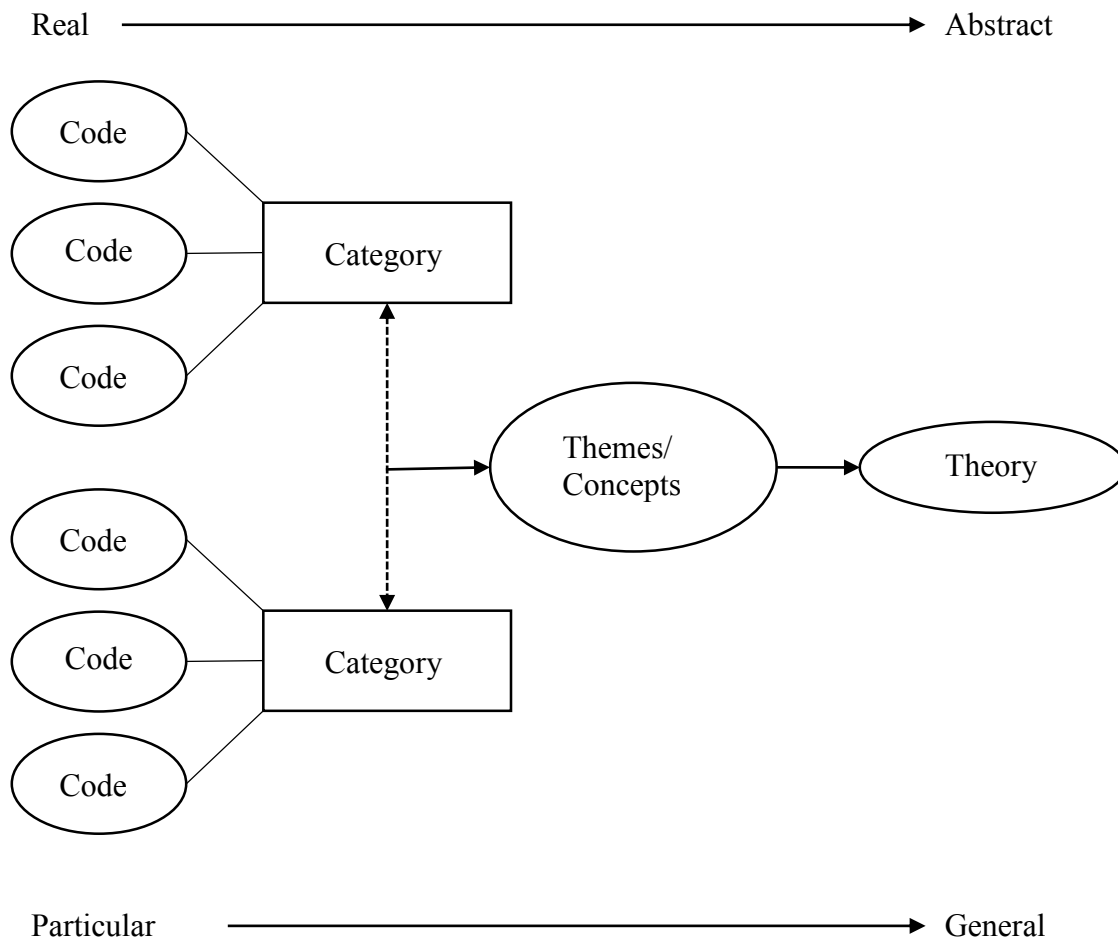
Strauss and Corbin (1997) suggested that qualitative data analysis “is a search for general statements about relationships and underlying themes; it explores and describes and builds grounded theory” (as cited in Marshall & Rossmann, 2011, p. 207). Similarly, my data analysis process was an exploration of relationships and themes constructed inductively, rather than deductively. Although my interpretation of data was done without a template, I replicated

the prescribed thematic coding steps and organization of data offered by Boyatzis (1998) and Crabtree and Miller (1992).

My analysis began with transcribing and coding interview data. I used a computer-assisted transcribing software program called Express Scribe to transcribe my audio-recorded interviews into text documents. The process of transcription allowed me to revisit the interview material and make notes about potential codes to be used in the coding process. In this way, I began analysis while collecting and transcribing data.

After I transcribed the audio-recorded interviews, I began coding my interview data to make sense of it and organize it in a systematic way. “When codes are applied and reapplied to qualitative data, you are codifying—a process that permits data to be segregated, groped, regrouped and relinked in order to consolidate meaning an explanation” (Grbich, 2007 as cited in Saldana, 2009, p. 8). I used a computer-assisted qualitative analysis software (CAQDAS) program called NVivo to organize the data into codes, categories, and themes. I followed Saldana’s (2009) “Codes-to-Theory Model for Qualitative Inquiry,” illustrated below in Figure 2, to take coded data from the real to the abstract. Saldana (2009) stated, “when the major categories are compared with each other and consolidated in various ways, you begin to transcend the “reality” of your data and progress toward the thematic, conceptual, and theoretical” (p. 11).

Figure 2. Streamlined Codes-to-Theory Model for Qualitative Inquiry



Note. Adapted from “A Streamlined Codes-to-Theory Model for Qualitative Inquiry,” by J. Saldana, 2009, *The Coding Manual for Qualitative Researchers*, p. 12. Copyright by SAGE. Used under fair use, 2014.

In order to fully understand the phenomena central to my research, I did not rely on pre-set coding schemes (Marshall & Rossman, 2011; Saldana, 2009). Instead, I inductively constructed codes from the raw data (Boyatzis, 1998). Marshall and Rossman (2011) argued, “In qualitative studies, data collection and analysis typically go hand in hand to build a coherent interpretation. The researcher is guided by initial concepts and developing understandings that she shifts or modifies as she collects and analyzes the data” (p. 208). This process is most closely related to Crabtree and Miller’s (1992) “editing” analysis style where “the interpreter engages

the text naively, without a template” (p. 20) and grounded theory techniques (Glaser & Strauss, 1999).

I completed the coding process in two cycles. In the first cycle, I used the initial coding method along with the process coding and simultaneous coding methods (Saldana, 2009). The initial coding method is useful for “breaking down qualitative data into discrete parts, closely examining them, and comparing them for similarities and differences” (Strauss & Corbin, 1998 as cited in Saldana, 2009, p. 81). This method allows the researcher to be open to all possibilities that the data may reveal. With this goal, I did not use the structural coding or hypothesis coding methods (Saldana, 2009) as I did not want to limit my findings to my particular research questions and stated propositions. Also during first cycle coding, I employed the process coding method, or the application of codes to gerunds (“ing” words). Process coding is appropriate for research that includes “ongoing action/interaction/emotion taken in response to situations, or problems, often with the purpose of reaching a goal or handling a problem” (Corbin & Strauss, 2008 as cited in Saldana, 2009, p. 77). Lastly, the first cycle of coding included the simultaneous coding method that is appropriate “when the data’s content suggests multiple meanings that necessitate and justify more than one code” (Saldana, 2009, p. 62).

After I began my process of initial coding, I returned to the interview transcripts to organize responses by respondent occupation. Respondents were identified as being a state-level arts professional, a local-level arts professional, a higher education institution administrator, or a combination of these categories. I determined this need for classification while organizing the data and recognizing emergent patterns.

Because the first cycle coding process was primarily a process of initial coding, I performed a second cycle to refine my understanding of the text and my coding structure. “The

primary goal during Second Cycle coding, if needed, is to develop a sense of categorical, thematic, conceptual, and/or theoretical organization from your array of First Cycle codes” (Saldana, 2009, p.149). I used the focused coding technique (Saldana, 2009) to organize codes into categories.

After organizing codes into categories, I looked for comparisons *across* these classifications as opposed to within (Rubin & Rubin, 1995). Comparing categories allowed me to find links in data that had theoretical meaning or importance to my stated research questions and propositions. Lee (1999) drew particular attention to the researcher’s role in interpretation when examining data reflexively. In discussing a researcher drawing themes from interviews, Lee (1999) stated, “Whereas these themes appeared to derive from what the interviewees said, the explanations for why and how these themes were important in the lives of working people were ultimately imposed from the researcher’s knowledge of existing theory, empirical research, and intuitive speculation” (p. 34). My data coding structure and analysis are presented in Chapter 6.

Limitations and Delimitations

This research has several major limitations. The first two limitations regard the validity and generalizability of my iterative research design. Specifically, my research is limited in scope geographically and relies heavily on the credibility of interview responses (Newman & McNeil, 1998; Rubin & Rubin, 1995). A third area of limitation surrounds my bias as a researcher within a contextual area with which I am very familiar. Although I have previously discussed my approach to research as an iterative, reflexive process, I underscore that my research design is replicable and that I remained ethically engaged throughout the process (Marshall & Rossman,

2011). In the following section, I address these limitations and the steps I took to reduce their effects on research.

Research design. Although the study is limited to one state, this analysis allowed me to capture nuanced responses, structural changes, and the factors influencing decision-makers (Carmin & Jehlick, 2010). Walton (1992) suggested that “cases are hypotheses” and that “researchers seldom, if ever, claim that their work deals only with a particular circumstance” (p. 122). My research and propositions were specific to Virginia, yet the concepts involved are not limited to this state. Higher education institutions and states may be working together in other states, and findings from Virginia may be applied or extended to other locations in the future. However, because I have not engaged in a similar inquiry in other locations, it is not possible to determine whether this research is generalizable. Nonetheless, the findings of this study remain useful to arts policy professionals and higher education administrators who are seeking to explore the arts-higher education relationship in policy and/or practice.

I collected a substantial amount of data collection through in-depth interviews. The interview method is not without its limitations, however, especially with regard to subject credibility. Where some other forms of data doubtless are free from human manipulation, I could not ensure that any given research subject was always unbiased and/or truthful in his or her response. Because I had completed background research prior to interviewing, however, I was able to ensure consistency (Rubin & Rubin, 1995) by probing subjects’ responses that seemed contradictory to data that had been previously collected. Rubin and Rubin (1995) identified initial barriers to successful interviews, including that interviewees may feel insecure, eager to make a certain impression, or fearful of revealing their own ignorance. I worked to overcome these obstacles by providing my own credentials and a summary of research prior to the

interviews, being respectful of appointments and professional in communications, and reminding participants about how the research would be used and of the terms of confidentiality. These techniques encouraged people to be more open, enthusiastic about the research, and honest with their responses.

Researcher bias. Vaughn (1992) addressed theoretical framing and researcher bias by observing that “the paradox of theory is that at the same time it tells us where to look, it can keep us from seeing” (p. 195). Similarly, Glaser and Strauss (1967) stated that preconceived theory “dictates relevancies in concepts and hypotheses prior to the research (as cited in Vaughn, 1992 p. 195). These scholars implied that one’s understanding of theory might shape his or her research design. This argument may be extended to one’s familiarity with the research context. Glaser and Strauss (1967) assumed that:

[A] researcher never begins with a clean slate.... [W]e always begin a research project with an arsenal of preconceived theoretical notions accumulated from our own research, our reading of the work of others, personal experience, literature, and conversations that shape our perceptions and ideas in spite of ourselves. (as cited in Vaughan, 1992, p. 195)

Given the scholarship surrounding research bias and preconceived ideas, I was sensitive to the fact that my own starting position and ideas are part of the research process. Specifically, I have practical and professional experience in the performing arts in Virginia, and worked on some aspects of the creation of a performing arts center included in this research. Rather than declare complete objectivity as a social scientist, I knew that my role in interpreting data in part influenced the research process and results (Fontana & Frey, 2005; Lee, 1999; Rubin & Rubin, 1995). Boyatzis (1998) spoke to a related pitfall of projection in research:

It is simply “reading into” or “attributing to” another person something that is your own characteristic, emotion, value, attitude, or such. With ambiguous qualitative information, there is more opportunity for and invitation to projection from the researcher than in most other types of research. The stronger a researcher’s ideology or theory, the more he or she will be tempted to project his or her values or conceptualization of the events onto the people from whom the raw information has been collected. (p. 13)

One way to overcome the effect of projection is to “stick close to the raw information in the development of the themes and codes” (Boyatzis, 1998, p. 13). Another way to reduce researcher bias and projection is to rely on several researchers’ perspectives to encode data. The use of multiple coders allows one to test agreement and ensures replicable processes. Because I am the sole author of this researcher, I relied on other methods to lessen the effect of this limitation. I remained as unbiased as possible with the treatment of raw data, specifically allowing themes to emerge instead of applying pre-set codes. I was open to all sorts of explanations because I employed a research design that embraced emerging themes and reflexive analysis. Additionally, I took steps to ensure that my research was transparent (Rubin & Rubin, 1995) and to the extent possible, replicable. The process of documenting all of my research steps—including keeping notes, memos, and transcripts—heightened the level of accountability for me as an ethical and credible researcher.

Summary

In this chapter, I explained my theoretical approach to research as well as detailed my research design. I began by stating my epistemology as a scientific realist and my decision to undertake a process research approach. This background frames the research design choices I

made throughout this process. Next, I explained the scope, research sample, and two phases of data collection techniques—legislative and budget histories and in-depth interviews. This was proceeded by an in-depth explanation of I how employed and analyzed each technique. I concluded with a discussion of the limitations of this research design. In the following chapters, I present my findings and the analysis of these data.

CHAPTER 5

FINDINGS: LEGISLATIVE AND BUDGET HISTORIES

This chapter provides findings related to the landscape of arts policy in Virginia. Although I have briefly introduced Virginia's arts policy and higher education landscape in Chapter 2, in this chapter, I extend this knowledge with in-depth legislative history of the Virginia Commission for the Arts. I next provide the background and budget histories of performing arts centers at public higher education institutions in the state. I compiled these data prior to completing interviews so that I had a rich understanding of the state landscape before speaking to experts in the field. This prior knowledge allowed me to probe interview responses that seemed inconsistent with historical data, and to ask specific questions about areas in which I needed more information. As might be expected, arts and education appropriations are related to the health of the state, and I explain this relationship later in the chapter.

Introduction

In order to understand how Virginia arrived at its present method of supporting the arts and cultural institutions at higher education institutions, it is important to first understand the history that informs that process (Langley, 2008). Some scholars have argued that a historical narrative alone is not enough to understand process (Pettigrew, 1992; Tsoukas & Chia, 2002), and that is partly why my research design relies on two orders of data collection—historical analysis and in-depth interviews. This first level of analysis informed my interviews and the subsequent comprehensive data analysis.

My analysis and interpretation of data cannot be divorced from the geographical context of this research. The political and economic characteristics of Virginia indicate that it is a

comparatively healthy state that is fiscally reserved. This is important in light of Hofferbert and Urice's (1985) research that reported that a state's commitment to social investments—such as natural resources, education, and transportation—explains variation in public arts appropriations at the state level. Ranked 38th, Virginia is among the lowest in the nation for total state arts funds, especially in comparison to its peer states: Maryland, North Carolina, and Tennessee (Virginia Performs, 2013) that were ranked 5th, 24th, and 12th respectively in 2013 (NASAA, 2013). This being the case, it was important to consider Virginia's climate over time as well as *additional* investments in the arts and culture—specifically cultural facilities at higher education institutions. In an attempt to gain a more thorough understanding of public support for the arts and culture, I looked to the funding histories of not only the state arts agency, but also of these significant cultural centers on the campuses of public colleges and universities.

Established in 1968 as a result of the National Endowment for the Arts' policies that incentivized states to create arts agencies, the Virginia Commission for the Arts has had a fairly standard history. With a relatively small budget, the Commission is not a particularly powerful state agency and has become narrower in scope of activities over time. For example, early meeting minutes revealed the Commission's large-scale cooperation and innovation with existing departments like education. Today, the Commission is focused on grant awards to nonprofit arts organizations, placing strict emphasis on funding these entities. Over time, other nonprofit organizations were created to advance the Commission's agenda, including the advocacy groups Virginians for the Arts and the Virginia Alliance for Arts Education. These outgrowths were a positive outcome for the arts in Virginia, but to some extent further reduced the Commission's role. These new organizations took on some responsibility of supporting and advancing arts in the state, and the Commission became more specialized as a grant-giver. Now, the Commission

focuses on giving direct grants to established nonprofit arts organizations. The agency interacts little, if at all, with other state institutions that might strengthen its political power and contribute to its capacity to advance the arts for all Virginians.

An interesting and overlooked contributor to the arts in Virginia are higher education institutions, specifically performing arts centers located on the campuses of public colleges and universities. For this research, I identified 13 performing arts centers at higher education institutions in Virginia that produce work created outside the presenting organization (Hager & Pollak, 2002). Although these arts centers are quite different from the state arts agency in that their primary purpose is to produce or present the performing arts to the public while the Commission funds the performing arts, there are similarities worth noting. Like the Commission aims to do, arts centers at higher education institutions offer accessible arts and cultural opportunities that contribute to citizens' education and quality of life and promote economic development for the Commonwealth. Although each center has a unique creation story, taken as a whole, these institutions exhibit similar purposes and share commonalities related to why they were built on college and university campuses. What is most interesting, however, is that many of these centers were created in large part to serve community members who might otherwise not have regular access to some types of arts and cultural experiences because of their geographic location.

Comparing the history of the Virginia Commission for the Arts with the history of higher education institution performing arts centers offers some insight into their parallel purposes over time. Although interview findings provide a much richer understanding of why performing arts centers were built at higher education institutions, the background of these public arts institutions gives clues to how the Commonwealth has and continues to support the arts and culture.

Legislative History: The Virginia Commission for the Arts

The Virginia Commission for the Arts is Virginia's public arts agency, and like the arts agencies that exist in all other states, it encourages participation and invests in the arts for all Virginians (Virginia Commission for the Arts, 2012b). Providing grant funding is the agency's primary method of "encouraging participation" in the arts. The values of the Virginia Commission for the Arts include the following (Virginia Commission for the Arts, 2013b):

- Supports artistic excellence, encourages growth in artistic quality, and strives to make quality arts experiences available to all Virginians, regardless of age, disability, gender, geographic isolation, income, race, or social barrier
- Is a responsible steward of the public trust and the Commonwealth's resources, and maintains the highest ethical and legal standards in all its actions
- Values and supports creativity, innovation, and investment in the Commonwealth's rich and diverse cultural heritage, and encourages and strengthens private support of the arts
- Values and promotes the arts and artists as a vital component of the Commonwealth's economic health, supporting jobs, businesses, and tourism
- Values and promotes the arts as a catalyst for lifelong learning, and recognizes the essential role of the arts in the intellectual and creative growth of Virginians of all ages

Although there are gaps in the history of the Commission, agency documents and meeting minutes help to explain the agency's budget and goals, and how these elements have changed over its 45-year history. I compiled this history using several primary and secondary documents including agency meeting minutes, agency issued reports, websites, and news articles. I obtained documents from the U.S. Newspaper Directory, accessible from the Library of Congress; the Library of Virginia Online Catalogue; the Library of Virginia's State Records Center in Richmond, VA; and from the Commission directly. To locate records, I used a combination of search terms including "Virginia Commission of the Arts and Humanities," "Virginia Commission for the Arts," "Arts Council," and "Virginians for the Arts."

Organizational history: 1968 to today. From its earliest days, the Commission has been focused on coordinating with other state agencies, specifically education agencies.

