

## New York University

25 Waverly Place, 5th Floor  
New York, N.Y. 10003  
Telephone: (212) 598-3277 (for messages)  
(212) 598-3053

Alfred de Grazia  
Professor of Social Theory

December 7, 1977

Mr. Carl Stover  
National Endowment for the Arts  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Carl:

The Plan for Culture-Policy Development is submitted herewith. I can discuss it anytime. I leave it to you to copy and distribute.

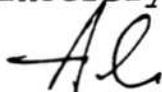
In preparing the Plan, I have visualized public policy-making at its informed and rational best. If well-executed, the Plan may constitute a landmark and a model for policy-making in other areas and for students of policy-making.

Throughout, I have kept major policy-making, in its early phases as well as in its ultimate formulation, in the hands of the constitutionally responsible authorities.

The cost of all phases comes to \$227,000. This approximates the cost of a small congressional or executive legislative investigation, and of a private foundation planning to go into a new area of philanthropy. However, should funding not be available, two low-cost alternatives are possible, one at \$81,000 and the other at \$32,000.

The Plan is intended not only to assist congressional, agency, and executive policy-making, but also to provide a substantial infrastructure for the White House Conference on Culture Support that is contemplated for 1979.

Sincerely yours,



Alfred de Grazia

## FEDERAL CULTURE-SUPPORT POLICIES

## Phases and Calendar\*

- I. 29 November 1977  
to  
7 December 1977  
Memorandum on Policy Planning for Federal Culture Support (attached, to explain the steps below).
- II. 15 December 1977  
to  
28 February 1978  
Inquiry Syllabus for Federal Culture-Support Policy.  
  
Purpose: To expand present syllabus of 1975 to cover larger frame, including humanities and other culture relevant activities, and to reorganize whole into two parts: (a) to form basis for expert panels inquiry; and (b) to form basis for popular inquiry.  
  
Result: (a) Policy Panels Syllabus and (b) Culture Survey Syllabus.
- III. 15 December 1977  
to  
1 May 1978  
New York University (Washington office) assembly and analysis of government agency response to Presidential Letter, plus guidance to agencies on compliance.  
  
Result: Inventory of Federal Cultural and Culture Support Activities.
- IV. 1 April 1978  
to  
November 30, 1978  
National Policy Inquiry Panels. Ten panels meeting regionally in two waves in Spring and Fall, 2 days each, beginning with top-leadership meeting on April 1.  
  
Result: Leaders' and Experts' Appraisals and Proposals for National Culture-Policies.
- V. 1 April 1978  
to  
31 January 1979  
Culture activities, opinions, and self-assessments of 1500 Americans, interviewed as cross-section of the population.  
  
Result: Inventory of Americans' Culture Values and Activities.

---

The Plan phases at this point into planning of a White House Conference on Arts and Culture.

---

\*For the General Plan. Two lower-cost alternatives are described in the Appendix.

## PHASE II

Inquiry Syllabus for Federal Culture-Support Policy

The Culture-Support Syllabus is intended to include all questions that need to be answered or at least considered in arriving at a philosophically and scientifically respectable public policy respecting culture-support. The Syllabus does not presume that questions of values and art are scientifically answerable; that is, it does not surreptitiously take away freedoms from or impose restraints upon the artist and humanist in the name of political science, sociology, or economics. It positions its users to learn the facts and make up their minds. Because the same questions are asked of many people, whether individually (interview) or interacting in groups (panels), it permits a structure of responses to emerge that can house a public policy.

The existing syllabus of policy questions on the arts needs revision and expansion to include the humanities and perhaps other activities relevant to culture-support policies. For example, organizational (structural) questions occur in relation to administration and disciplinary classification. (If NEA embraces interior design and graphics, should not NEH embrace advertising, copywriting, etc.? The decision to omit may be as important as the decision to include.)

The new enlarged syllabus is to be projected into the Policy Panels (as agenda) and into the People's Survey (for questionnaire and organization of analysis). Thus it will be divided into two parts adapted to the two uses. The Policy Panel Syllabus will form the basis, after preliminary testing, for the first and subsequent panels. The Culture Survey Syllabus will serve as a guide to the framing of the questionnaire. Although the projected 1500 interviews may not exceed 40 minutes each in length, they must answer, when assembled, many questions that are not asked directly. That is, the syllabus directs the tabulations as well as the interview questionnaire.