Administrators from the state's Department of Education, the Department of Community Colleges, and the Council of Higher Education were invited to Commission meetings and spoke about opportunities for furthering arts education, adult arts education, and fine and applied arts degrees in state colleges. Collaboration with existing agencies, such as education and tourism, was important in fulfilling the Commission's principles. Activities and programs would be carried out within the framework of, or in cooperation with, *existing* agencies of the state (Virginia Commission for the Arts and Humanities, 1968, December 9, p. 1). Of particular interest to this research, a representative from the Department of Community Colleges discussed the long-range plan of expanding the number of community colleges in the state from 11 to 24, and commented on auxiliary activities including the arts and sports (as was recounted in meeting minutes):

In referring to use of community colleges for student and adult education in the Arts, he said most students work and must travel every day to and from school. Therefore, no auditoriums have as yet been built. For the same reason, there are no athletic programs or student facilities (such as lounges or cafeterias). He expressed the desire of the Department of Community Colleges to work with the Commission for future programs when facilities are available, particularly with reference to adult courses (or after school hour programs). (Virginia Commission of the Arts and Humanities, 1968, December 9, p. 3-4; see also Virginia Commission of the Arts and Humanities, 1968, October 21)

Discussions about supporting and improving arts programs in public schools continued through the first few years of the Commission's meetings. This topic was ongoing at the national level as well:

Formal and informal programs for students and citizens of all ages can extend the arts into the lives of many who are not now either artist or audience. Community and four-year colleges can respond to the artistic needs of their local communities, while university arts centers can assist through regional programs. No federal assistance other than advocacy and leadership is envisioned in many of these natural local developments. (NEA, 1978, p. 43)

The Virginia Alliance for Arts Education was established in 1974 and incorporated as a nonprofit in 1976 “to encourage and strengthen the arts of Virginia at all education levels” (Virginia Alliance for Arts Education Article of Incorporation, 1976). The establishment of the Alliance for Arts Education may be a reason why the Commission began deemphasizing formal education. A report issued by the Commission in 1982 reflects a shift from its focus on arts education. The Commission reported, “Although the Commission supports arts activities, the major responsibility for arts education lies with the State and local education agencies. The Commission works with the Virginia Alliance for Arts Education to advocate for more and improved arts education for Virginia’s children” (Virginia Commission for the Arts, 1982, p. 6). Despite articulating this plan for collaboration, the Alliance for Arts Education ceased to exist after 1989.

Concurrently, the Commission began to advance the relationship between the arts and economic development, at the time acknowledged as “tourism.” A 1971 Commission report entitled “Travel and the Arts,” called for tourism and the arts to work together while maintaining independent organizational entities. “This would appear to be the proper time for travel and the arts to cooperate. This joining of two powerful forces will permit Virginia to fulfill its best role in the 1976-1981 commemorations” (Virginia Commission for the Arts, 1971, p. 26). This

argument progressively gained strength as a programming and funding strategy as is evident from the arts and economic development discourse that remains prevalent today. As Delegate Plum (D-Fairfax) stated in 1988, “The key to getting money from the state is to tie funding for the arts to economic development. It sells better in Virginia” (Wennblom, 1988, p. VA3).

Other trends that affected the Commission just a decade after its creation were decentralizing grant decision-making and sponsoring fewer programs directly (Arts Agencies in Virginia and Maryland, 1979). These were national trends, as was reducing direct support to individual artists. The controversy surrounding funding for individual artists came from an argument that individual artists do not benefit taxpayers in the same way that organizations might (Mansfield, 1985). These politically based changes to the way in which state arts agencies operated were further solidified through the 1990s, an era known as the period of the “culture wars.” At that time, controversial work by individual artists, funded in part by the National Endowment for the Arts, spurred criticism of the creative decision-making authority held by public arts agencies.

The Commission’s ability to advance the arts in Virginia was tested after the 1990 recession when changes in state spending priorities resulted in substantial and disproportionate cuts to the agency (Virginia Commission for the Arts, 1997). As a result, a Governor’s Task Force on the Arts, in place during 1990 and 1991, recommended new goals for the Commission that focused on access, economic viability of the arts, and education (Virginia Commission for the Arts, 1992). With these new recommendations, the General Assembly affirmed its position and limited role in public support of the arts in the Commonwealth:

The General Assembly of Virginia views its role in providing financial support to artists and nonprofit arts organizations as that of a catalyst, helping to augment and strengthen

private and local support of the arts. Through the Virginia Commission for the Arts the General Assembly provides support for those activities least likely to be funded through other sources. This philosophy recognizes that government resources are limited while demands for services are high, and that the arts are healthier when open to diverse influences and not financially dependent on any single source of support. (Virginia Commission for the Arts, 1992, p. 5)

At the same time, the General Assembly set an ambitious \$1 per citizen appropriation goal, which has yet to be realized (Virginia Commission for the Arts, 1992, p. 5).

Another result of the recession and the administration's proposal for making state government more efficient was "Project Streamline." This initiative included an agency reassignment for the Commission. Previously, the Commission had reported to the Secretary of Economic Development, but as of July 1991, it was reassigned to the Education Secretariat (Virginia Commission for the Arts, 1990, May 23-24). This was an interesting move for Virginia at this time. Committee discussion had always involved education and educational institutions, but at this point in the Commission's history, discussion was largely centered on rightsizing and innovative financing solutions, including emphasizing the arts' economic contributions. At the time, some Commission members expressed concern that this move would "make it more difficult to emphasize the links between the arts and economic development" (Virginia Commission for the Arts, January 16, 1991, p. 2).

Failing to achieve the \$1 per citizen funding goal in the late 1990s, the state looked for alternate solutions and reaffirmed its commitment to reach the funding goal in the future. An independent commission report entitled, "Creative Solutions for Funding the Arts in the Commonwealth" (1997), directed the Commission to look for new and innovative funding

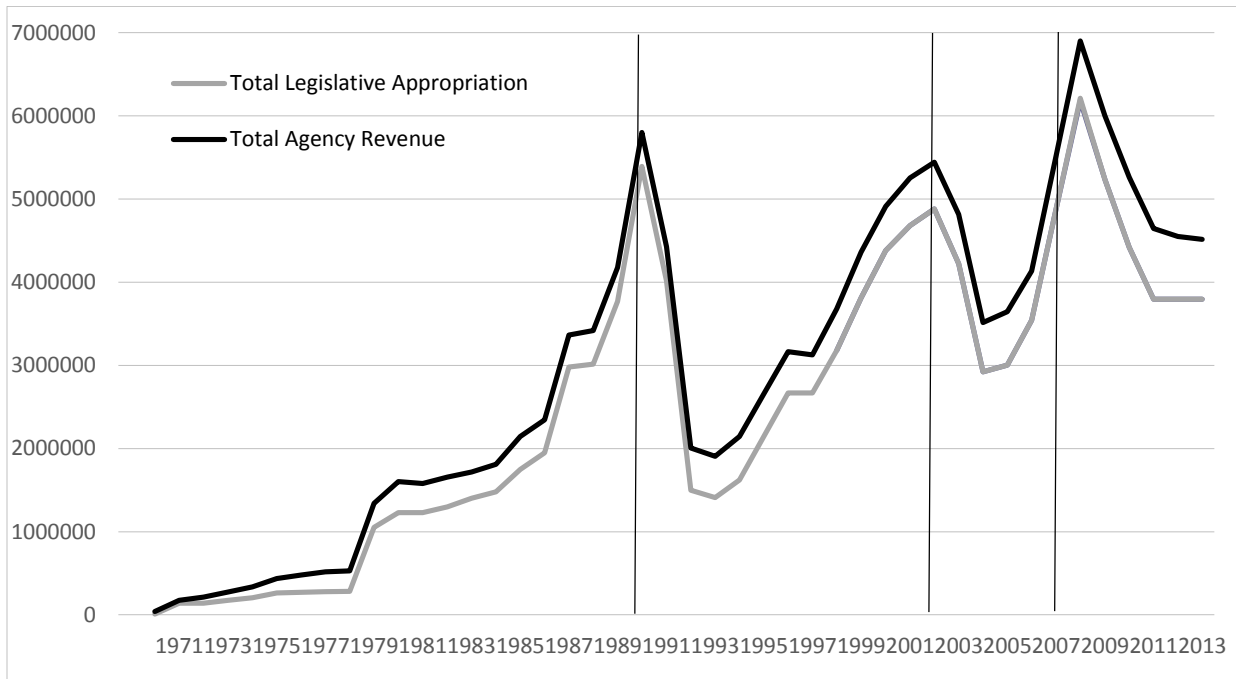
solutions. This report included information about other states' strategies and arts funding solutions, such as endowment funds, bond issues, license plates, special tax districts, lottery, income tax check-off, and percent for art programs. In 1997, the General Assembly formed the Virginia Arts Foundation, "a non-reverting fund that receives revenue from the sale of arts license plates and the income tax check off for the arts" (Virginians for the Arts, 2013a). In 2011, the Foundation and Virginians for the Arts merged to become one organization (Virginians for the Arts, 2013a). Despite the efforts on behalf of the state and Foundation to earn new sources of revenue, today the Commission remains primarily funded through appropriations from the state legislature and from federal funding from the National Endowment for the Arts (Virginia Commission for the Arts, 2013a).

Today, the Commission narrowly focuses on funding nonprofit arts organizations, specifically those that have been "producing quality arts programs for at least two consecutive years" (Virginia Commission for the Arts, 2013a). Interviews with state and local arts professionals confirmed that this is the agency's target sector and the one that has the greatest need. Therefore, other types of organizations are less of a priority. As early as 1984, the Commission stated that, "Organizations receiving major operating income from other State government sources will be a low priority for Commission funding" (Virginia Commission for the Arts, 1982). This sentiment is seen in the Commission's funding practices today under which nonprofits are the priority but, "in some program areas, funding is available to schools, libraries or community groups" (Virginia Commission for the Arts, 2013a).

Funding history: 1968 to today. Funding for the Commission is directly related to the economic health of the state. Undoubtedly, this creates an unstable environment for the

Commission and arts organizations receiving public funds. The Commission’s funding history is marked by recessions in 1990, the early 2000s, and 2007. These patterns are shown in Figure 3.

Figure 3. Virginia Commission for the Arts Total Legislative Appropriation and Total Agency Revenue 1970-2013



Note. Data from the National Assembly of State Arts Agencies, 2013. Recession years are marked by vertical lines.

As Figure 3 depicts, funding for the Commission was on a steady incline from its creation until 1990. The agency received a large increase in 1979, which it attributed to the advocacy efforts of a grassroots organization, Bravo Arts (Arts Agencies in Virginia and Maryland, 1979), and again in 1990. In the early 1990s, Virginia and the rest of the nation entered into a recession and the Commission’s appropriation was reduced by 35 percent between 1990-91 and 1992-93 (Virginia Commission for the Arts, 2012c). As a result, Virginians for the Arts was formed in 1992 to “provide united advocacy among Virginia’s arts organizations and advocates to support

increased public funding of the Virginia Commission for the Arts” (Virginians for the Arts, 2013a).

After the recession, a period of economic growth through the 1990s led to budget increases through the 2002-03 fiscal year. Facing another national economic downturn in the early 2000s, the Commission’s appropriation was cut by nearly 57 percent between 2001-02 and 2003-04 (Virginia Commission for the Arts, 2012c). The Commission credits advocacy efforts by Virginians for the Arts for the appropriation increases between 2005 and 2008. Per the Governor’s order, the 2007-08 appropriation was reduced by 3 percent in fall 2007 as a result of the start of the 2007 great recession. This recession led to decreased appropriations through 2012 (Virginia Commission for the Arts, 2012c).

Today the Commission ranks 38th among other states for per capita arts spending, with a budget that amounts to .47 cents per person (NASAA, 2013).¹⁹ When the Commission’s total agency revenue is compared to other states’, the Commonwealth’s position worsens. At .55 cents per person, Virginia ranks 48th out of 50 states and six territories (NASAA, 2013). Interestingly, however, although many states experienced a negative percent change from fiscal years 2011 to 2012, Virginia remained static, enacting the same legislative appropriation for both fiscal years. Although the overall budget remains lower than many peer agencies, this recent static pattern of funding may at least suggest continued and predictable support for the Commission.

¹⁹ Calculation based on total state funds including appropriation to arts agency and other state funds.

State Health and Arts and Education Spending

To be sure, education funding also is related to the economic health of the state. Although a thorough discussion of education policy is beyond the scope of this dissertation, it is important to note the connection between overall state fiscal health, education funding, and arts funding. Because it is an agency reporting to the Education Secretariat in Virginia, funding to the Commission comes through the Higher Education Subcommittee in the House Appropriations Committee and the Education Subcommittee in the Senate Finance Committee (Virginians for the Arts, 2013b). To further investigate this relationship between variables, I calculated the Pearson correlation between (1) total state expenditure and arts commission appropriation, (2) total state expenditure and total education operating budget, and (3) total education operating budget and arts commission appropriation (Table 5).

Table 5. Relationship between State Operating Budget and Education and Arts Spending in Virginia

	Arts Commission appropriation	Total state expenditures	Total education operating budget
Arts Commission appropriation	1		
Total state expenditures	.655	1	
Total education operating budget	.152	.992	1

Note: Data from the National Assembly of State Arts Agencies and the Virginia Department of Budget and Planning, 2013.

As would be expected, the Pearson correlations show a near perfect positive relationship between the state's total expenditures and education budget (.992) and a high correlation between total expenditures and arts appropriation (.655). There is a low positive correlation between arts appropriation and education budget (.152), suggesting that the two budget categories co-vary only 15 percent of the time. This finding may be explained by the fact that

education is a higher political priority than the arts, and thus the emphasis on one priority over another lessens the correlation effects between education and the arts.

The history and evolution of the Virginia Commission for the Arts over time provide for an interesting context for state-level arts policy research. The Commonwealth's robust higher education environment and investment in cultural facilities on the campuses of public colleges and universities may provide more clues as to how arts policy is implemented in this state. In the following section, I describe each performing arts center included in the study. These data were collected from websites, organizational documents, news articles, and from interview subjects.

Background: Performing Arts Centers at Public Higher Education Institutions in Virginia

Organizational mission statements. Interestingly, performing arts centers at higher education institutions have goals that are very similar to those of the state arts agency. Table 6 lists these shared values including education, access, artistic quality, and economic development. One might expect these specific arts centers to be focused on the student bodies that they serve. Instead, these institutions have much more expansive purposes.

Table 6. Comparison of Organizational Mission Statements: Virginia Commission for the Arts and Public Higher Education Institution Performing Arts Centers

Values	Virginia Commission for the Arts	Higher Education Institution Performing Arts Centers
Artistic quality	Encourages artistic excellence and quality	Present artists of international significance in state-of-the-art facilities
Access	Makes arts experiences available to all Virginians	Promote accessibility by offering a wide variety of programming at a low cost
Economic development	Promotes the arts as a component of economic development and tourism	Commitment to strengthening the local economy
Education	Promotes the arts as a catalyst for lifelong learning and intellectual growth Supports creativity and innovation in the investment of the Commonwealth’s heritage Strengthens private support of the arts	Commitment to educating students and community members

Note. Values for the Virginia Commission for the Arts from “Mission & Values,” Virginia Commission for the Arts, 2013b.

Education and access. Not surprisingly, the arts centers included in this study were committed to educating students and community members. For example, the Hylton Performing Arts Center at George Mason University (GMU) “entertains, educates, and enriches the Northern Virginia community by providing diverse and accessible arts experiences in state-of-the-art venues” (Hylton Performing Arts Center, 2013a). Similarly, the James Madison University (JMU) Forbes Center affirms “the arts as an essential component of the liberal arts curriculum” (James Madison University, 2013). Virginia Tech’s Moss Center aims to “transform lives through exploration and engagement with the arts and creative process” (Center for the Arts at Virginia Tech, 2013b). These statements are similar to the Commission’s assertion that the arts are essential to the life-long learning and intellectual and creative growth of Virginians. Along

with education, both the state arts agency and these arts centers aim to promote accessibility by offering a wide variety of programming at a low cost. Specifically, the Commission values artistic experiences despite “social barrier,” among other things. The Ferguson Center at Christopher Newport University (CNU) aims to “[serve] as the cultural leader in community development and enrichment activities by providing access and opportunities for participation in cultural programs for all segments of our community” (Ferguson Center for the Arts, 2013a). GMU’s Arts Center hopes to “make the arts an intrinsic part of the lives of every George Mason student and area resident” (George Mason University Center for the Arts Center, 2013).

Economic development. Another goal of the state arts agency and these arts centers is economic development. The Commission “values and promotes the arts and artists as a vital component of the Commonwealth’s economic health, supporting jobs, businesses, and tourism” (Virginia Commission for the Arts, 2013b). Organizational mission statements and interview discussion show that arts centers at higher education institutions are also committed to strengthening the local economy. The Ferguson Center at CNU works to develop and promote “strong partnerships between the arts, education and business communities in the region. (Ferguson Center for the Arts, 2013a). JMU’s Forbes Center “gives the university a unique opportunity to strengthen its relationships with local businesses, to enhance the cultural life of the community, and to support economic growth and social interaction in the region” (James Madison University, 2013). Although not expressed in mission statements, organizational backgrounds of the Tidewater Community College and the projected downtown revitalization effects of Virginia Commonwealth University’s (VCU) forthcoming performing arts center reveal that community development was at the heart of these two projects as well.

Artistic quality. The Commission supports artistic excellence and relies on independent grant panelists to determine what excellence looks like and how it should be awarded. Although arts centers aren't in the business of giving grants, they too strive for high quality artistic experiences by presenting acclaimed and international artists. Presenting these types of artists is only possible with state-of-the-art performance venues and technology. Norfolk State University's Wilder Performing Arts Center's mission is to "educate, enlighten and entertain through the presentation of artistic events of excellence and diversity in the performing arts and thereby ensure the viability of art in all its forms" (Old Dominion University, 2006). In its expression of values, Virginia Tech's Moss Center states that it will "seek artists of regional, national and international significance who share our passion for learning, discovery and engagement" (Center for the Arts at Virginia Tech, 2013b). Maintaining a high level of artistic quality is additionally important for donor engagement and prestige.

This comparison of organizational statements sets the stage for possible contributions by arts centers at higher education institutions to state-level arts policy in Virginia. Although there are many similarities in the missions and purposes of these centers, each has a unique creation and funding history. In the next section, I offer background information on each center included in the study (ordered by construction completion date). This information sheds light on why these centers will be built, who was involved, and what their intended purposes were and are today.

Old Dominion University (ODU), Diehn Fine and Performing Arts Center, Norfolk, VA. The Diehn Center is different in one way from the other centers included in this study in that it includes a 200-seat recital hall, but the university's 280-seat theater, 150-seat studio

theater, and art galleries remain separate facilities. However, the university presents a robust departmental music and concert series that made the facility similar to others in the study with performance series. Additionally, ODU is hoping to build an 800 to 1000-seat hall in the future (personal communication, April 10, 2013). The Diehn Center was constructed in 1988, was added onto in 1994, and was undergoing an addition of 18,000 square feet of academic space at the time of this research (studios, practice spaces, and faculty offices) (D. Feltes, personal communication, December 11, 2013; R. Fenning, personal communication, April 8, 2013).²⁰

The “Diehn Concert Series and Residency Program” is an endowed series that brings “accomplished musicians on campus for both concerts and master classes” (Old Dominion University Alumni News, 27 September 2010). A short piece issued by ODU’s Alumni News described its expanded series and attempts to provide more opportunities for the community while also focusing on students; “unlike at many universities, where the performers are selected based on marketability and outside support, at ODU, the professors work with Bayersdorfer [assistant dean for the arts] to select artists whose example and teaching will support student interest and need” (ODU Alumni News 27 September 2010). Tickets for the endowed series are only \$10 for students and \$15 for community members. An interview subject told me about the plethora of performance opportunities in Norfolk outside the university (personal communication, May 6, 2013c):

There are plenty of other venues. Some schools, there aren’t other venues close by where they can get experience in the performing arts. Here we have the opera and the symphony

²⁰ For in-text citations, personal communications identified by name were not part of the interview sample. Instead, interview subjects were identified by date only.

and the festival and all these things around. So we can afford to be picky about who we want to bring to campus.

The original Diehn Center, constructed between 1986 and 1988, was completely state-funded in the amount of \$7,922,647. Since the original construction, it was added onto in 1994 (\$1,201,954, private funding for a composer's library) and again between 2011 and 2013 (\$9,702,172, mixture of university, state, and institutional funds) (D. Feltes, personal communication, December 11, 2013; R. Fenning personal communication, April 4, 2013). The latter addition was part of a multi-building project totaling \$23,266,880.

George Mason University (GMU), Center for the Arts, Fairfax, VA. GMU built its first performing arts center in 1989 in pursuit of an academic initiative to bring the performing arts to students and community members. An interviewee explained that GMU was an early adopter of the cultural facility movement, and that the institution wanted to bring a sense of place to its constituents and capitalize on community involvement and volunteers. This in turn led to new fundraising opportunities (personal communication, April 15, 2013a).

The GMU Center for the Arts is part of the university's College of Visual and Performing Arts and is the main performance location of the respective schools of music, theater, and dance. Its mission is "to make the arts an intrinsic part of the lives of every George Mason University student and area resident" (George Mason University Center for the Arts, 2013). The center is home to a 1933-seat concert hall, a lobby that can be used for dinners and receptions, and a grand tier used for lectures and intimate recitals. The "Great Performances at Mason" presenting series offers a broad range of performing arts programs in addition to academic-based performances. The "Free Tickets for Mason Students" program ensures access for the university's student population.

This performing arts center is one of the oldest that I included in research, and its total project cost is unknown. The center was financed through state bonds, paid with nongeneral fund money that was earned from student fee revenue.

Norfolk State University (NSU), L. Douglas Wilder Performing Arts Center, Norfolk, VA. Because it is one of the older performing arts centers included in this study, there is little historical information available on the Wilder Center. This lack of data was compounded by the fact that the center was undergoing renovations at the time of this study, and as a result, the university's Wilder Center website had been dismantled during the renovation process. Nevertheless, I learned about the center in two interviews conducted at NSU and gathered information about the center's financing from the Virginia Department of Planning and Budget.

The Wilder Center, named after Virginia's first African-American governor, opened in 1996 after receiving authorization in 1992. The project cost \$7.9 million and was funded by the state in the 1992 Acts of Assembly (Commonwealth of Virginia Educational Institutions Bond Act of 1992). This method of capital project authorization differed from others in this research and was put into place by then acting Governor Wilder. According to an interviewee, the current renovation project, costing \$4 million, was initiated to update the facility with state-of-the-art production components and is estimated for completion in spring 2014 (personal communication, May 6, 2013b). Built because of an academic need for performance space, the 1900-seat center houses the university's academic arts departments, hosts university events such as convocation, presents outside artists, and is rented for use by community groups.

More recently, NSU has placed emphasis on making itself a resource for the community. The Wilder Center was a means by which the university could extend itself to the community, invite participants in, and engage with local artists. This was an initiative of then president Tony

Atwater, who was fired in August 2013 after just two years of service (Kapsidelis, 24 August 2013). As a consequence, the future of this particular arts center remains open for new opportunities. Interview statements suggested that the facility, its purposes, and its ability to generate revenue were being reevaluated.

Tidewater Community College (TCC), Jeanne and George Roper Performing Arts Center, Norfolk, VA. The Roper Performing Arts Center is part of TCC's Norfolk Campus, which opened in January 1997 (Tidewater Community College, 2012). The campus was developed in two phases, included the renovation of existing downtown buildings, and was led by six partners: the Norfolk Redevelopment and Housing Authority, the State Community College System, TCC, the TCC Educational Foundation, and the City of Norfolk (Norfolk Redevelopment and Housing Authority, 2001). The Roper Arts Center, opened in 2000, resulted from the renovation project of the former historic Loews Theater (originally constructed in 1926). In 2002, the total \$34 million campus project was awarded the Economic Development Award from the International Downtown Association (Norfolk Redevelopment and Housing Authority, 2013).

The 832-seat Roper Center “supports local, community, regional and national events, and is equipped with state-of-the-art acoustical, audio, video, production, and staging equipment” (Norfolk Redevelopment and Housing Authority, 2001, p. 29). The center is used by local nonprofit arts groups, presents a film series, and hosts college-related events like commencement and symposia (Roper Performing Arts Center, 2013). Bonds for the renovation of the theater were issued by the Norfolk Redevelopment and Housing Authority in the amount of \$9.115 million. The state and community college system is scheduled to complete payments in 2020.

TCC contributed \$1.2 million to the theater renovation project (M. Maul, personal communication, April 4, 2013).

Northern Virginia Community College, Rachel M. Schlesinger Concert Hall and Arts Center, Alexandria, VA. Completed in 2001, the 981-seat Schlesinger Center is a unique project that serves many nonprofit arts groups in Alexandria and the surrounding areas. According to the center's website, the idea for this facility came from the community in discussion with the college. Fundraising efforts were spearheaded by a committee of the Alexandria/Arlington Cultural Center (no longer in existence) and by arts enthusiasts Dr. James and Mrs. Rachel Schlesinger, who contributed \$1 million to the construction project (Rachel M. Schlesinger Concert Hall and Arts Center, 2013a).

Used primarily by the college for events and then by local groups, the center's performance calendar is packed with performances by area ensembles of all types including youth orchestras, choirs, dance ensembles, primary school concerts, and military bands (Rachel M. Schlesinger Concert Hall and Arts Center, 2013b). Rental rates are based upon the user's organizational type; for-profit organizations pay double the amount nonprofits pay for facility use. In addition to the main theater, the center annually hosts seven visual arts exhibits in its fine arts gallery. Artists from the District of Columbia metropolitan area (including Maryland and Virginia) showcase their works in this facility. Like a center at another community college in this study, this center serves area residents and therefore must earn revenues 30 percent greater than its direct program costs to pay for the college's administrative overhead (VCCS Policy Manual 4.3.1.0, 2013).

The center's total project cost was \$10,930,299 and was funded by local corporations, foundations, and individual donors (Rachel M. Schlesinger Concert Hall and Arts Center,

2013b). No state money was put into the capital costs. The available funding breakdown does not show any local government funds being used towards the project. According to an interview subject, local public money was contributed, but this cannot be confirmed with available budget data (personal communication, April 18, 2013). The center was built in part to raise revenue for the college through rental income. Today, this arrangement is difficult considering scheduling limitations, the cost of rental and production to local arts organizations, and the requirement to return 30 percent of revenue to the college for overhead (personal communication, April 18, 2013).

Thomas Nelson Community College (TNCC), Mary T. Christian Auditorium, Hampton, VA. The Thomas Nelson Community College describes its auditorium as a service to area businesses and the community. It opened in 2003, cost \$8.714 million, and was funded primarily by the state (Virginia Department of Planning and Budget, 2013). The 470-seat hall “brings to the community an exciting new venue for performing arts, lectures, films, symposia and other kinds of professional events” (Thomas Nelson Community College, 2013). In addition to the hall, the center includes a multi-story lobby that can be used for receptions and an art gallery. The auditorium is used for college events and is rented by area arts organizations for performance space.

Christopher Newport University (CNU), Ferguson Center for the Arts, Newport News, VA. Christopher Newport University opened its much-anticipated Ferguson Center for the Arts in 2005, thanks in large part to the legislative expertise of former legislator and university president, Paul Tribble. Becoming president in 1996, Tribble “wanted to transform Newport News itself by making CNU into an educational and cultural jewel that would bring the world’s best musicians, performers, and scholars to this one-time blue-collar industrial town” (Hamilton,

2011, p. 259). In an effort to advance the university and surrounding community, Tribble initiated the purchase of an old high school and transformed it into a performing arts center over the first decade of his presidency. Hamilton (2011) detailed this development in a written history of the university:

President Tribble shared this vision of a dramatic new role for Ferguson [high school]. In fact, he wanted to remake the old high school into a spectacular performing arts center, one that would transform both the university and the Peninsula community itself. To make the vision a reality, Tribble lobbied Alan Diamonstein and other legislators during his March 1996 visit to Richmond during state budget negotiations. He explained that a performing arts center had for too long been discussed by local leaders, but without concrete action. *Now* was the time to act and for the General Assembly to make a significant commitment. (p. 220)

Not only was Tribble successful in securing support from the state, but also he was able to convince the City of Newport News to contribute \$5 million and the City of Hampton and York County to give significant yet lesser amounts towards the project (Hamilton, 2011). Additionally, in 2002, senators George Allen and John Warner secured \$1 million in federal funds for the arts center. The center was named after Ferguson Enterprises, a plumbing wholesaler based in Newport News that contributed \$1 million to the construction project. An interview subject told me that Ferguson Enterprises continues to donate money to the center today (personal communication, June 12, 2013).

The effects of the Ferguson Center on the community were quickly noticeable. The city named the roadway closest to the center “Avenue of the Arts,” and it was clear that the

community welcomed the arts facility to help change the face of the Hampton Roads area, as was reported by the *Daily Press* in 2004:

Flash forward 50 years, though, and Newport News will be a different, better place because of the Ferguson Center for the Arts at Christopher Newport University. Flash forward 100 years, and the impact will still be felt. Not just in Newport News, but across the region. This is not exaggeration. Universities are centers for learning and culture. They are engines of economic growth. Christopher Newport is growing, as anyone with eyes to see can tell driving down Warwick Boulevard where it passes the campus.

In the early years of the project, CNU approached the nonprofit Peninsula Fine Arts Center with a merger proposal that would capitalize on facilities for the performing and visual arts. Although the Fine Arts Center rejected the merger in 2002, the two parties agreed to merge in August 2013 (Pawlowski, 15 August 2013). The move was spurred in part by CNU's plans to complete an additional fine arts center by 2017. Peninsula Fine Arts Center's executive director, Courtner Gardner, spoke about the risk in remaining separate entities: "We would be directly competitive. Let's face it, in today's environment, there are scarce resources" (Annas, 25 July 2013).

The mission of the Ferguson Center is "to enhance and enrich the cultural development and awareness of the University and its constituents in the region by offering cost-effective, diversified and superior cultural experiences, delivered with the highest level of service" (Ferguson Center for the Arts, 2013a). Designed by world-renowned architects Pei, Cobb, Freed, and Partners (designers of the Holocaust Museum in Washington, DC), the center houses a 1750-seat concert hall, a 500-seat music and theater hall, and a 200-seat studio theater (Hamilton, 2011). The center is home to the CNU Department of Music, TheaterCNU, and the Falk Gallery

of Art. Additionally, the center offers a presenting series that offers a broad range of programming including pop, rock, classical, theater, film, dance, and jazz (Ferguson Center For the Arts, 2013b). The Ferguson Center for the Arts Foundation exists to support the artistic and educational programs of the center, and is led by a board of directors that includes the center's executive director as well as the university's executive vice president.

Blue Ridge Community College (BRCC), Fine Arts Center, Weyers Cave, VA. The BRCC Fine Arts Center opened in 2007 and at that time was the community college's first new academic building in 25 years. The center "offers fine and performing arts opportunities for students and community" and the art gallery exhibits student and community works (Blue Ridge Community College, 2013a). It is home to a black box theater, an art gallery, art and ceramic studios, classrooms, and faculty offices. While the center partially fulfills an academic space requirement, it was also projected to be a revenue generator for the college (Fitzgerald, 2007). The BRCC Cultural Affairs Committee makes programming decisions, and performances include theater, music, and productions of local interest, while the art galleries host student, faculty, and visiting artists' work.

Operating both a fine art gallery and theater, the community college developed separate statements of purpose for each that address student audiences first and the community second (Fitzgerald, 2007). The purpose of the art gallery is to "serve the college community and the community at large through exhibitions that educate, inspire, and encourage independent and creative thinking; and that enrich the cultural and aesthetic experience of our students, faculty, staff, and the general public." Similarly, the theater's purpose is described as follows:

To enrich and expand the positive relationships that exist between the Blue Ridge Community College and the community at large, by providing a gathering place with

quality entertainment; provide a venue at BRCC for the study and the presentation of the performing arts, such as theatre, dance, music, and lectures; create and nurture ties within the college community by providing opportunities to work together on performance projects, as audience or participants. (Blue Ridge Community College, 2013b)

The Fine Arts Center cost \$7.492 million and was funded primarily by the state as an academic facility. A portion (\$1.020 million) of the total was contributed by local funds. Similar in operational design to the community-oriented Plecker Workforce Center on BRCC's campus, the arts center is partially designed for community education and use. According to the Virginia Community College's policy manual, revenue generated by community education and community service offerings should be "equal to or greater than the direct cost of such offerings plus thirty percent for administrative overhead support" (VCCS Policy Manual Section 4.3.1.0, 2013). Because the revenue generated from the arts facility is from community-service based activities that serve citizens of the Commonwealth, the revenue can be kept by the college and does not have to be turned over to the community college system (VCCS Policy Manual, Section 4.3.1.3, 2013).

University of Virginia's College at Wise (UVA-Wise), Gilliam Center for the Arts, Wise, VA. UVA-Wise completed its arts center in 2009 as a result of an academic facility need to put the performing and visual arts together under one roof for the first time (according to an interview). In a short news piece, Chancellor David J. Prior stated, "The Gilliam Center for the Arts is the crown jewel of the campus. It is a facility that serves not only the College but the entire region" (University of Virginia-Wise, 15 October 2009). The new building, which was an addition and renovation to an existing theater building, is home to an art gallery, studio and rehearsal spaces, audio labs, and a flexible-use theater space. In addition to housing the college's

academic departments, the center partners with local arts organizations and specifically provides funding and office space to one nonprofit presenting organization (personal communication, May 16, 2013a).

The Gilliam Center was named after the Gilliam family, long-time supporters of the college. The Gilliams donated \$4 million of the total \$14.475 million project cost. The remainder was funded by state general funds. Since this gift, the Gilliams later gave the largest gift in the college's history—\$8.3 million towards a new health and wellness center (Still, August 30 2011).

George Mason University (GMU), Hylton Performing Arts Center, Prince William County, VA. Built in 2010, the Hylton Center is a public-private partnership between George Mason University, the Board of County Supervisors of Prince William County, VA, and the city of Manassas, VA. As an outgrowth of a 1990 Prince William County visioning exercise spearheaded by the former chair of the Prince William County Board of Supervisors and the head of the Prince William Campus for GMU, the center was a mutually beneficial solution to several parties' similar, yet differing needs related to facility demand, perception, and growth (Hylton Performing Arts Center, 2013b, p. 2). "Creating a world-class performing arts facility was not something that the county, city or university could do alone. However, working together, they could accomplish the feat to the benefit of all three constituencies" (Hylton Performing Arts Center, 2013b, p. 2).

The Hylton Center was built to serve students and residents of Prince William County and the City of Manassas, enhancing the parties' "ability to attract and retain quality economic development," and "nurture and support the current local arts community, provide educational opportunities for kindergarten through high school students, and provide lifelong learning

opportunities” (George Mason University, 2004, p. 1). Additionally, the center fulfilled a community desire for a performance facility that would encourage growth, improve the community’s perception, and serve as a needed performance space for arts groups (personal communication, April 15, 2013a).

The mission of the Hylton Center is to “entertain, educate, and enrich the surrounding region by providing diverse and accessible arts experiences in state-of-the art venues” (Hylton Performing Arts Center, 2013b, p. 2). The facility includes a 1123-seat concert hall, a 240-seat family theater, an art gallery, and a grand foyer space that can be used for dinners and receptions (Hylton Performing Arts Center, 2013a). The center does not house any of GMU’s academic programs, but instead has five resident arts partners and five affiliate arts organizations. It presents a broad range of programming through the “Hylton Presents” series and hosts a comprehensive family series designed for young audiences.

The three public parties (GMU, Prince William County, and the City of Manassas) created a tripartite agreement to fund, construct, and operate the building, ultimately giving property ownership and responsibility for continued operations (including administration) to the university. The total project cost was \$54,330,961. Of this total, \$4 million was funded by the state of Virginia. The remaining balance was financed through local support, donations, and bonds issued by the university. The three parties agreed to pay off the bond debt service in the following proportions: George Mason, 30 percent; Prince William County, 60 percent; and the City of Manassas, 10 percent. Additionally, GMU contributed 13 acres of land (valued at \$3 million) at no cost (George Mason University, 2004, p. 5). This tripartite agreement was modeled on that of a similar initiative and operating agreement between GMU, the county, and the city that led to an aquatic and fitness center built in 1999. During the arts center’s construction

process, some of the facility's original program design and functionality was eliminated during value engineering exercises to control costs. A local senator was instrumental in passing \$6 million from the state to add back this portion of the project, and that the university will raise another \$2 million to complete the \$8 million estimated editions, including an education wing (personal communication, April 15, 2013b).

A 19-member executive board oversees and advises the center by determining matters related to operational and programmatic policy. The board includes members from each involved party including 3 members from GMU, 8 members from Prince William County, 2 members from the City of Manassas, and 6 members at-large. The board does not make decisions about the daily operations and management of the center (George Mason University, 2004, p. 10).

James Madison University (JMU), Forbes Center for the Performing Arts, Harrisonburg, VA. The Forbes Center was completed in 2010 as a result of years of discussion at the higher administrative levels about putting the arts in parity with other academic disciplines on campus (personal communication, April 22, 2013). While much of JMU's facility expansion was happening "across the highway," the arts center was located at the heart of campus. According to the center's website, the presence of this facility signals the university's commitment to the arts as central to a liberal arts education and to the enhancement of the local community:

As the premier destination for arts in the Shenandoah Valley, the Forbes Center gives the university a unique opportunity to strengthen its relationships with local businesses, to enhance the cultural life of the community, and to support economic growth and social interaction in the region. Located within the Arts and Cultural District in the City of

Harrisonburg, the facility is in a prime position to transform how university and community members view and engage in the arts. (James Madison University, 2013)

JMU's facility serves the students first and community second (personal communication, April 22, 2013). Home to the School of Theatre and Dance, the School of Music, and the School of Arts and Arts History, the building houses a 450-seat main stage theater, a 600-seat concert hall, a 196-seat recital hall, a 200-seat studio theater, a 200-seat dance theater, and classroom, rehearsal, and office spaces used primarily in support of student performers. The Forbes Center's presenting series, "Masterpiece Season," offers a range of the traditional performing arts with some popular events as well. Artists performing with this series are contracted to engage with students in some way such as giving a master class or lecture. Students are eligible for discounted tickets for select performances.

Funded primarily by the state, the Forbes Center cost \$37.68 million. At the time it was built, it was the largest single construction project ever undertaken at once by the university and also received the largest gift in JMU history in the amount of \$5 million (James Madison University, 2008). The initial construction cost estimates for the facility were as high as \$91.5 million (James Madison University, 2005). An interview subject told me that after assessing the community demand for an arts center, however, the project was scaled back, and refocused on the facility needs of academic programs (personal communication, April 22, 2013).

Virginia Tech, Moss Arts Center, Blacksburg, VA. Virginia Tech's Moss Arts Center opened in fall 2013, a result of almost a decade's planning through the Arts Initiative at Virginia Tech. The university embarked on this initiative after university administrators recognized the relative absence of the arts on campus in the late 1990s (Moxley, 27 October 2013). According to the center's website, through the arts initiative, "Virginia Tech has made a strong commitment

to the arts on campus and in the surrounding communities. The cornerstone of the initiative is the Center for the Arts” (Center for the Arts at Virginia Tech, 2013a). Other outcomes of the Arts Initiative were new arts faculty positions and arts degree programs, and the establishment of an arts and technology research institute with a separate budget of approximately \$1 million (Allen, 30 September 2012; Moxley, 27 October 2013). Additionally, the center is designed for “educating the whole student,” a comment in line with university president Charles Steger’s inauguration speech, which made reference to expanding the arts for this purpose (Moxley, 27 October 2013). Beyond furthering academic priorities, the center is intended to grow the local economy, strengthen Southwest Virginia’s K-12 arts education programs, and raise the status of the university (Moxley, 27 Oct 2013).

The Moss Center intends to serve the entire Virginia Tech community and residents of Southwest Virginia. Its mission is to “transform lives through exploration and engagement with the arts and creative process” (Center for the Arts at Virginia Tech, 2013b). The center does not house the university’s academic programs, but includes a 1200-seat theater, two visual arts galleries, an experimental performance space, an outdoor amphitheater, and several teaching spaces. The Institute for Creativity, Arts, and Technology is located within the center and was established as the seventh research institute at Virginia Tech to pursue research at the intersection of arts, technology, and education. The center’s inaugural performance season offered a range of traditional performing artists with an emphasis on multicultural works, and included ensembles and events relevant to the region, including the Crooked Road Festival. Students can purchase reduced cost tickets priced at only \$10 per performance (Bland, 10 May 2013).

With an operating budget of \$5.7 million (Moxley, 27 October 2013), there had not been a similar-sized performing arts venue in Roanoke or the New River Valley area. Roanoke-based reporter Mike Allen noted that area nonprofit arts organizations were excited about the partnership opportunities that the center would afford, and did not see the new center as competition. Additionally, the primary private donor base was the Virginia Tech community and alumni, not the local community (Allen, 30 September 2012).