For the Syllabus phase, December 15, 1977 to February 28, 1978, 2 1/2 months, \$5,000 is budgeted, of which \$1,000 is for secretarial, reproduction and travel expenses.

## PHASE III

Inventory of Federal Government Cultural  
and Culture-Support Activities

If Federal agencies are asked by the Executive Office of the President for a description of their cultural activities, it will be necessary to assemble and analyze the data returned. To ensure full and standardized reporting of the data, the agencies can be given a contact point for inquiries. It is logical that the same unit that handles the incoming data should be available to consult with the agencies regarding their replies. Special competence in the arts and humanities is indicated for the unit staff.

A special unit to handle the one-time flow of information and to prepare it for use in the policy-making process can be formally located in the Executive Office, or in the Federal Council for the Arts and Humanities but delegated to the NEA or NEH; any one of the four offices can contract for the job with a non-governmental unit. New York University can sponsor such a unit working out of a Washington office and directed by a Unit Supervisor.

Tasks are as follows:

1. To encourage and advise the agencies to provide concrete and full data in response to the Executive inquiry.
2. To assemble the data and analyze it in a report. If enough guidance on compliance is exerted, the data can be coded and computerized. (At a later time, the Activities of the NEH and NEA can be inventoried and analyzed in the same way, and joined with all other culture activities in a master inventory.)
3. To adjoin a memorandum on the culture-policy implications of the report to be used in later phases of policy formation.

Depending upon the limits set in the Executive Letter, there may be some 300 agencies responding within a period of 60 days. During that period a two-person professional team should be counseling. Also during this period but for one month afterwards, the same team should be standardizing and assembling the data. Then a month should be allowed for analysis and reporting. In all, four months are required.

Suggested contract price: \$28,000, composed as follows:

\$ 6,000	30 days of Unit Supervisor, spread over the four months.
12,000	2 full-time professional research associates (unless one or both can be detached from other duties in an agency).
3,000	1 full-time clerk-secretary
4,000	Office and Washington overhead (if not supplied on governmental premises).
3,000	All other (to be specified).

## PHASE IV

National Experts Inquiry Panels

The aim of this phase of policy development is to gain from about one hundred different culture leaders a full exposé of views on policy implications and requirements, and to provide for the same leaders an intensive experience on all aspects of the policy process in cultural affairs. A minor aim is to publish materials for general public information on problems of the arts and humanities and a wide range of ideas on how to deal with them.

The leaders will be grouped into ten ten-member panels, each working with three support and guidance personnel. Each panel would meet for two days and address itself mostly to special parts of the Policy Panels Syllabus. A first wave of five panels can meet in the first half of 1978, the second wave of five panels in the second half of 1978. The product of the panels will be accumulated and passed along as resource material for succeeding panels. The panels can be described as follows:

SHORT NAME	DESCRIPTION	LOCATION OF MEETING
1. Leaders I	Government Leaders responsible for culture policy: 4 congressional; 2 Executive Office of President; Heads: NEA, NEH, 2 additional (? , Smithsonian; Interior...). <u>Aim:</u> To set forth what government should do and may be able to do in next ten years. <u>Product:</u> Transcript (subject to individual revision); Summary and abstracted materials; guidelines (ranging from consensus to individual opinions).	Washington, April 1-2, 1978
2. Young Producers	Achievers under-30 in arts and humanities to react to what Leaders have said, to assert their experiences and aspirations. <u>Product:</u> Transcript; summary and abstracts; proposed amendments to leader policy ideas.	New York City April 8-9, 1978
3. Philosophers	Ten distinguished philosophers, religious leaders to evaluate preceding materials and continue the chain of thought and accumulation.	New Orleans April 15-16, 1978
4. Auxiliaries	Two patrons of culture; two promoters; 2 managers; 2 publishers; 2 "art business" leaders. Same procedures. <u>Aim:</u> Systematize relations between "business" policy and government policy.	Chicago April 22-23, 1978