Designed by the international architecture firm Snohetta (creators of the September 11th Memorial Museum Pavilion and several iconic cultural centers abroad), the center included the renovation and use of an existing campus building. With a final construction budget of \$100 million, the center was funded with roughly one-third each state money, institutional resources, and private donations. Unlike other large centers in this study where the local government contributed to construction costs, the town of Blacksburg did not directly contribute. However, the town did commit to over \$10 million to street improvements in the immediate vicinity (Allen, 30 September 2012). The proposed arts center expanded after the first project announcement in 2006 that estimated a \$50 million construction budget. Final architectural designs brought the project to \$89 million, and in 2010, the cost rose to \$94 million, with a state authorization of \$100 million (Allen, 30 September 2012). The Moss Center was named after artist Patricia Buckley Moss, who donated \$10 million to the project, one of the largest private gifts in Virginia Tech's history. The university intends to fund one-third of the center's \$5.7 million annual operating budget moving forward, with the remainder to come from earned revenue sources including private gifts and ticket sales (Allen, 30 September 2012).

Virginia Commonwealth University (VCU), Institute for Contemporary Art, Richmond, VA. VCU is home to the nation's top-ranked public university graduate arts and

program according to the *U.S. News & World Report* (VCUarts, 2014), yet its facilities have not yet reflected this distinction. With performing and visual arts facilities scattered throughout campus, VCU is planning to build a \$32 million contemporary art institute to fulfill academic space requirements, connect the university to the community, and revitalize through economic development a part of downtown Richmond. Additionally, community arts supporters and professionals have taken an interest in making the project a reality (personal communication, May 10, 2013). The building architect, Steven Holl, stated that his double-fronted design “signals that the \$32 million project will be a new gateway to Richmond, as well as a bridge between the university and the community” (Kapsidelis, 24 April 2012).

The Institute for Contemporary Art will include a sculpture gallery, a 240-seat performance space, a two-story flexible meeting space, four galleries, and a café. It will be an accredited art museum,²¹ which will allow the university to bring in significant visual art exhibits, and it will also featuring student and faculty work. The performance space will accommodate theater, dance, film, and art (Kapsidelis, 24 April 2012). This programming is designed to have a “conversation between cultures...the community culture and the university culture,” and the building is strategically positioned geographically to do just that (personal communication, May 10, 2013).

The center will be funded by private gifts alone, and, as of 2012, \$14 million had already been secured. Ongoing facility operations will include some state funds. The facility is scheduled to open in 2015 (Kapsidelis, 24 April 2012).

²¹ Museum accreditation is defined by the American Alliance of Museums and signals a museum’s “commitment to excellence and the highest professional standards of museum of operation and public service” (2014). See the American Alliance of Museums at <http://www.aam-us.org/resources/assessment-programs/accreditation/benefits>.

Budget History: Performing Arts Centers at Public Higher Education Institutions in Virginia

In providing the background for each arts center, I have touched briefly on how these centers were funded. It is clear that the centers primarily funded by the state were intended to serve an academic mission first and community needs second. However, most of these centers have a more complex funding make-up and all serve multiple constituents. The funding make-up of each center is detailed in Table 7, where facilities are organized by funding model. Institutions that were primarily state-funded are listed first and grouped together in light grey. Institutions that received less than 50 percent state funds, and relied on a mixture of institutional and local/private support, are listed second and grouped together in medium grey. Institutions that were funded 100 percent by local or private funds are listed third and grouped together in dark grey.

Table 7. Construction Funding Make-Up of Performing Arts Presenting Centers at Public Higher Education Institutions in Virginia

	School	PAC Name	Date	Total	State	Institution	Local/private	Federal
1	Old Dominion University	Diehn Fine and Performing Arts Center	1988	\$7,922,647	\$7,922,647 100%			--
2	Norfolk State University	L. Douglas Wilder Performing Arts Center	1996	\$7,900,000	\$7,900,000 100%	--	--	--
3	Thomas Nelson CC	Mary T. Christian Auditorium	2003	\$8,714,150	\$7,759,565 89%	--	\$954,585 10.9%	--
4	Tidewater CC	Roper Performing Arts Center	2000	\$10,315,000	\$9,115,000 88.3%	\$1,200,000 11.6%		--
5	Blue Ridge CC	Fine Arts Center	2007	\$7,492,000	\$6,472,000 86.3%	--	\$1,020,000 13.6%	--
6	James Madison University	Forbes Center for the Arts	2010	\$37,680,000	\$32,320,000 85.7%	\$360,000 .95%	\$5,000,000 13.3%	--
7	UVA College at Wise	Gilliam Center for the Arts	2009	\$14,475,000	\$10,475,000 72%	--	\$4,000,000 27.6%	--
8	Christopher Newport University	Ferguson Center for the Arts	2005	\$58,163,217	\$30,663,217 52.7%	\$7,000,000 12%	\$17,000,000 29.2%	\$3,500,000 6%
9	George Mason University	Center for the Arts	1989	unknown	--	Student fee revenue 100%	--	--
10	George Mason University	Hylton Performing Arts Center	2010	\$54,330,961	\$4,000,000 7.4%	\$18,952,490 34.9%	\$31,378,471 57.7%	--
11	Virginia Tech	Moss Arts Center	2013	\$100,000,000	\$27,382,000 27.3%	\$44,618,000 44.6%	\$28,000,000 28%	--
12	Virginia Commonwealth University	Institute for Contemporary Art	2015	\$32,000,000	--	--	\$32,000,000 100%	--
13	Northern Virginia CC Alexandria	The Rachel M. Schlesinger Concert Hall & Arts Center	2001	\$10,930,299	--	--	\$10,930,299 100%	--

Notes. Data collected from the Virginia Department of Planning and Budget, 2013. GMU Hylton Center funding factors in city, county, university tripartite agreement to pay debt service over time in 10 percent, 60 percent, and 30 percent shares respectively. ODU Diehn Center includes original construction only; over \$10 million of state, institutional, and private funds were spent on construction additions in 1994 and 2013.

By examining the funding detail of these performing arts facilities, I was able to make several observations about how these centers were funded in relation to their stated programmatic purposes, and how funding patterns changed overtime.

My first observation pertains to arts facilities at community colleges. These centers, all of which were primarily state funded (with the exception of the Northern Virginia Community College), had expectations imposed by the Virginia Community College System that were different from expectations for the other arts centers at public institutions. The community colleges embraced the arts in order to develop community and business interests, and must earn revenues that amount to at least 30 percent over direct costs. What is not well explained by available data is why Northern Virginia Community College's center was funded by private and local support with no state funding. Perhaps it was because of the presence of local arts supporters who wanted to make the project happen. Filling a crucial facility need, these community college centers present fewer student performances and instead support many local arts organizations that might otherwise be performing in churches or high school auditoriums (personal communication, April 18, 2013).

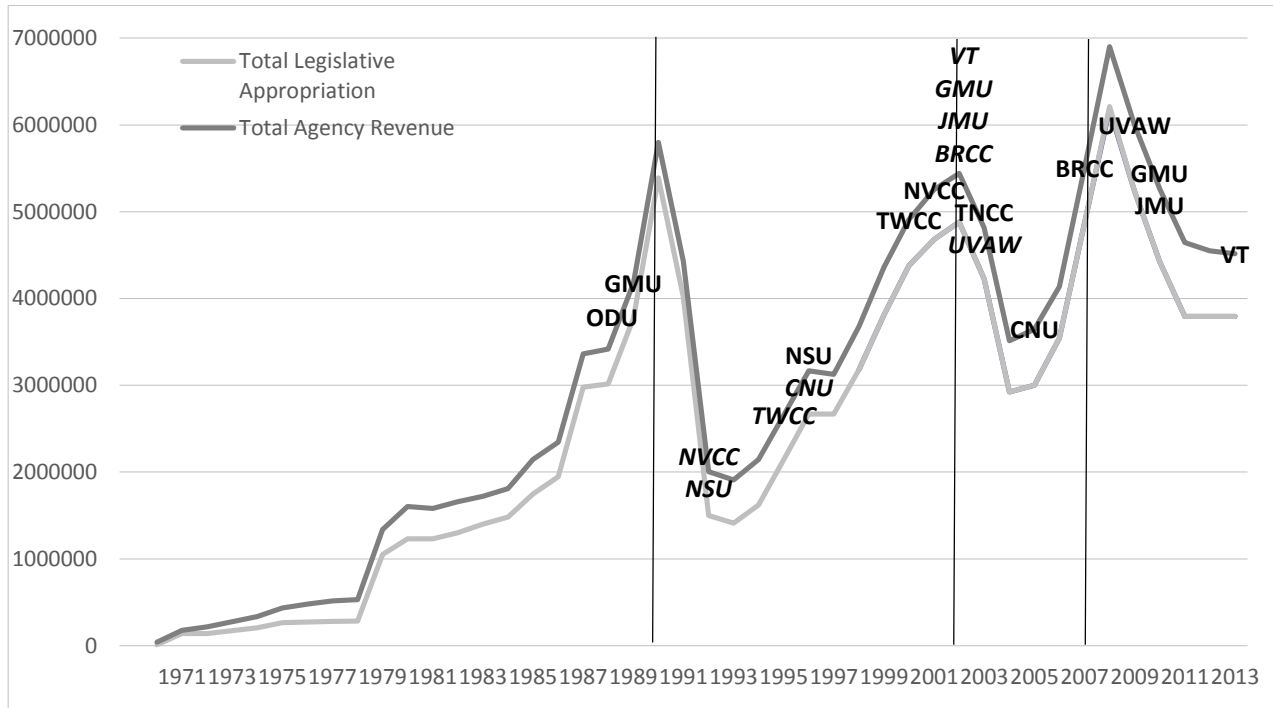
The next observation is about a group of arts centers at four-year institutions that clearly serve students first and community second. These include those at NSU, JMU, UVA-Wise, the GMU Center for the Arts, and ODU. Although there are differences between these centers, three of the five relied on significant amounts of state support for construction. Norfolk State was 100 percent state funded, but is an outlier in that the governor wrote in the authorization (personal communication, May 29, 2013). George Mason's center in Fairfax is also a bit of an odd case in that it was funded 100 percent by student fee revenue as opposed to state general fund revenue. Although it has a stated emphasis on serving the community, the GMU center also serves many

of the university's academic programs, especially in comparison to George Mason's second center located in Prince William County, Virginia. The JMU and UVA-Wise facilities were completed within two years of one another and were funded by 72-85 percent state money with the remainder funded by local and/or private sources.

The remaining four centers at CNU, GMU, VT, and VCU are similar in that they are more community-oriented than others in terms of purpose, and three of the four facilities have more complex funding arrangements. Both CNU and GMU's Hylton Center included significant investments from the local municipalities. Virginia Tech's Moss Center didn't receive local public support, but 28 percent of construction costs was funded by private revenue. The yet-to-be-constructed fine arts center at VCU is 100 percent privately funded. Although it is purportedly community-oriented, the facility will also serve an academic need. Perhaps the university is choosing not to seek state money for this facility because other capital needs are of higher priority, or because administrators are confident that the necessary private support can be raised for the arts.

To further investigate the relationship between the constructions of these performing arts centers with the history of the Virginia Commission for the Arts, I plotted the project completion dates and project authorization dates (when known) against the funding history of the Commission. As I have previously described, funding for the Virginia Commission for the Arts is dependent on the economic health of the state. The peaks and valleys in Figure 4 are directly related to economic recession years.

Figure 4. PAC Authorization and Construction Dates Plotted Against Virginia Commission for the Arts Funding History



Note. Data from the National Assembly of State Arts Agencies, 2013. Authorization dates (when known) are italicized. Completion dates are plain text. Recession years are marked by vertical lines.

By charting the authorization and completion of performing arts centers over time, I was able to look for relationships between the state’s economic climate, the fiscal health of the state arts agency, and the investment in cultural centers at public higher education institutions.

First, although three economic recessions have affected the Commission’s budget, these have had less of an impact on the investment of cultural facilities at higher education institutions. However, when I considered the authorization dates alone, which signify the state’s approval to build, some interesting patterns emerged. Specifically, the NVCC and NSU projects were authorized in the early 1990s at the height of the recession and at a low point for the Commission. I must stress, however, that these two centers had unusual funding arrangements: NVCC was funded with private and local funds, and NSU was funded through an act of the Governor (personal communication, May 29, 2013). In the mid-90s, two additional projects were

authorized—TWCC’s Roper Center and CNU’s Ferguson Center—both centers with an emphasis on economic development. Their authorization may have been understood as a solution to an economic downturn that slowly improved through the 90s. Four centers were authorized in 2002 at the height of an economic upswing, including VT, GMU Hylton, JMU, and BRCC. Although these centers were authorized during a fiscally strong period, the projects were completed after the state endured two additional recessions. UVA-Wise’s center was authorized in 2003 during a period of downturn. A relatively small project that had secured almost 30 percent of its capital costs from a private donor, this was a small investment by the state for a long-overdue and much needed facility.

Conclusions

Through this history and organizational detail, I have sought to illuminate a facet of Virginia’s arts landscape that is often overlooked in the arts policy field—the creation and ongoing operation of performing arts centers at higher education institutions. I began my investigation of Virginia’s arts policy process with the state arts commission, the only explicit arts policy advocacy and funding mechanism in the Commonwealth. The agency’s history and its relationship to the state confirm several things. First, the arts and culture receive very little financial support through state appropriations to the Commission. Even though a \$1 per person funding goal has been on the table for decades, the Commission remains low on the list of state spending priorities. Second, the Commission has evolved over time in an effort to adapt to the economic and political climate of the state and sometimes the nation. It has undertaken new economic development initiatives and re-devised funding procedures. All the while, however, arts education has remained central to the agency’s mission and operations.

Although the Commission is deeply committed to education, this focus doesn't quite translate to support for the arts within higher education. Higher education institutions receive very little grant money from the arts agency, and only non-academic programs are eligible for these funds. The theory behind this policy is that other public funding sources support academic programs, and so the Commission should focus its limited resources on nonprofits in the state. Considering the many similarities between the mission of the state arts agency and the missions of higher education institution arts centers, however, it is worth exploring the motivations of colleges and universities contributing to the state's arts landscape.

By thoroughly reviewing the backgrounds of the thirteen institutions with performing arts centers assayed in this research, I was able to determine how these arts centers were constructed and financed and sometimes why. (The *why* is more fully explained in the next chapter through in-depth interview responses). Arts construction projects since 2009 have had greater percentages of funding from institutional and private sources than previously constructed projects. This could be attributed to the changing financial climate or the changing purposes of the arts centers (from academic to community-focused). In-depth interviews fill in the gaps of this background and budget history.

Two pieces of data from these findings support my first proposition that public higher education institution arts centers are a solution to arts policy funding and implementation challenges in Virginia. First, there is evidence of significant state resources going to arts and cultural facilities at higher education institutions. Although the trend seems to be that arts centers must now be built with a mixture of funding sources, the state has been instrumental in the development and operation of these facilities that serve students and community members. As was clear in the Commission's history, the role of the state was to be a *catalyst* in providing

financial support to artists and nonprofit arts organizations (Virginia Commission for the Arts, 1992, p. 5). By investing in educational-affiliated arts centers that in turn partner with nonprofit arts organizations, the state is helping to augment the private and local support of the arts.

Second, and related to the first observation, the similarities between the organizational statements of arts centers at higher education institutions and the state arts agency show that these arts centers are helping to fulfill the roles of the state agency. Clearly, the Commission is limited in terms of its political power and financial resources. As instruments of the state, higher education institution arts centers take on public-oriented roles that promote education, accessibility, affordability, and economic development. These data further show that arts centers offer a solution to the state's limited direct arts policy mechanisms. This finding comports with Woddis's 2013 conclusion that arts practitioners are active participants in the cultural policy process:

Arts practitioners—through their involvement in policy debate and implementation, and their own initiatives of public events, campaigns and specialist activities—are frequently and actively engaged in all aspects of the policy process and thus more broadly in the democratic arena of dialogue and debate, negotiation and decision-making. (p. 14)

Details explaining the history and development of the arts centers included in research lend support to my second proposition, in which I suggest that public higher education institution arts centers participate in arts policy to access resources. Although there were many reasons why colleges and universities built arts centers, several were centered on acquiring resources, either financial or human. Some facilities were built to generate and leverage revenue, as was particularly the case with community college arts centers. Other histories revealed arts centers' goals and abilities to grow a local economy. With regard to non-financial resources, centers were

constructed to heighten the status of an institution or build relationships with the community at large. My analysis of interview data in the next chapter provides additional support for this proposition.

Proposition three is less supported by these data and requires further explanation. In proposition three, I suggested that Virginia involves arts centers in arts policy in order to access resources in support of the arts. Beyond the state's involvement in authorizing and funding construction, the state and the arts agency were not central to the creation stories of these arts centers at higher education institutions. Moreover, from the organizational histories discussed in this chapter, there was no evidence of the state coordinating with arts centers in ongoing arts policy implementation discussions. Public higher education institution arts centers may be a solution to arts policy challenges, but these data do not suggest that this is a planned design or an intentional solution on the part of the state. I am making a small but important distinction here and further expand on this point in Chapter 6.

Summary

In this chapter, I presented and discussed the historical and funding backgrounds of the Virginia Commission for the Arts and performing arts centers at public higher education institutions in the state. Although the history of the Commission alone offers little insight into the creation of these arts centers, it was my intent to offer these histories together in order to make comparisons and identify trends over time. This is particularly relevant given that scholars have called for a more meaningful and comprehensive assessment of the public's support for the arts and culture (Schuster, 1989, 2003). Although arts centers at higher education institutions are not

the only organization in which the arts may be supported indirectly, they clearly fulfill roles and purposes that align closely with those of the public arts agency.

In the next chapter, I build upon this background and historical data through in-depth interviews. The analysis of interview data contributes to understanding of why arts centers are being built on college and university campuses and how these centers contribute to arts policy in the state.

CHAPTER 6

FINDINGS: IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS

In this chapter, I discuss my findings from in-depth, semi-structured interviews with 24 arts policy and higher education professionals. First, I briefly return to the two theoretical concepts that informed my research and interview questions—resource dependency theory and rational choice institutionalism. Second, I explain my data reduction structure that resulted from interview analysis and the qualitative data coding process. Third, I speak to the aggregate theoretical dimensions that emerged from the analysis of the interviews and the implications for theory and understanding of the arts policy landscape in Virginia. Specifically, I found that higher education institutions build arts centers to leverage resources, improve institutional perception, and to fulfill their public missions. Additionally, I speak to how arts centers at higher education institutions are perceived as actors in state-level arts policy implementation. Because my research design incorporates two phases of analysis—history and interviews—it is important that both findings chapter, Chapters 5 and 6, are understood as a complete picture. My comprehensive conclusions are offered in Chapter 7.

Introduction

Although legislative and budget histories can provide some insight into arts policy practices in Virginia, these details are made complete through conversations with agency and organization administrators. Interview subjects had institutional knowledge and an understanding of the arts policy landscape that I could not otherwise have gleaned. My interview questions were designed to address my two research questions: Why are performing arts centers being built on the campuses of public higher education institutions in Virginia? And how and why do public

higher education institution performing arts centers contribute to state-level arts policy? As explained in Chapter 3, I interviewed higher education administrators and local and state arts policy professionals. These individuals were purposely selected for their organizational affiliation and/or knowledge of arts policy in Virginia.

What remains unexplained is *why* higher education institutions build arts centers. In Chapter 5, I began to answer this question through organizational and budget histories. Additionally, I showed the significant financial investment that colleges and universities are making in the co-curricular arts. In a resource-scarce environment, the practice of higher education institutions investing in cultural infrastructure deserves more attention. As such, I return to the two theoretical frames that informed understanding of this phenomenon: resource dependency theory and rational choice institutionalism.

Resource dependency theory suggests that all organizations are in a resource dependent position. Organizations exchange resources, defined in part as “anything of value,” to survive (Pfeffer & Salancik, 1989; Sidel, 1991), particularly when resources become scarce or unreliable. This literature explains that a lack of resources motivates organizations to coordinate.

Publicly funded arts and cultural programs have always been in a resource-scarce position, as is especially the case in Virginia. Throughout its history, the Commonwealth’s state arts agency has looked to coordinate with existing agencies to be successful and worked to “encourage and strengthen private support of the arts” (Virginia Commission for the Arts, 2013b). So, it might be expected that arts policy largely is constituted of grant awards to nonprofit arts organizations and indirectly through education institutions and economic development initiatives. But what about higher education institutions’ *decisions* to invest in the arts? The answer to this question is less obvious, but becomes important to consider in a state-

wide resource-scarce environment. Might there be a greater return on the investment in the co-curricular arts for higher education institutions than might be expected?

In Virginia's context, it is interesting to note the organization of higher education institutions and the state arts agency in an attempt to explain their actions. Focusing on the arts within the educational context is something unique to this state and several others that similarly organize education and the arts together within departments of education. The arts agency is placed within education, as arts and culture relate to the state's overall educational initiatives. Previous reorganization attempts to move the arts to economic development were not successful in Virginia. Because organization matters (Horn, 1995; Knott & Miller, 1987; Moe, 1989), institutional choice theory suggests that Virginia's organizational design impacts the way policy is formulated and implemented and that process, advantaging and disadvantaging certain actors and outcomes, affects organizational design. Specifically, educational institutions contribute to the arts and cultural landscape in the state and may even be designed to do as much.

Without completing additional research, however, theory can help only to predict behaviors and patterns over time. Through in-depth interviews, I was able to further explore the relationship between the state's arts activities and arts centers at public higher education institutions. Although interview respondents spoke at length about existing in a resource-scarce environment and seeking opportunities to collaborate and gain new resources, this only partially explains public higher education institutions' investment in the co-curricular arts. These institutions also build arts centers to fulfill their public missions of education and community service. It is their mission of serving communities and especially the arts communities, however, that deserves more attention with regard to arts policy implementation. Despite the possibilities for coordination within organizational boundaries, the co-location of the arts and education at the

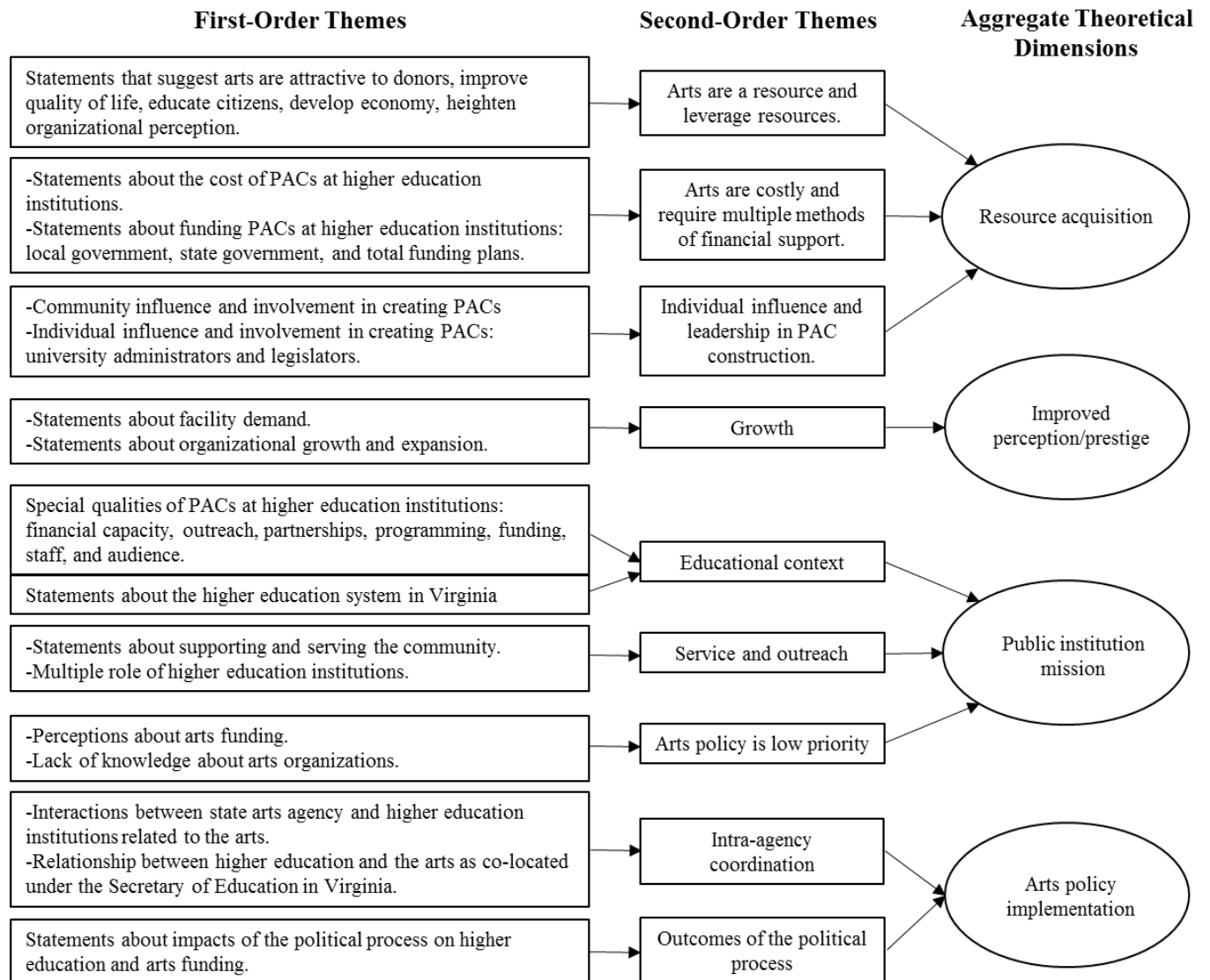
state level has little effect on arts policy and any contribution by higher education institutions. This is due in part to a decentralized higher education system that permits a significant degree of institutional autonomy at the state level. Additionally, the Secretary of Education is a rotating, politically-appointed post, and has little impact on the long-term operations of the agencies within the secretariat.

The following interview data and analysis support the arguments that I have presented, and the original research propositions that were based in part upon resource dependency theory and rational choice institutionalism knowledge.

Interview Data Reduction

A thorough analysis of interview data brings forth the aforementioned concepts in greater detail. Following Saldana's (2009) model for qualitative inquiry, I performed interview transcript coding in several steps. First, I inductively coded the raw data using the initial, process, and simultaneous coding methods (Saldana, 2009). Second, I refined my coding structure to develop a conceptual and theoretical organization from first cycle codes. Because I did not approach coding with pre-defined codes, I remained open to all concepts and themes that arose from the text. My final coding structure is presented in Figure 5.

Figure 5. Interview Data Reduction Structure



Note. Data structure diagram was modeled from the data reduction processes and structures of Ladge, Clair, and Greenberg, 2012 and Yagil and Medler-Liraz, 2013 in the *Academy of Management Journal*.

Figure 5 shows first-order codes at the far left, where I grouped like statements into thematic areas. This visual representation of first-order codes condenses hundreds of coded statements into smaller units. For example, “statements that suggest arts are attractive to donors, improve quality of life, educate citizens, develop economy, and heighten organizational perception” combines over 230 coded references from interview text. The middle column of data

shows the second-order themes that encapsulate the meaning of the first-order codes. Displayed at the far right of the figure, I tied second-order themes to the theoretical frames discussed earlier in the dissertation to create four aggregate theoretical dimensions. In the following section, I present the interview data that informed this data reduction model.

Resource Acquisition

One of the main reasons that public higher education institutions build performing arts centers is because the arts are perceived as a rich resource with the ability to garner additional monetary and nonmonetary resources. Virginia institutions are actively working to diversify and seek new sources of revenue in reaction to the state's reduced support to higher education. Interview data suggests that the co-curricular arts are a resource that enhances education, contributes to cultural understanding, and sparks creativity. Additionally, arts centers bring people to a physical location (in this instance college and university campuses), facilitate the development of personal connections, contribute to economic development initiatives, and support local nonprofit arts organizations. These explanations were offered by state and local arts policy professionals as well as by higher education administrators that I interviewed. However, because the former had not been involved directly in building an arts center, these interview respondents often made their best guesses as to why public higher education institutions build performing arts centers.

The arts as a resource. Many college and universities value the arts as part of a well-rounded curriculum. One university administrator stated:

It's part of who we are. We are a liberal arts institution and that means that we think that all students should have a broad-based education. And all too often students and faculty think differently. But we believe that the core curriculum/general education is as

important as the major. That includes something from everything so that they understand. Art is a part of that. It is an expression of human nature and how you feel about all kinds of things. (personal communication, May 16, 2013a)

Additionally, interview subjects spoke about the demand for innovative, creative, and critical thinkers. The arts are one mechanism by which colleges and universities are attempting to build this type of graduate:

Universities are beginning to understand even more the importance of the arts. And the fact that through the arts you are getting at creative and critical thinking skills. If you look at business and industry today, what they are saying is that they need people who are not just good managers, but they need individuals who can think critically about the problem or a business decision. That's missing in a lot of people. So I think universities are seeing that requirement more and more. (personal communication, June 27, 2013)

Although enhancing arts programs and building cultural facilities might encourage students' creativity, one university administrator warned that developing arts opportunities might not be the right approach. He stated, "There's a wish among the universities for a more innovative and creative graduate students. They are looking to the arts to do that, but they don't quite know how to do it yet" (personal communication, May 10, 2013). Expanding on this point, one cannot assume that the presence of arts programs and facilities leads to creative students, successful in the work force after graduation.

The arts attract resources. It was clear that the education institutions in this study valued the arts as a part of students' comprehensive education. More interestingly, however, was how interview respondents spoke repeatedly about the arts' ability to *attract* resources, despite the acknowledged high cost of presenting performing arts and operating arts centers.

Specifically, respondents noted that arts centers helped to bridge the university and local community, bring visitors to campus, generate income, and increase university visibility and achievements.

Good university-community relations are important to the success of higher education institutions. In particular, public institutions see themselves as serving their local communities and states. In response to a question about why higher education institutions build arts centers, one arts policy professional responded that, “From the institution’s point of view, serving its own internal population—students and faculty; serving as a good community member; and attracting engagement from the community. These reasons ultimately bring funding and maybe students and goodwill with the local government” (personal communication, March 27, 2013). Similarly, a university administrator stated, “My role is to connect the community with the university. If that means using the center in some way then we’ll consider it.” Being a good “friend” to the community is part of the public institutions’ commitment to service that extends beyond campus walls (personal communication, May 6, 2013a).

Another way colleges and universities leverage the arts is in bringing new and returning visitors to campus. One interview subject stated, “The then president said that we have to have a cultural institution to draw people to campus and it’s worth it” (personal communication, April 15, 2013a). Similarly, and tied to the previous point of serving the community, one university administrator answered:

We really want the community to come and use us. We want to be a resource for them in the community. The more people who come to campus and feel comfortable here, the more likely they are to sign up for a class or decide to take a field that they didn’t expect to go into. (personal communication, May 6, 2013c)

Bringing people to campus “helps you in many ways, financially and others” (personal communication, April 22, 2013). In that spirit, several comments were made about the similarity of arts and sports programs. One arts policy professional remarked about colleges and universities’ desire to build performing arts centers, “It’s a great way of opening up and showing what they’ve got. It’s a great way to bring people in: arts and sports” (personal communication, March 20, 2013b). One former university president went so far as to say that “the arts are my football team” (personal communication, April 15, 2013a). These statements express perceptions that performing arts centers can attract human and financial resources to the host institution.

While performing arts centers can be used to build relationships with community members and university constituents, some institutions viewed their arts centers as revenue generators. This was especially the case at the community colleges that viewed their centers a bit differently from the other institutions, and had the requirement to make money above operating costs. This is a very different position from the one at Old Dominion University, for example, where private endowment funds subsidize the cost of presenting the performing arts. Out of 24 interview respondents, 7 made remarks about college and university arts centers’ ability to generate revenue. One administrator stated, “In terms of the way the system views the building—its purpose as far as the system is concerned is to be a profit point. It’s supposed to make money” (personal communication, April 18, 2013). It is important to note, however, that these comments came from arts policy professionals and representatives of community colleges. Only one four-year school administrator spoke about the arts center’s secondary goal of earning money, with the caveat that it is done within the acceptable use policies governing public buildings. This suggests that four-year college and university administrators saw arts centers’ ability to attract human and financial resources in terms of private donations, but otherwise acknowledged that

the centers were not designed as revenue generators. Regardless, the perception exists among state arts professionals and community college administrators that revenue generation is one reason that higher education institutions invest in the co-curricular arts.

Individual influence. Another theme that arose related to resource acquisition centered on individuals' influence on the creation of arts centers at colleges and universities. These statements were about *how* resources were acquired for these specific projects, not necessarily how the arts continue to bring resources to the institution after construction completion. In many instances arts centers were either prioritized by a president or provost and/or became a reality because of an active legislative patron working on behalf of the academic institution. One interviewee addressed a previous president's master plan to bring community cultural centers to a group of community colleges for "outreach and to bring the community into the college:"

So when it came time for our campus, which was the next largest campus in the college, to get their building, the provost of that time really didn't want another one of those mixed-use kind of buildings. She wanted a performance center because that's who she was. She was very interested in the arts. She wanted a building that was going to be more performing arts related...In terms of expectations, everybody expected everything because the provost said whatever she had to say to get the building built. She promised a lot of people a lot of things. (personal communication, May 18, 2013)

This interviewee continued with this line of thought to state that if today's college president had been in place then, the building would not have been built because he has different priorities. Many other respondents spoke about influential individuals or groups of individuals who were forward thinking and made things happen. "The alignment of this center was a magical moment in time. It would not be possible to do it today. The reason is because the people are

different. The circumstances aren't that different. It's the people" (personal communication, May 15, 2013a). These statements underscored the fact that each institution had a different creation story, and no single approach was used to construct these arts centers.

Another way in which universities gained the necessary resources to build an arts center was through legislative patrons. For example, a legislator had been instrumental in securing additional funds to complete a project that had been reduced in scope after construction cost estimates exceeded budget:

When you are in the good graces of a powerful legislator, good things can happen. We didn't even ask for it. He has so internalized this building, and this campus is one of his signature accomplishments. He was upset that we couldn't do it full out the first time.

(personal communication, May 15, 2013b)

The cost and financing of arts centers. There may be a perception among arts professionals that arts centers are moneymakers, but university administrators spoke at length about the cost of performing arts centers and the importance of acquiring multiple sources of revenue to construct and maintain these buildings. Comments addressed the justification for building, which were often academic-based with a secondary focus on the community. One university administrator stated:

So justifying the reason for these buildings. You have to convince a ton of people. The president, the board, the legislators. How do you convince them to pour in millions and millions of dollars into this building for whatever reason? You have to come up with a real good justification and a multi-faceted justification. Over the years, initially, or in the 80s, it was easier. Economic times were different. It was easier to justify and come up with your reason for cultural diversity and the performing arts. Now with the recession,

you see a lag. (personal communication, May 6, 2013a)

The concept of a “multi-faceted justification” for building was important for several of the institutions that I studied. The multi-faceted justification equated to multi-faceted revenue sources, as was the funding make-up of the more recently constructed projects. One interview subject expanded on this point:

One of the reasons that they bring in the community is that when you are building a multi-million dollar performing arts center, I think that more people would be willing to fund it when it’s also serving the community and when it’s not university centered.

(personal communication, May 6, 2013b)

Another interviewee commented on the importance of engaging the community in raising private money:

I think they also recognize the importance, especially as a land grant university, to serve a broader constituency group. So that becomes important in raising the private money. Be able to link not only to our students, not only to research, but how this will serve the broader community. (personal communication, June 27, 2013)

For one of the centers with no state start-up funding, affiliated respondents talked about the importance of getting other constituents on-board. One interviewee stated, “We had a huge selling job to do to get the corporate and business community involved” (personal communication, April 23, 2013). Appealing to community and business interests is one reason that some centers are built with flexible spaces and reception and meeting areas. Beyond funding capital costs, engaging with multiple funding constituents gives the arts centers future private earning power and ensures more diversified groups of ticket buyers. Colleges and universities know that they cannot rely on the state and student audiences alone to fund the long-term

operating costs of these multi-million dollar centers.

Improved Perception and Prestige

Another reason why public higher education institutions invest in performing arts centers is that building centers of this type signals growth, change, and prestige. To be sure, several of these centers were built out of facility need—a need for classrooms, performance space, and the like. But even this “need for performance facilities” gets to the heart of institutional growth. Several interviewees made statements about universities’ desire to “keep up with one another,” and building new buildings is one way that that is accomplished. Of course, in today’s economic climate, the continual investment in new buildings is being challenged as a best course of action for growing universities. Now, the demands for physical infrastructure are being tested with new technologies that assist with virtual course delivery and aid student to teacher interaction. Since the 2007 recession, only one Virginia university (VCU) has made plans to construct a new center, and it will be funded completely by private donations.

Arts policy professionals commented on higher education institutions’ desire to keep up with one another; this sentiment was not expressed by higher education administrators. One interviewee stated, “To be blunt, the college presidents want to keep up with one another. And so opening a major new center of any kind, but particularly one that’s going to have public visibility, is really good for a college to do.” Another arts policy professional stated that colleges and universities build to “keep up with the Joneses” (personal communication, April 15, 2013a). “This is part of what it means to be a first rate institution. We need one of those things” (personal communication, May 29, 2013).

Higher education administrators were less inclined to suggest that buildings were built to

improve image and to keep up with other institutions. This sentiment was not completely absent from their responses, but it was less of a focus. Instead, university administrators often spoke about the facility need for both the campus and the surrounding community. For some schools, arts centers were part of a campus-wide expansion. For example, CNU and UVA-Wise cited recent building and investment in infrastructure. For others, their arts facility was a long overdue achievement. At the Blue Ridge Community College, the arts building was the first new academic facility in 25 years.

It was clear from interview responses that many centers were built to improve or contribute to a locality. This was particularly apparent with GMU's Hylton Performing Arts Center, which was envisioned and completed by a city-county-university partnership. One representative stated, "The perception was that the county was ready to grow but it had struggled with its cultural image. And so the idea was to build a beautiful building and that will assist us in our path" (personal communication, April 15, 2013a). Even when arts centers were conceived by the college or university alone (without a municipal partner), the projects often were intended to boost the local cultural scene and economy. One university administrator stated that a center was built "so there will be a change in the perception for visitors. A change in perception in the city. The building itself will become an icon for how Richmond wishes to be perceived in the future" (personal communication, April 10, 2013). Another suggested that the arts center represented the university and community's future:

Who we are now and who we're becoming. The center is a generator of...I like to quote Hamlet holding a mirror up to nature. We are reflecting back to the community what it wants to see and what is increasingly true of itself. This is a lighthouse, a beacon to the future pointing to the future of the county. They want their communities to be perceived

as forward looking and sophisticated, while still being friendly and accessible. (personal communication, April 15, 2013b)

College and university administrators expressed interest in the success of their respective communities. They hoped that their arts centers would contribute to and support local arts programs. One interviewee stated:

So, it really was like the university was responding to a clarion call from the community to partner. It was almost like we were playing the role of a land grant university back in the day. We are out here—this isn't the frontier—but it kind of us, culturally speaking. So those land grants in 1880—if you don't do it, who will? (personal communication, April 15, 2013b)

Similarly, another interview respondent argued that college and university arts centers augment cultural offerings in communities that in turn build the demand for additional cultural opportunities and future generations of arts supporters. This belief existed despite the fact that some urban areas are saturated with performing arts centers, several of which are struggling. University centers were not seen as competition, but as strengthening the arts community. One respondent stated:

The institution is bringing something that could be completely unaffordable. I mean, not a chance. You could imagine a project in Norfolk or Newport News going forward with community support whether there was a higher education tie or not. But Blacksburg, Harrisonburg, Charlottesville. You are really creating an asset that raises the community to a level that it could never aspire to but for the institution. That's an important dynamic because you don't have the ability to fundraise as much in the community. (personal communication, May 29, 2013)

Arts centers improve cities and the perception of them held by visitors. This in turn attracts businesses and contributes to economic development initiatives. One administrator suggested:

There are other people who are pursuing it because they know it will change the nature of [the city.] They know that when someone comes off the interstate and sees this 65-75 foot tall illuminated building that they will think about [the city] as a creative center. So there will be a change in the perception for visitors—a change in perception in the city. The building itself will become an icon for how [the city] wishes to be perceived in the future. (personal communication, April 10, 2013)

These statements suggest that arts centers are perceived to be symbols of change. Beyond the physical expansion of a college or university, investment in a cultural center symbolizes progress, creativity, and cultural enrichment communities. This argument echoes Florida's (2002) controversial claim that the arts attract talented, creative individuals to cities, which in turn makes them economically prosperous.

Public Institution Mission

Several interviewees discussed the unique characteristics of performing arts centers at higher education institutions. This recurring theme deserves attention, as these characteristics set arts centers at higher education institutions apart from those unaffiliated with academia. Specifically, these centers have different financial and audience capacity, programming, and funding sources from nonprofit and private arts centers. I coded these statements as *educational context*. Within this educational context, and as I have argued in the previous sections, public colleges and universities are committed to serving students *and* their surrounding communities.

Interviewees described this commitment as simply “the fabric of the institution” and something that has always existed no matter who was president or what programs had been prioritized.

Although some respondents suggested that colleges and universities have always been community-oriented, others stated that this was a new and expanding role for higher education institutions. I coded these types of statements as *service and outreach*. What these two groups of statements have in common, however, is that they speak to the mission of public institutions, specifically higher education institutions. This mission-related reason to invest in the arts describes the public value inherent to higher education institutions.

Educational context. Housed within the boundaries of a college or university, arts centers at higher education institutions are distinct from nonprofit or private arts venues. Some of these distinctions work in the centers’ favor, while others restrict the centers from achieving optimal operating outcomes. Within the educational context, one might expect to see these differences, but as some centers work to serve both student and community audiences, the distinction becomes blurred. Are college and university arts centers distinguishable as such? Who owns these institutions and who pays for them? What, if anything, do they owe to the public? Does a university’s service and outreach mission dictate how these centers are used? In an attempt to answer these questions, I noted how interview subjects articulated the positive and negative traits of university and college-housed arts centers. I also spoke to how interviewees perceived these centers’ responsibility to the community.

Interviewees suggested that arts centers at higher education institutions are afforded several advantages over similar nonprofit or private arts centers. Specifically, colleges and universities have financial and staff capacity, built-in audiences, and a greater degree of programmatic freedom. From a financial viewpoint, it was often the case that these venues

received state money for capital construction and/or operating funds. One interview subject commented on the benefits of an arts center's location within an academic institution: "By being a state property in a state owned and operated facility, it's somewhat of a better chance of succeeding long term than if it were built out there on another piece of land" (personal communication, April 22, 2013). Another spoke to the fact that one arts center would not have been possible without the staff capacity of the partnering university. These resources are not insignificant in an area like the arts that requires subsidy in the form of public or private support.

Unlike nonprofit and private arts centers, college and university centers have built-in student, faculty, and staff audiences. Students are often given access to free or low-cost tickets, a practice that encourages their attendance. Family members and friends attend student performances. But even though these groups might be more likely to attend a performance at their university's arts center, community audiences are still necessary for long-term sustainability. One interviewee stated, "It's all community driven. Obviously if we put on a season and nobody came, we wouldn't be in business very long so it requires public support" (personal communication, June 12, 2013). Of course, this doesn't mean that college and university constituents do not patronize other off-campus arts venues, but that these campus centers can efficiently target these readily available groups.

Within the educational context, some interviewees argued that these arts centers have more programmatic freedom and are less driven by ticket-sale revenue. One respondent stated:

But it also speaks to their freedom to experiment where they can do more obscure things.

They can do more avant-garde things to a degree, as much as you can do in Virginia.

They will do things that are not on the beaten path. They also have the ability to workshop shows. That kind of thing brings in the community, reaches out to the

community, and at the same time, because it's an academic program, they don't have to pay a lot of people and make a lot of money off of it. (personal communication, May 7, 2013)

One arts policy professional argued that each center is different in its approach to earning ticket revenue. The center's approach would depend on how much institutional support it receives, which in turn determines its reliance on ticket revenue:

It depends on who's running the center. There are some of them that are fairly well subsidized by the university through student activity funds or whatever. And so to be blunt, selling tickets is not their highest priority. For the ones that have to raise their own money from private sources, selling tickets is a big priority. And that's what we like to see. We'd like to see all of them doing that. But it depends on the person who's running it. If they can balance the budget without it, why go through all the effort to market it to the community? (personal communication, March 20, 2013b).

In this sense, college and university arts centers have a degree of protection from market conditions that would affect other types of arts centers. One administrator described this protection as a tenured faculty member:

Will the director of these facilities be a tenured faculty member? If not, then it's a risky job to have. If you are, then it's a fun little petri dish to experiment with. Because if your job is on the line for every bad season you have, then you're going to have a revolving door. (personal communication, April 15, 2013a)

These statements suggest that arts centers at higher education institutions are afforded some advantages by being part of an educational institution. On the other hand, others argued that colleges and universities are restricted in their operation of arts centers. Some interview

respondents stated that higher education administrators do not have the expertise and knowledge to run an arts center. Subjects also commented on the effects of reduced public and private monetary support for these centers. To this point, one respondent stated:

There's not a willingness on the part of the broader community to pay taxes; the state has to make some tough decisions and say we are going to fund central services and other services have to be more self-supporting. I think it's a narrow view and unfortunate view, but that's where we are today. That's affecting higher education, it's beginning to affect PK-12, and it affects the arts and cultural organizations. (personal communication, June 27, 2013)

In terms of investment, some university administrators argued that they had *underinvested* in the co-curricular arts. One subject stated, "My experience is that you can get the things built, but they are hard to sustain from a budgetary standpoint" (personal communication, April 15, 2013a). This underinvestment is related to higher education's inexperience with operating arts centers, particularly at the community colleges that have to make a minimum of 130 percent operating budget. One administrator expanded upon this particular challenge:

So the question becomes, why in the world you would build it on a college campus? Because you don't have any of the advantages of being on a college campus but you have all the disadvantages. Parking is disastrous. It takes forever to buy anything. Getting people on staff takes 6 months. They don't understand the concept of hourlies or over-hires. None of the systems in place to support the ongoing work of a college necessarily works well for our purposes. This is a business, basically. They have set us up as a business. They have said that you have to hit a bottom line, but they don't allow us to function. (personal communication, April 18, 2013)

Although colleges and universities might have a steep learning curve in the process of designing and building an arts center, there are at least many examples for them to model. One interviewee stated, “It’s almost like the automobile is being invented everywhere at the same time... We need to know what it is that we have responded to” (personal communication, April 15, 2013a). As mission-driven and service-oriented public institutions, it might be the case that colleges and universities are responding to a public need that spans students and community members—a need to expose people to the arts, enhance creativity and critical thinking skills, and “to help people become better people” (personal communication, April 22, 2013). These are all elements of public higher education institutions’ missions and purposes.

Part of the reason that Virginia colleges and universities have the ability to prioritize and build arts centers is rooted in the decentralized state system in which they operate. As I mentioned previously, Virginia’s State Council of Higher Education is a *coordinating* body. Governing is left to the boards of governors at each institution, and so the state does not determine college and university priorities. For the most part, institutions are in favor of this degree of autonomy. One administrator, however, pointed to the consequence of facility growth that receives little guidance or approval from the state:

Higher education here is a marvelous anarchy. I take this as a strength. SCHEV is a weak organization by design. There is no chancellor, or board of regents. It’s dispersed. That has allowed universities to develop in their own way, very distinctively. Yeah there’s some duplication, but it’s a big state. The negative we experience, because [we] grew so fast, and were allowed and encouraged to do that, the funding for infrastructure did not keep pace. They basically said, yeah if you can fund it, you can do it. In the case of the arts, that meant funding the arts almost completely on the backs of student fee money.

Not E&G or tuition dollars. So the arts programs have very little state support. They are almost self-funded. That's kind of weird. It works, but keeps things a little thin. A more hierarchical system would say, well if you are going to grow your theater department by this amount, then you need this much money, and we don't have it, so you can't grow. Nobody ever says that. They say, "You want to grow? Good luck." That's a positive motto by in large. (personal communication, April 15, 2013b)

This statement is worth expanding upon, as it helps explain the growth of arts centers in the educational setting. Many academic administrators explained their process of facility design and construction as having included market research on what the community could support in terms of a performing arts venue. In some regions of the state, the educational institution provides the only arts venue for local communities. This is not the case, however, in the more urban areas of Northern Virginia, the Tidewater Region, and the greater Richmond area. In these regions, colleges and universities have built arts centers in close proximity to other nonprofit and private arts venues. Without continued state subsidy, these centers would suffer from the competition effects of nearby venues. Colleges and universities must be sure, then, that a co-curricular arts program is an institutional priority that will be supported long-term, not just at its inception.

Service and outreach. Despite the overwhelming sentiment that colleges and universities support their respective communities, differing perspectives emerged about this perceived responsibility to the community. Many education administrators were quick to describe their institutions' role in serving community residents. However, some arts policy professionals thought otherwise and believed that operating an arts center was outside an educational institution's core mission. To this point, one respondent suggested, "Their mission is

to educate their student body. It's not to create non-academic programs" (personal communication, March 27, 2013). Even though there were a few dissenting voices, it was made clear by the majority of respondents that supporting the co-curricular arts was just one of the many roles that higher education institutions take, and that indeed, serving many constituents was their mission. One administrator stated:

They [public higher education institutions] ought to do it because there is public investment in these facilities. If we want to have future generations who are culturally and creatively oriented, then reaching out and having programs for elementary, high school, camps, makes excellent sense to me and that's important. (personal communication, May 16, 2013b)

Although scholars have previously articulated higher education's role in and impact on society (Duderstadt, 2000), some interviewees suggested that higher education institutions are taking on new and expanding roles. One administrator argued that beyond classic and research education, higher education institutions are being pushed to tackle societal problems and "actually get something done like solve hunger; solve climate change... We now have power beyond the traditional boundaries of being a university" (personal communication, April 15, 2013a). In this vein, the university is addressing arts education and participation for local community members. Certainly, this is not the strategy employed by all of the centers included in this research, but is definitely part of the more recent construction projects that were deliberately designed to span academic and community interests.

Another component of service and outreach is some institutions' commitment to improving K-12 education through co-curricular arts initiatives. This was a component of two of the newly constructed centers, and this particular program was used in their funding requests to

state and local governments. One respondent commented, “and we were able to say, this [the arts center] isn’t just academic with the university, it’s K-12 as well. And it’s a resource for life for the residents of the community” (personal communication, April 23, 2013). Here, the higher education institutions were committing to serve K-12 programs in exchange for public buy-in and financial support. Having a diverse group of constituents invested in the arts center ensures multiple sources of support and gives the center flexibility in pursuing a range of programmatic activities.

Performing arts centers at higher education institutions are unique in that they are driven by public-oriented missions of education and outreach. This affords them certain advantages, but also creates challenges in terms of operational efficiency and secure funding sources. All of the centers in this study were created to educate and provide arts experiences to students and community members. However, the motivations to make the investment in the co-curricular arts differ from institution to institution. So far, I have described aggregate constructs that give understanding to the nature of these arts centers and why they were created. This has been an inward focus centered on arts centers and the higher education institutions in which they are located. The next construct—arts policy implementation—describes statements made about arts funding at the state level and the relationship between the state arts agency and higher education institution arts centers.

Arts Policy Implementation

Higher education institution arts centers are a part of the arts and cultural landscape in Virginia. They may not be formally recognized as such, but their contributions to citizens of the

Commonwealth are clear as I have described through history, organizational statements, and interview data. What is more challenging to understand, however, is just how these arts centers interact with the state-level arts policy field, decision-makers, and funding processes. I aimed to bridge this gap by speaking to both arts policy professionals and higher education administrators—constituents heavily involved in arts education, participation, and funding. Their statements helped to describe arts policy implementation in the state. Specifically, interviewees remarked that the arts is a low-salience policy area, that there is little intra-agency coordination within the field, and that politics impacts organizational and funding decisions. Each of these topics improves understanding of how and why higher education institution arts centers contribute to state-level arts policy.

Arts policy is low-priority. State and local arts policy professionals advise legislators and council members on the status of the arts, ranging from education to funding to facilities. It was made clear by interview participants, however, that the arts remain a low priority to these elected officials. As I argued in Chapter 3, it is difficult for policymakers to have a complete view of the arts—that is, of what it includes and how it impacts the state. One participant stated:

Just like we believe in funding education, we'd like to have state policymakers believe in funding the arts. It's not there yet, and it's not anywhere near there. It's still very hard for many people to understand the impact of the arts on the whole person, or the economy, or the community or whatever. Well, first of all, the general public doesn't understand what the Commission is anyway. They don't understand this connection. And then to have it administratively placed where it is, is really an odd man out to me. (personal communication, March 20, 2013b)

This general misunderstanding, combined with a comparatively small budget, means that

the arts do not get the attention that at least arts policy professionals believe it deserves. This lack of attention translates to other public areas as well, including higher education. One college administrator described the state's shift in priorities for community colleges from lifelong learning, which included the arts, to workforce development. The respondent added, "I don't think the state has a place for the arts, quite honestly. The government that is in right now has no place for the arts" (personal communication, April 18, 2013). Because there is so little attention given to the arts, it was challenging to define deliberate policy-related decisions that went beyond the traditional appropriation to the Virginia Commission for the Arts. This is not to say, however, that there are no other contributions to the arts policy field by other institutions. Instead actions were described as ad hoc, loosely connected, and indirect.

Intra-agency coordination. Several of my interview questions probed the relationship between higher education institution arts centers, the state arts agency, and the Education Secretariat (of which both education and the arts agency are a part). Like most states, Virginia has no state or cabinet-level position devoted to the arts. Instead, educational entities and arts and cultural organizations are co-located as both groups "contribute to quality of life." One arts policy professional described the relationship between the arts agency and the Secretary of Education this way:

We are both housed under the Secretary of Education but there has been almost no interaction. And frankly it always comes down to who the Secretary is. We just happen to have one now who actually takes an interest in what we do at the Commission. That has not been the case for quite a few years. We are at the very beginning of trying to build a relationship with the education community. It just hasn't been there for quite some time, particularly at the higher education level. (personal communication, March 26, 2013)

This statement suggests that it is the Secretary herself, and not the position, that can impact state-level arts and cultural policies. During the period in which this research was conducted, however, Virginia elected a new governor and with this election came a new Secretary of Education. Another interviewee described a major disadvantage to the arts being co-located with education:

I would also say, the disadvantage of being there is that K-12 and higher education get 99 percent of the attention. It really takes effective leadership on the commission members to working through with good advocacy skills. You can plot when this has happened or hasn't happened over the years depending on who is actually there that has enough political influence with the governor and the appropriations committees to increase or stabilize funding for the commission. Because K-12 and higher education are more sexy. (personal communication, May 16, 2013b)

Again, this statement speaks to the power of individuals, and not necessarily the organization of agencies, to affect action. Respondents described a very loose relationship between the state arts agency and the Education Secretariat. The interaction between the Department and higher education institution arts centers was almost non-existent. With regard to the arts agency and arts centers, however, both groups described a network of professionals working in the arts area. For example, professors serve on grant-awards panels; arts centers and the Commission or local arts councils might share board members. State and local arts commissions award very little money, if any, to higher education institutions. As one subject commented, "because we get little dollars and they get huge state dollars. So we don't fund them. We fund private 501C3s" (personal communication, March 27, 2013).

Despite few direct connections between the state and arts centers at colleges and universities, interview subjects did suggest an indirect relationship. One respondent described the state's support of the arts through education institutions as indirect and "back-door:"

One question that comes to mind is, "Is there a formal policy on the part of the state?" I think it's sort of a back-door support. I think their policies probably have to do with supporting the academic world. And within the academic world, these institutions take on many things... But I will say that there has been better funding through the colleges for the arts than through other mechanisms such as the state arts commission structure that is there nationally. (personal communication, March 27, 2013)

One particular story told by interview respondents exemplified this indirect, but existing interaction. It involved university administrators who had been approached by a county executive seeking to combine the university's co-curricular arts programs and the county's arts funding arm. The county executive proposed giving the university almost \$200,000 in county money to administer the local arts council. The proposal would have defunded the arts council and eliminated staff. Obviously, this plan was not well received by the arts community and was reported as a "money grab" on the part of the university. In the end, however, the university administrators refused the proposal because they "weren't an arts council" and didn't have a citizen advisory board. Additionally, many of the artists who received county grants had nothing to do with the university.

Although this was a single example, it highlighted the understanding (or lack of understanding) of higher education institution arts centers and how these centers might be perceived by policymakers unfamiliar with the arts policy process. The affiliated interviewee remarked, however, that the council member was well-intentioned and looking for a way to

better support the arts in the county: “All of this was well-intentioned. The county executive was trying to solve a problem because there is a problem in the arts funding community here. There always has been” (personal communication, April 15, 20123b). Even though this particular proposal was not well received, it did ignite an arts master planning process that included the Convention Visitors Bureau, the economic development departments of both surrounding cities and counties, the Chamber of Commerce, and the university. One university administrator stated, “I think by budget time next year, we will be in a better place” (personal communication, April 15, 20123b).

It was clear from interview data that there was little intra-agency coordination between the Education Secretariat, the state arts commission, and colleges and universities in implementing arts policy throughout the state. But as the aforementioned story reflects, higher education institutions are seen as players in the arts policy field. One state arts policy professional remarked, “They [universities] are a great resource and could be leaders in the arts in Virginia” (personal communication, March 20, 2013a). However, other components of state-level policymaking affect the way in which the arts and education are funded in Virginia. In the next section, I offer alternate explanations for why higher education institutions invest in performing arts centers. It may be the case that the recent construction of arts venues at institutions in Virginia was a coincidence or an effect of the political process on funding decisions.

The political process. Despite evidence that suggests that higher education institutions enter the arts arena for specific purposes, such as resource acquisition and community outreach, some interview responses indicated that college and university arts venues have been built over time as a result of a strong economic climate and legislative support. With this explanation, arts

centers were not built to contribute to the state's arts and cultural landscape, but instead were simply the product of influential political partners. One respondent commented on arts centers' influence on arts policy by noting, "It wasn't policy, it was just making sausage" (personal communication, April 15, 2013a). When asked about the number of arts centers that came on-line in 2010, one interviewee stated:

And why 2010? I would argue that if you go back, those centers originated in the public policy process at least ten years earlier. So that you have to think of what was the climate at the time it began to bubble up. The very good revenue pictures of the early decade of this century coupled with some receptive state political leadership in the executive branch as well as ultimately the centers by and large come where there is political might in the political process. (personal communication, May 16, 2013b)

I previously discussed the relationship between the state's economic picture and funding to higher education, which helps to explain the authorization and completion dates of higher education institution arts centers. But what is more interesting to note is that there is very little coordination between the state and higher education institutions in their investment of the co-curricular arts. Higher education institutions revealed myriad reasons for building arts infrastructure, but this investment in the co-curricular arts, education, and communities has little impact on how the state implements arts policy. One respondent noted, "When you look at it, it's not so much policy. There really isn't any. It's practice. Virginia changes personnel with each change of administration. So you've not had long-serving state arts council leaders and executives" (personal communication, April 15, 2013a).

Another college's history and interview data revealed that its center was built with almost the exact amount of state funds that had been pulled from a private arts center that was planned

for the same geographic area. This occurred at the direction of a state official, for whom the academic arts building was later named. This decision shows awareness on the part of the state of the geographic proximity of higher education institution arts centers to other types of arts centers. Additionally, it shows that the state might rather invest in a higher education-related arts facility than in one that would be seen solely as an arts and cultural center without an educational affiliation. Regardless, it was a decision made by a sole political individual who weighed in on the creation of this particular arts center, rather than those working in the arts or higher education.

Virginia's arts policy landscape, like in many states, receives little attention by policymakers. The arts receive minimal public funding and are extremely dependent on the state's economic climate. In Virginia, however, the arts and culture are co-located within the Education Secretariat. This organization might suggest a greater coordination and or relationship between education and the arts, and may contribute to understanding of higher education's investment in the co-curricular arts. Interview data showed that although there is very little intra-agency coordination in arts policy implementation, higher education institution arts centers are perceived as a solution to arts funding challenges. This understanding and practice is indirect and "back-door," however, and has not been formalized as part of the state's arts policy process.

Conclusions

As I described in Chapter 5, colleges and universities invest in the co-curricular arts for many reasons. Through interview data analysis I reported similar findings about the intentions of higher education institutions and was able to expand upon the relationship between these

institutions and state arts policy implementation. Four aggregate themes encapsulated these findings. The first three aggregate themes addressed the intention of colleges and universities, specifically resource acquisition, improved perception and prestige, and public institution mission. The fourth theme of arts policy implementation sheds light on the limited intra-agency interaction between the state arts agency and arts centers, despite their co-location within the Education Secretariat.

Interview data clearly show that colleges and universities see arts centers as a resource and a way to acquire additional resources. These data lend support to proposition two, in which I suggest that public higher education institution arts venues participate in arts policy in order to access resources. Certainly, respondents understood the cost of constructing and managing performing arts centers, but the perceived benefits outweighed these costs. Benefits include bringing people to campus, engaging friends and alumni, establishing relationships with the community, improving perception and prestige, and enhancing a broad-based student curriculum. Because arts centers at higher education institutions have some advantages over other types of performing arts venues, colleges and universities are insulated from some of the market forces that affect private arts venues in the open market. This is more so the case in rural locations, where a college or university might own the only arts venue in town.

As many interview respondents described, arts centers were built in part to serve community members by offering them affordable and accessible arts opportunities. These statements lend support to proposition one, in which I suggested that public higher education institution arts centers are a solution to arts policy challenges in Virginia. Where the state has invested very limited financial resources in directly funding the arts, college and university co-curricular arts programs indirectly fulfill many of the roles of the state arts agency. This

component of service and outreach is part of higher education institution's public-service-oriented missions and explains why these institutions contribute to the presence and practice of the arts throughout the state.

Although higher education institutions are serving as a resource in support of the arts in the state, state-level arts policy professionals do not specifically involve these arts centers in the arts policy process. However, this finding does not mean that the state is acting alone in arts policy implementation. As Woddis (2013) describes, policy involvement and influence can be 'invited' and 'uninvited,' the latter consisting of "self-directed initiatives to create and open up arenas in which arts practitioners can attempt to influence policy and implementation" (p. 4). In the course of my research, several respondents commented on the possible future potential of collaboration, but it was clear that at least directly, state arts policymakers were not concerned with the affairs of higher education institution arts centers.

This evidence gives little support to proposition three—that Virginia involves public higher education institution arts centers in arts policy in order to access resources in support of the arts. Yes, colleges and universities extend the state's capacity in many ways, but this research does not support that this is intentional in the arts policy field. While state funding through the Commission remains the state's direct mechanism of advancing the arts for citizens of the Commonwealth, arts centers are a burgeoning, "back-door" method of providing accessible and affordable arts and cultural experiences throughout the state. As "uninvited" participants in the policy process, these arts centers become second-order policymakers by making funding and programming decisions from the bottom-up (Sabatier, 1984). If higher education institution arts centers continue to form formal alliances with nonprofit arts organizations (as was the case at UVA-Wise, CNU, and the GMU Hylton Center), then their position may change. As nonprofits

become reliant on these academic institutions, then state arts policymakers will need to more formally recognize this important constituent in the arts policymaking process.

The aggregate theme of arts policy implementation describes the loose relationship between the Education Secretariat, the state arts commission, and higher education institutions in arts policy implementation. I have previously concluded that the state does not intentionally involve arts centers to access resources on behalf of the arts. This finding can be extended to proposition four, in which I suggested that the institutional location of Virginia's state arts agency within the Education Secretariat encourages the use of public higher education institution arts centers in advancing state-level arts policy. The co-location of these agencies helps to explain the Commission's long-term focus on education. However, as my interview data suggest, the arts are overshadowed by the much larger field of education. Of course, with a budget of over \$16 billion, education spending cannot easily be compared to the state's resources supporting the arts.

These findings do not necessarily mean that the organizational co-location of the arts and education is irrational or accident. This design could be supported for many different reasons, including the natural relationship between education and the arts and the programmatic focus of the arts agency. But, my findings do not support the claim that this co-location encourages the use of these higher education arts facilities as a policy mechanism in the public encouragement of the arts.

Summary

With this chapter, I explored the aggregate topics that emerged from in-depth interviews. I began my analysis of interviews without a template and remained open to finding out the many explanations for the investment of higher education institutions on the co-curricular arts and how

these centers contribute to Virginia's arts policy. Next, I offered four aggregate theoretical dimensions that resulted from my data reduction and analysis process. In the next chapter, I discuss conclusions from Chapters 5 and 6 and their meaning for arts policy and higher education institutions in Virginia.

CHAPTER 7

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Through this research, I have explored the phenomenon of higher education institutions' investment in arts facilities in the state of Virginia. Tying this investigation to arts policy processes in the state provides a more comprehensive picture of how the Commonwealth provides for the arts and culture. Specifically, I argued that arts centers at public higher education institutions are a solution to arts policy challenges in the state (monetary and nonmonetary) and that higher education institutions invest in the arts in order to access resources of different kinds. Although I found limited evidence that the location of the state arts agency in the Education Secretariat encourages the use of these centers in advancing arts policy, education has always been a strong component of the state's arts agency and one that is worthy of further exploration in policy formulation and implementation.

Scholars have called for a more comprehensive assessment of the state-level arts policy landscape (Cherbo, Stewart, & Wyszomirski, 2008; DiMaggio, 1991; Lowell & Ondaatje, 2006; Schuster, 2002) and the inclusion of arts practitioners in understanding of the arts policy process (Woddis, 2013). This research addresses a gap in knowledge concerning the contributions of performing arts centers at higher education institutions to the arts policy field. By documenting the history and development of 13 performing arts centers at colleges and universities, I contributed to understanding of why these facilities have been built over time, and how they serve communities in providing accessible, affordable, and diverse arts experiences. In discussions with higher education administrators and arts policy professionals, I found that although only a loose relationship existed between formalized arts policy implementation and arts centers at higher education institutions, but that this relationship is one that could be

capitalized on to strengthen arts policy state-wide. Connecting these two educational-oriented public entities would redefine Virginia's poorly perceived investment in the arts and culture.

Summary of Research

I began this research with a thorough review of state-level arts policy, its history, development, and continued struggles in the face of criticism, scarce resources, and political weakness. Part of this weakness is attributable to confusion about what *arts policy* means and encompasses (DeVereaux, 2006), and a lack of involvement by political decision-makers. Arts policy scholars (Cherbo, Stewart, & Wyszomirski, 2008; Schuster, 2003) continue to call for an expanded understanding of the public investment in the arts and culture.

A missing piece of the public arts landscape, as it is recognized formally, can be found with performing arts centers at college and university campuses. Although the arts have always been a part of higher education, these institutions are now investing in the arts as a way to serve and interact with the community. This includes providing access to cultural opportunities, while simultaneously acquiring monetary and nonmonetary resources. This “underappreciated vehicle” for arts funding (Cowen, 2006) may be of particular interest to a state like Virginia where public arts resources are extremely limited. Even though Virginia is an economically healthy state as compared to others, it ranks poorly in terms of investment in the arts and culture (NASAA, 2013). My aim was to investigate why performing arts centers had been built on the college and university campuses and how they contributed to arts policy in Virginia.

After thoroughly defining the context, the arts landscape in Virginia, and opportunities for research, I turned to two theoretical frames that helped to explain the problem I had set out to explore. Specifically, I wanted to understand the choices of actors and the effects of institutional

design on arts policy implementation the state. In order to test the propositions that I had formed from a theoretical understanding of the arts policy problem in Virginia, I approached dissertation research in the tradition of scientific realism. History, budget, and interview data allowed me to make observations about trends over time and how the arts policy landscape had developed in this context.

Findings

After a thorough analysis of legislative and budget histories and in-depth interview transcripts, I made several important observations. First, performing arts centers at higher education institutions share many of the values as the state arts agency. Although the former are in the business of presenting the performing arts and the latter in granting funding to nonprofit arts organizations, both embrace values of life-long learning, access, economic development, and artistic quality and diversity. These public-oriented aims encourage arts participation for all citizens of the Commonwealth.

A second observation is that arts centers are built at higher education institutions for different reasons. Some are more student-oriented while others focus more on community constituents. Facilities that are primarily state-funded (over 53 percent) tended to be more student-oriented, with the exception of arts centers at community colleges. Arts centers with a greater mixture of funding sources were more focused on community audiences. As I discussed in Chapter 5, recently constructed arts centers (since 2009) have greater percentages of institutional, local, and private funds going towards capital costs (see Table 7). These facilities are also increasingly complex and include components that are attractive to and/or serve their funders. This suggests that the state is giving less direct financial capital support to these arts

facilities and as a result, colleges and universities have diversified their funding sources in order to complete capital projects of this nature. Part of diversifying financial resources means diversifying stakeholders and potential supporters. As a result, college and university arts centers have engaged community priorities including enhancing economic development initiatives, supporting local nonprofit arts organizations, and improving K-12 education. There are two exceptions to this observation: GMU's first arts center that was completed in 1989 and funded by student fee revenue, and Northern Virginia Community College's Schlesinger Hall that was completed in 2001 and funded by local and private money.

A third finding is that colleges and universities invest in the co-curricular arts to acquire monetary and nonmonetary resources. They are able to make these investments due in part because of the autonomy afforded to higher education institutions in the state. Interview data revealed that the arts are perceived to be attractive to donors, improve quality of life, educate citizens, develop the economy, and heighten organizational profile. Despite the fact that presenting arts facilities are costly, education institutions relied on multiple methods of financial support (state, institutional, and private) and influential individuals to fund these arts projects. By including a diverse array of constituents in the planning and funding of their arts centers, colleges and universities formed community relationships and a service role that will help sustain their programs in the future.

Fourth, arts centers at higher education institutions operate in an educational context that is distinct from the contexts in which nonprofit and private centers operate. Embracing a mission of public service, many of these centers are afforded increased capacity, programming freedom, and a financial subsidy beyond that of an arts center unaffiliated with an educational institution. Despite the growing number of arts centers in the state, these institutions can continue to invest

in arts initiatives as they afforded certain freedoms from a very decentralized state coordinating system. There is no actor at the state level providing direction to colleges and universities about market saturation, program direction, or budget allocation related to the co-curricular arts. Successful performing arts centers require professional staff, long-term funding, and commitment on behalf of the host academic institution.

A fifth observation is that there is a loose and “back-door” relationship between state and local arts policy agencies and arts centers at public higher education institutions. Despite the numerous similarities between and state arts agency and these arts centers, their co-location in the Education Secretariat, and their commitment to advancing the arts in the Commonwealth, the state arts agency does not include higher education institution arts centers in formal arts policy implementation processes. This lack of intra-agency coordination is an outcome of the fact that the arts is a low-priority policy area, dwarfed by education priorities in the state, and because there is no coordinator of agencies contributing to the arts landscape at the state-level. The potential for collaboration in a resource scarce environment should encourage a partnership between the state and higher education institution arts centers, but policy actors have yet to realize these opportunities

This is not to say, however, that higher education institution arts centers are absent from the arts landscape or from encouraging citizen participation and access to cultural experiences. Instead, arts centers participate in the policy process as “uninvited” or second-order actors working from the bottom-up. As Schuster (2003) and Woddis (2013) described cultural policy systems as a mixture of public and nongovernmental organizations engaged in policy at the state level, the same is true in the Commonwealth. This research confirms Wyszomirski’s (2000)

claim that the arts community would be strengthened and more effective if it extend to include policy matters, cultural institutions of different varieties, and new funding mechanisms.

Alternate Explanations

This research relied on the histories of purposefully selected institutions in Virginia and the perceptions of individuals working in the arts policy field and higher education. Each of these stories contributed to understanding of the investment by colleges and universities in performing arts centers. Cultural facilities have been a part of public educational institutions in Virginia for decades, but the recent addition of four centers since 2010 in a period of economic downturn gives cause for further investigation.

Beyond the reasons I have described so far, there are possible competing explanations for the rise of arts facilities on public college and university campuses in Virginia. The most obvious is the strong economic climate during the 1990s. Six of the arts centers included in this study received funding authorization during this time period: TWCC, CNU, VT, GMU Hylton, JMU, and BRCC. Interestingly, all six of these projects included an economic development component, as was expressed in organizational statements or interview data. This implies that economic development initiatives and a contribution to the local economy were important to the authorization requests put forth by these institutions.

A second competing explanation for the rise in the number of cultural facilities at higher education institutions is related to academic institutions' "constant efforts to outdo rival institutions" (Bok, 2013, p. 36), which are manifested in a programmatic and physical "arms race." Bok (2013) argued, "Climbing to the next level—or 'mission creep,' as it is often called—tends to be expensive. It typically calls for building larger faculties, new degree programs, and

more elaborate facilities” (p. 36). I previously spoke about academic institutions’ desire for increased prestige on campus and in their surrounding communities. Co-curricular arts programs help institutions achieve this level of prestige. However, interview data did not expressly suggest that these institutions built arts centers only to compete with other institutions. Instead, the spirit of “keeping up with the Joneses” was implied and suggested by some arts policy professionals.

These alternate explanations illuminate the fact that my findings help to explain the arts policy context in one state alone, and that there is room for different understandings of higher education’s investment in the co-curricular arts. I used the lenses of resource dependency theory and rational choice institutionalism to understand the phenomena in Virginia. Alternate foci would have led to different findings and perhaps added understanding of the question at hand.

Implications

This research has several implications for public administration theory and the practice of arts management. Arts management scholarship draws from many literatures, and so for this research, I investigated two specific theoretical lenses from the public administration and organizations fields that strengthen understanding of the arts policy process.

Theory. As I have discussed previously in this dissertation, the arts are a low-budget, low-priority policy area. Public funding for the arts and culture has been criticized since its inception, as it is debatable whether or not the arts *should be* publically funded. This dissertation research does not address the normative questions surrounding public support of the arts and culture, but instead applies public administration theories that shed light on a low-salience policy area. Because state arts agencies are in an extremely resource-dependent position, I applied resource dependency theory to my investigation of Virginia’s arts policy practices over time.

My findings supported two of my three propositions related to resource dependency, and showed that scarce resources cause organizations to coordinate with one another and develop new programs in order to acquire resources. Because the arts receive little public money in Virginia, higher education institutions, their investment in the arts, and administrative capacity are essential to the survival of the arts in Virginia. In this way, although they are not involved in formalized arts policymaking processes, these arts centers are contributing to arts policy outcomes on a scale that exceeds the state arts agency and local arts councils. Pfeffer and Salancik (1978) argued that interdependence exists when an actor does not control all of the resources to achieve a desired outcome. In the arts policy context, formalized arts policy agencies do not have control of all public monies going to the arts and culture. Schuster's (2003) research confirms this explanation as he described fragmented arts policy communities with many actors contributing to policy outcomes. I do not claim that arts policymaking agencies are formally dependent on higher education institutions, but instead that public arts agencies and higher education institutions are *interdependent* in a broader state-level landscape.

Also in a resource-scarce position, public higher education institutions are dependent on the state for public funds and raise additional revenue through tuition, fees, and auxiliary activities. In a climate of reduced public resources, institutions are looking to diversify and secure new funding sources. Scholars have described higher education institutions' long-standing commitment to public service that manifests in programs that extend beyond the traditional classroom. Bok (2013) warned, however, of higher education taking on initiatives for purposes other than mission. In some institutions, I found that colleges and universities were investing in the co-curricular arts in order to generate revenue and acquire social capital through connections made with alumni and community members. Of course, there is a fine and indistinguishable line

between what is an educational and/or a public-service-oriented program and what may be defined as otherwise. Although many institutions described educational and public service missions first and foremost, to be sure, some colleges and universities expected a different type of return on their investment in the co-curricular arts. Even though higher education institutions are seeking resources for themselves, they also embraced outcomes that benefit citizens of the Commonwealth through arts initiatives. Again, by agreeing to serve community members and K-12 education, these institutions were better positioned to acquire resources from the state for capital projects.

In my third proposition related to resource dependency theory, I suggested that the Commonwealth of Virginia involves public higher education institutions in arts policy in order to access resources in support of the arts. This proposition is closely related to the first, in which I suggested that higher education is a solution to arts policy challenges. Even though I showed less support for this proposition, it still adds to understanding of resource dependency theory in the state-level arts policy context. Higher education institutions engage in the arts policy landscape at the ground level as second-order policymakers, but currently are not invited participants in the state-level arts policy process. Arts policymakers considered higher education institutions to be a resource in support of the arts, but only secondary to the educational institution's primary purposes, which were self-serving or related to its individual institutional mission.

In addition to examining Virginia's arts policy problem through the lens of resource dependency theory, I also applied rational choice institutionalism to this context. Specifically, I sought to understand the organization of the state arts agency and higher education together in Virginia. How did this agency organization impact arts policy implementation? Might the arts be protected from uncertainty in being co-located with education? Scholars have argued that

institutions insulate agencies from uncertainty and ensure policy outcomes (Lewis, 2003; Moe, 1991). To be sure, Virginia's comprehensive arts landscape is reliant on contributions by higher education institutions. However, the co-location of the arts and education does not encourage higher education to participate in arts policy or for the state to use their affiliated arts centers in policy implementation. Instead, the rational choices of actors in a resource-scarce environment are inspiring higher education institutions' investment in the co-curricular arts. As I have previously explained, Virginia's state arts agency is limited in budget and political power, but this does not mean that the state lacks a vibrant arts and culture scene. Instead, multiple public agencies including higher education institutions encourage arts participation, access, and education.

Just as one governor was willing to invest funds in an arts center at a public university rather than with a private organization, the umbrella of public education gives political clout to the arts and culture in a state where the few public dollars have traditionally supported this policy field. My argument is supported through the budget histories of 13 arts centers built at public higher education institutions in the state. This money and arts infrastructure is an important component of publically supported arts, and should be acknowledged as such. Additionally, the location of the state arts agency, and its short-lived existence with economic development, provides further evidence to the state's support of the arts through higher education. This co-location is not the national standard, however. Many state arts agencies are independent departments or located within branches related to economic development initiatives. Organizational location inevitably gives a certain flavor to how arts and culture are funded, implemented, and measured. In Virginia, educating citizens is a core argument in support of arts policy.

Therefore, my findings lend partial support to my fourth proposition, in which I argued that the location of Virginia's state arts agency within the Education Secretariat encourages the use of public higher education institution arts centers in advancing state-level arts policy. Whereas budget histories showed the investment of public money in education institution arts venues, and organizational statements revealed these institutions' impact on the presence and practice of the arts throughout the state, interview findings were less supportive of this final proposition. Interview data revealed that there has been very little interaction between the Education Secretariat and the state arts agency. This is in part because of the enormous budget and policy demands of education in comparison to the Virginia Commission for the Arts. A lack of collaboration between the Education Secretariat and the state arts agency is compounded by the fact that the Secretary of Education is a rotating, political appointee. The regular personnel change of such an important officer makes it difficult for arts policy administrators to establish long-term and meaningful relationships with the Secretary. So, although the arts are advanced through higher education institution arts centers, the Virginia Commission for the Arts (the state's representative agency for the arts), has no involvement in planning and funding of these major arts centers throughout the Commonwealth. Some interview respondents recognized the potential for future collaboration between educational institutions and the arts agency in implementation of the state's arts policies.

Practice. Because this research was based on a phenomenon that I recognized in the arts policy context in Virginia, there are many implications for practice. Specifically, this research sheds light on why higher education institutions engage in the co-curricular arts; provides a more comprehensive picture of public arts support that includes higher education institutions; and reveals a lack of intra-agency collaboration that is vital to the future development of an advanced

“arts policy community” (Wyszomirski, 2000). These implications span the arts policy and higher education domains and are relevant for practitioners in each field as they prepare for and work in a climate of declining resources that requires innovative thinking and new models of practice.

Arts centers at public higher education institutions take many forms, some focusing mostly on their student communities and others giving equal or greater attention to broader non-student populations. These centers include missions of service, education, and community development. Needless to say, colleges and universities invest millions of dollars into these facilities and ongoing arts programs that serve student and community audiences. I sought to understand why public institutions, with limited resources, made the co-curricular arts a priority. Although each institution was unique, this knowledge is important for higher education administrators and arts professionals working in similar private and nonprofit arts venues. Higher education administrators can take from this research a better understanding of the outcome of their investment in the arts. One interview respondent remarked on the phenomenon of building arts infrastructure at public higher education institutions in Virginia:

I’ve been curious about what the collective narrative is that has allowed so much building to take place because it really is an interesting phenomenon. So why is it? It’s almost like the automobile is being invented everywhere at the same time. And so, I think this study needs to happen. We need to know what it is that we have responded to. And see if because we have done this all at the same time, is there a baseline for establishing a policy? Can we go from backing into the future to walking into the future? I hope we can.
(personal communication, April 15, 2013)

This research provides the first understanding of higher education institutions within a single state—their motivations, pursuits, and interest in the arts internally and externally. For arts administrators working in private and nonprofit arts venues, this research aids in assessing the strengths, weaknesses, and opportunities of these different types of arts facilities. Do college and university arts centers have advantages in comparison to private centers? How is arts programming similar or different? Are funding schemes more or less sustainable over time? These are important questions for arts administrators working with struggling nonprofit arts institutions, some faced with the opportunity to form permanent partnerships or mergers with higher education institutions.

A second important finding for practice is related to understanding the comprehensive picture of public support for the arts at the state level. As I discussed in Chapter 2, Cowen (2006) and Schuster (1989, 2003) argued that public support for the arts can be disguised and therefore, not easily understood. Arts policymakers cannot continue to rely on the measurement of per capita arts spending defined by legislative appropriations to state arts agencies. Although I have not suggested a new way of measuring and comparing states' arts support that is as simple as per capita spending, I have shown significant public investment in arts infrastructure at higher education institutions that is certainly considered to be part of the state's arts landscape. Arts advocates should consider this component of public support for the arts and work more collaboratively with these indirect arts funding sources throughout the state. This research further contributes to the call in the arts policy literature for new and more comprehensive approaches to state-level arts policy implementation and measurement.

Lastly, this research revealed the lack of intra-agency collaboration in arts policy implementation in Virginia. Again, speaking to the point I made in the previous paragraph that

many public agencies support the arts and culture, one might expect that these agencies collaborate in arts policy implementation. Findings from this research, however, showed that the state arts agency was quite narrow in its grant-making mission and had very little interaction with other public agencies. Moreover, located within the Education Secretariat, Virginia's state arts agency has little to no interaction with the Secretary of Education and is certainly not involved in the decision to build arts facilities at public higher education institutions. Although interview subjects noted that there should be more collaboration here, to date, this has not been the case. In order for arts policy advocates to move from an arts community to an arts policy community (Wyszomirski, 2000), it will be important to build upon the collaborative opportunities with the larger, more politically relevant agencies that may afford future funding, programming, and leadership opportunities.

Predictions. Although this research is limited to one state, findings show potential opportunities for higher education institutions and state arts agencies to collaborate in order to strengthen arts policy at the state-level. Currently, a gap exists between the two public agencies, but evidence suggests that arts venues at higher education institutions and state arts agencies might have more in common than was previously understood. In Virginia, higher education institutions have taken on the role of encouraging the presence and practice of the arts throughout the state. Meanwhile, the state arts agency continues to be limited in its budget and political power. As states continue to consider restructuring and/or eliminating their arts agencies, higher education institutions may be a solution or at least a collaborative partner in maintaining states' cultural vitality and public investment in the arts.

Future Research

This research sought to explain a phenomenon in the state-level arts landscape and understand why public higher education institutions build performing arts centers in Virginia. Through process analysis work and in-depth interviews, I was able to answer this question directly and speak to the motivations of actors in these resource-strapped institutions. I was also able to document the public investment made in these arts centers and the ways in which they take on objectives that are similar to the state arts agency and serve community interests.

Additional research is needed to understand how higher education institutions' investment in arts infrastructure contributes to the arts landscape in Virginia in monetary terms. How might the total contributions of these infrastructures be monetized and then more easily counted in the state's per capita spending on the arts and culture? In order for states' measurement systems to change, arts policy researchers must work towards providing data and a new framework that is comprehensive, yet simple to calculate and understand (similar to per capita spending).

A second area of future research extends on exploring the contributions of higher education arts centers to the state encouragement of the arts. Although many of the centers included in this study were committed to serving their community audiences, this commitment has not yet been tested. How exactly are these centers serving the public and how often? Additional data is needed to support the claim that public investment in student-community arts centers results in significant service to the community.

Another way to understand state-level arts policy would be to compare states' arts agencies by organizational type. In this research, I took an in-depth look at an arts agency located within a department of education. Therefore, the research gap remains regarding behavior of arts

agencies located outside education departments. How do programmatic priorities and funding patterns change as a result of these agencies' organization? This type of additional research would add to the findings from this dissertation and its generalizability outside of Virginia's context.

Conclusions

In 2013, Anthony Radich, Executive Director of the Western States Arts Federation, discussed the concept of “re-envisioning” state arts agencies during an interview with Barry Hessenius, author of *Barry's Blog*. Radich exclaimed:

When I talk about re-envisioning, I mean that the largely grantmaking-driven state arts agencies simply are not structured to excel in today's environment. This is primarily the case because the grantmaking function in the states as currently practiced requires an ever-expanding flow of funds to operate successfully in the long term. That dynamic is at odds with long-term and entrenched pressures to constrain the growth of governmental budgets. No one is picking on the arts here; take a look at how higher education budgets have been chopped away over the past 10 years.²²

A product of 1960s federal legislation, state arts agencies have a history of controversy and limited budgets; they face restructuring and in some instances, elimination. Despite programmatic and organizational changes, these agencies look very similar to what they did fifty years ago. Focused primarily on grant-giving to nonprofit organizations, state arts agencies rely on state appropriations to survive. To Radich's earlier points, this is an unsustainable operation

²² For a complete interview transcript of “Interview with Anthony Radich,” visit *Barry's Blog* at <http://blog.westaf.org/2013/12/interview-with-anthony-radich.html>

in today's state governments. Later in the interview, Radich (2013) called for "state arts leaders and their allies in government and in the arts community to...develop ways that don't involve big money to leverage support and opportunities for the arts in the states."

This research explores the role of public higher education institutions and their performing arts centers as an ally within state government and its support of the arts. Already taking on many public-service roles vital to communities, public colleges and universities also have taken on the role of encouraging the arts at the state-level. Amidst a climate of scarce resources, states may re-envision their arts agencies in a way that capitalizes on the capacity and service-oriented actions of colleges and universities that are making significant investments in the co-curricular arts. Higher education institutions contribute to state-level arts policy by providing cultural facilities and promoting values that encourage citizens to participate in the arts and culture. This research gives arts policymakers and state agents an understanding of higher education's significant contributions to the arts policy field.

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Appendix A
Public Higher Education Institutions in Virginia

Four-Year Public Institutions	Community Colleges
Christopher Newport University	Blue Ridge Community College
College of William and Mary	Central Virginia Community College
George Mason University	Dabney S. Lancaster Community College
James Madison University	Danville Community College
Longwood University	Eastern Shore Community College
Norfolk State University	Germanna Community College
Old Dominion University	J Sargeant Reynolds Community College
Radford University	John Tyler Community College
University of Mary Washington	Lord Fairfax Community College
University of Virginia	Mountain Empire Community College
University of Virginia's College at Wise	New River Community College
Virginia Commonwealth University	Northern Virginia Community College
Virginia Military Institute	Patrick Henry Community College
Virginia State University	Paul D Camp Community College
Virginia Tech	Piedmont Virginia Community College
	Rappahannock Community College
Two-Year Public Institutions	Southside Virginia Community College
Richard Bland College	Southwest Virginia Community College
	Thomas Nelson Community College
	Tidewater Community College
	Virginia Highlands Community College
	Virginia Western Community College
	Wytheville Community College

Note. Data from State Council of Higher Education for Virginia (2013). *List of Virginia Colleges*. Retrieved from <http://www.schev.edu/students/PublicCollegeList.asp>.

Appendix B
Organization of State Arts Agencies

Agencies within departments of education (9)

Alabama	New York
Alaska	Ohio
Indiana	Oklahoma
Kansas	Rhode Island
Virginia	

Agencies within departments of business, tourism, and economic development (15)

Colorado	Missouri
Connecticut	Nevada*
Georgia	Oregon
Kentucky	South Dakota
Maine	Vermont
Maryland	Washington
Michigan	Wisconsin
Minnesota	

Agencies within departments of cultural resources and heritage (19)

Arizona	New Hampshire
Arkansas	New Mexico
Florida	North Carolina
Illinois	North Dakota
Iowa	Pennsylvania
Louisiana	South Carolina
Massachusetts	Utah
Montana	West Virginia
Nebraska	Wyoming
Nevada*	

Agencies within departments of general administration (8)

California	Mississippi
Delaware	New Jersey
Hawaii	Tennessee
Idaho	Texas

Note. Data collected from state arts agency and state government websites, 2012. Nevada is located with the Department of Tourism and Cultural Affairs and therefore is included in both lists.

Appendix C

Data Collection Techniques

Research Questions and <i>Propositions</i>	Legislative and Budget Histories	Sample Interview Questions and <i>Responses</i>
Q1. Why are PACs being built on the campuses of public higher education institutions in Virginia?	Evidence in published histories and news releases	There are many performing arts centers located on college campuses in Virginia, four of which opened in 2010 or later. Why do you think that is? How did the decision to build an arts center on the campus of this university come about? Who (or who else) was involved in the decision? In your opinion, how does state policy guide higher education capital funding decisions?
Q2. How and why do public higher education institution PACs contribute to state-level arts policy in Virginia?	State funding to higher education PACs. Comparison of organizational statements: state arts commission and higher education PACs.	I've read about the programs university arts centers offer students and community members. Can you talk about these centers' roles in serving both audiences? In your opinion, do public university performing arts centers affect state-level arts policy decisions? How and why?
<i>P1: Public higher education institution PACs are a solution to arts policy challenges in Virginia.</i>	State funding to higher education PACs.	I have investigated the ways in which university arts centers in Virginia were funded. What results do the funders (state, donors, university, etc.) anticipate? <i>Interview responses that suggest that the university PAC is a community facility/program.</i>
<i>P2: Public higher education institution PACs in Virginia participate in arts policy in order to access resources.</i>	Creation and funding history of higher education PACs.	I have investigated the ways in which university arts centers in Virginia were funded. What results do the funders (state, donors, university, etc.) anticipate? <i>Interview responses that suggest that the university PAC was created to access new public money.</i>
<i>P3: Virginia involves public higher education institution PACs in arts policy in order to access resources in support of the arts.</i>	Legislative history shows static and minimal support for the arts and culture.	<i>Interview responses that suggest that arts funding is limited and universities extend capacity of the state in implementing arts policy.</i> <i>Interview responses that suggest higher education institution PACs can meet the state's arts and cultural needs.</i>
<i>P4: The institutional location of Virginia's state arts agency within the Education Secretariat encourages the use of public higher education institution PACs in advancing state-level arts policy.</i>	Evidence from meeting minute history.	What is your continuing involvement with (public university performing arts centers) or (state and/or local arts agencies)? How do you perceive the relationship between the arts and higher education in Virginia? Describe your agency's involvement in that relationship.

Appendix D

Interview Recruitment Document

Encouraging the Arts through Higher Education Institutions: State Arts Policy Implementation in Virginia

My name is Kate Preston and I am a doctoral student at Virginia Tech. I am contacting you to request your participation in an interview for research about state arts policy in Virginia. I have selected you as a potential participant because of your role as an arts policy leader or university administrator.

Inquiry

This inquiry asks why are performing arts centers being built on the campuses of public higher education institutions in Virginia and how and why centers contribute to state-level arts policy in the state? It focuses upon one state, Virginia, because of the presence of performing arts centers on public university campuses, its level of public support for the arts, and its robust statewide system of higher education.

As early as 1989, Schuster wrote about the “flawed” nature of using per capita comparisons to understand the field of arts policy, observing that “it suffered from selective vision – only the most visible arts funding agencies were counted” (p. 15). By failing to account for all public institutions, citizens, arts advocates, and policymakers may hold misunderstandings about their state’s total support for the arts and culture. The research results will contribute to our understanding of how Virginia implements public arts activities through a combination of agencies.

Research Design

This research combines in-depth interviews and an archival legislative and budget analysis of the state commission for the arts and public higher education institution performing arts centers in Virginia. Thirteen public higher education institutions (including regional and community colleges) with performing arts presenting centers (PACs) define the analysis sample. Although there are many different types of arts infrastructures and programs in academia, this research focuses on multi-use, enclosed PACs, defined as presenting centers that “produce work outside of the presenting organization” (Hager and Pollak, 2002).

Your participation will help contribute to a better understanding of the arts policy sector in Virginia. If you are interested in participating, I will next send you a consent form for your consideration and find a mutually agreeable time and location for an interview. Please know that your name, organization, and question responses will be kept confidential. You will not be identified as an individual in any materials I produce from this data collection.

Thank you for your time and consideration.

Appendix E
Interview Consent Document

VIRGINIA POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE AND STATE UNIVERSITY
Informed Consent for Participants
in Research Projects Involving Human Subjects

Title of Project: Encouraging the Arts through Higher Education Institutions: State Arts Policy Implementation in Virginia

Investigators: Laura S. Jensen, Principal Investigator; Kate Preston, Co-Investigator

1. Purpose of this Research

States and localities are exploring new ways to secure funds to preserve and stimulate the advancement of their cultures and heritage (Miller and Yudice, 2002) amidst a national decline in public support for the arts. One novel approach to advancing arts policy is through harnessing indirect funding that comes from higher education institutions (Cowen, 2006). Traditionally, universities have been viewed as consumers and producers of the arts and culture, but have not been considered significant players in public arts policy making (DiMaggio, 1991). Relatively little academic research has been completed on state and local arts policy in the United States. A more thorough examination of the roles played by higher education in arts policy provides a fresh perspective on how state arts policy might be fostered during challenging economic times.

This dissertation asks how and why public higher education institutions participate in state-level arts policy. Specifically, I examine performing arts presenting centers at university campuses in order to find out why these centers are being built on the campuses of public higher education institutions in Virginia? My secondary research question is how and why do public higher education institution performing arts centers contribute to state-level arts policy in Virginia? The research focuses on one state, Virginia, because of the state's significant investment in performing arts centers on public university campuses and its low per capita spending ranking. The case of Virginia suggests that one solution to the arts policy problem is higher education institutions.

Data will be collected from approximately twenty in-person interviews with key individuals central to state arts policy making and public higher education performing arts centers in Virginia.

2. Procedures

This research involves unstructured interviews with state arts policy leaders and higher education administrators. The researcher will guide you through a series of questions pertaining to arts policy implementation in Virginia. One-hour interviews will take place in-person. The researcher will ask each participant if the interview may be audio recorded. Audio recording will only take place upon receipt of the participant's consent. The researchers and interviewees will jointly determine a mutually agreeable interview date, time, and location.

3. Risks

This study poses no risks to participants.

4. Benefits

This research should result in a more robust understanding arts policy practice in Virginia. No promise or guarantee of benefits has been made to the researcher to encourage this research.

5. Extent of Anonymity and Confidentiality

Your participation and responses will be kept confidential. The researchers will achieve confidentiality by protecting interview participant information and responses through a system of identification codes. That information will only be shared with the investigators involved in the inquiry. At no time will the researchers release the results of the study to anyone other than the investigators without your written consent.

Audio recordings will be used in this research at the participants' consent. Study codes will be generated and assigned to these audio recordings that contain identifying information. These codes will be used during data analysis to ensure confidentiality. All data documents will include a study identification code in place of participants' identifying information. Digital audio files will be stored in password-protected files on the researcher's computer.

It is possible that the Institutional Review Board (IRB) may view this study's collected data for auditing purposes. The IRB is responsible for oversight of efforts to protect the human subjects involved in this research.

6. Compensation

There is no compensation for participation in this study.

7. Freedom to Withdraw

You are free to withdraw from this study at any time without penalty.

8. Consent to Participate in the Study

I have reviewed the Consent Form and description of this project. I have had an opportunity to questions answered. I hereby acknowledge the above and give my voluntary consent.

(subject signature)

(date)

Should you have any questions about this research or its conduct or your rights as a participant in the study please contact:

Kate Preston
kapresto@vt.edu; 540-354-1616
Investigator

Dr. Laura S. Jensen
jensen7@vt.edu; 540-231-7302
Faculty Advisor

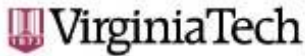
David M. Moore, Chair, Virginia Tech Institutional Review
Board for the Protection of Human Subjects
Office of Research Compliance
Telephone/e-mail: 540-231-4991/moored@vt.edu

Appendix F

Interview Questions

1. There are many performing arts centers located on college campuses in Virginia, four of which opened in 2010 or later. Why do you think that is?
2. In your opinion, how does state policy guide higher education capital funding decisions?
3. How did the decision to build an arts center on the campus of this university come about? Who (or who else) was involved in the decision?
4. I have investigated the ways in which university arts centers in Virginia were funded. What results do the funders (state, donors, university, etc.) anticipate? (Please speak specifically about your center).
5. How do you perceive the relationship between the arts and higher education in Virginia? Describe your agency's involvement in that relationship.
6. What is your continuing involvement with (public university performing arts centers) or (state and/or local arts agencies)?
7. In your opinion, do public university performing arts centers affect state-level arts policy decisions? How and why?
8. I've read about the programs university arts centers offer students and community members. Can you talk about these centers' roles in serving both audiences? (Please speak specifically about your center).

Appendix G Institutional Review Board Approval Letter



Office of Research Compliance
Institutional Review Board
2000 Kraft Drive, Suite 2000 (0497)
Blacksburg, VA 24060
540/231-4606 Fax 540/231-0969
email irb@ut.edu
website <http://www.irb.ut.edu>

MEMORANDUM

DATE: February 28, 2013
TO: Laura Smietanka Jensen, Katherine D Preston
FROM: Virginia Tech Institutional Review Board (FWA00000572, expires May 31, 2014)
PROTOCOL TITLE: Encouraging the Arts through Higher Education Institutions: State Arts Policy Implementation in Virginia
IRB NUMBER: 13-020

Effective February 27, 2013, the Virginia Tech Institutional Review Board (IRB) Chair, David M Moore, approved the New Application request for the above-mentioned research protocol.

This approval provides permission to begin the human subject activities outlined in the IRB-approved protocol and supporting documents.

Plans to deviate from the approved protocol and/or supporting documents must be submitted to the IRB as an amendment request and approved by the IRB prior to the implementation of any changes, regardless of how minor, except where necessary to eliminate apparent immediate hazards to the subjects. Report within 5 business days to the IRB any injuries or other unanticipated or adverse events involving risks or harms to human research subjects or others.

All investigators (listed above) are required to comply with the researcher requirements outlined at:

<http://www.irb.vt.edu/pages/responsibilities.htm>

(Please review responsibilities before the commencement of your research.)

PROTOCOL INFORMATION:

Approved As: **Expedited, under 45 CFR 46.110 category(ies) 6,7**
Protocol Approval Date: **February 27, 2013**
Protocol Expiration Date: **February 26, 2014**
Continuing Review Due Date*: **February 12, 2014**

*Date a Continuing Review application is due to the IRB office if human subject activities covered under this protocol, including data analysis, are to continue beyond the Protocol Expiration Date.

FEDERALLY FUNDED RESEARCH REQUIREMENTS:

Per federal regulations, 45 CFR 46.103(f), the IRB is required to compare all federally funded grant proposals/work statements to the IRB protocol(s) which cover the human research activities included in the proposal / work statement before funds are released. Note that this requirement does not apply to Exempt and Interim IRB protocols, or grants for which VT is not the primary awardee.

The table on the following page indicates whether grant proposals are related to this IRB protocol, and which of the listed proposals, if any, have been compared to this IRB protocol, if required.

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Appendix H
Public Higher Education Institution Performing Arts Centers in Virginia Location Map