SHORT NAME	DESCRIPTION	LOCATION OF MEETING
5. Officials	Three executives or planners of NEA; 3 NEH; 1 Interior; 1 State Executive; 1 city. <u>Aim</u> : Examine the tools of policy.	Washington April 29-30, 1978
6. Foreigners	Under UNESCO auspices, examine same procedures (but informally) from major culture-support countries; including East Europe, on government-culture producer relations. How is U.S. Culture perceived; where can U.S. be "bigger and better"?*	Paris July 8-9, 1978
7. Publicists	Center for Study of Democratic Institutions invited to compose a panel of educators, critics, and writers on "the culture industry". Persons such as Ashmore, Hoffler, Illich. <u>Aim</u> : Widen the discussion, seek out the sharpest criticism. Same procedure as #2-5.	Santa Barbara, Calif. Sept. 16-17, 1978
8. Old Producers	Achievers over 50 in the arts and humanities; poor and rich. What accounts for artistic success and market success? What can government do? <u>Aim</u> : Policy amendments in light of long experience.	Charleston, S.C. Sept. 23-4, 1978
9. Policy Designers	Officials and attorneys practiced in legal drafting. Review all existing relevant laws. <u>Aim</u> : To standardize legal language of culture legislation; to eliminate contradictions and restate the main policy statements coming out of the earlier panels.	Washington Sept. 30-October 1, 1978
10. Leaders II	Membership same as (1). <u>Aim</u> : To consider what has been felt and proposed in the history of the panels. To alter provisions and conditions of their early examination and thought.	Washington October 21-22, 1978

\*Congress specified the culture-area as one of the major instruments of American leadership abroad in PL 209 (1965).

Policy Panels Budget (March 1-Nov. 30, 1978)

Staff (9 months)

Director (1/3-time)	\$10,000	
Associate	18,000	
1 Secretary-assistant	<u>10,000</u>	\$ 38,000
Travel Expenses		18,000
Honoraria (60 at \$250)		15,000
Conference facilities and participant costs		12,000
Administrative office and associated expenses		5,000
Transcripts, reproduction		6,000
Publication of Book by University Press for use by Conference and public.		<u>5,000</u>
		<u>\$ 99,000</u>

If the project is handled by  
a university or other institutional  
contract or grant, an additional  
50% of \$38,000 payroll should be added . . . . 19,000

\$118,000

## PHASE V

Americans' Culture Activity

As part of the development of federal policy in the culture-support area, it is essential to know what cultural activities engage the 200 million American people. The best way to discover this, to describe it in full detail, and to make the details available for generalization into public policy is by interviewing a scientifically selected cross-section of the American people along standardized lines of a scrupulously prepared questionnaire that is expertly administered. The end results will be (a) an informed public policy, (b) a large body of cheaply and continuously accessible data for federal administrators, (c) and the same for many social scientists, educators, businessmen, writers, and students of American life. The inventory can be used on behalf of "a", "an informed public policy" by assisting the policy panels process to some degree, by providing material to the appropriate congressional committees and the Executive Offices, and by providing background material for the White House Conference of 1979. The data bank and its programmed capabilities can be held by the organization conducting the survey and made available to all concerned administrators on all levels of government and to scholars of all disciplines. Many facets of American culture can be illuminated by the survey.

It will provide an accurate knowledge of the interests, skills, activities, and aspirations of practically every segment of the American population. Every major art and literary form will be placed in its cultural context--income, place of residence, age, sex, ethnic and regional origins, occupation, group affiliations, schooling, and life style. What the population gives to and receives from the arts and humanities can be displayed. What different numbers and kinds of Americans believe to hinder their artistic and intellectual development and what they think may help them can be approximated. An artistic, intellectual, and cultural portrait of the people can be expected to emerge. Nothing in these areas has ever been done; yet the technical capabilities are fully practical. The present moment is appropriate to achieve this revolutionary approach to policy-making because of the exemplary collaboration of congressional leaders, the Executive Offices and the agency heads that is being experienced on culture policy-making.

## Budget (1 April 1978 - 31 January 1979)

(Low extreme)\*

	<u>Low</u>	<u>High</u>
Planning, design, and direction		
Director, 1/3 time	\$11,000	\$11,000
Survey Management and Field Work (from 1500-2000 respondents)	50,000	200,000
Communications and travel	3,000	3,000
Overhead (50% of personnel)*	5,500	5,500
Policy Report production and publishing of general report	6,500	6,500
	<u>\$76,000</u>	<u>\$226,000</u>

---

\*New York University would contract with the survey organization for the management and field work. The "Low extreme" budget would provide a minimum feasible return. The "High Budget" would be possible if outside agency and foundation grants were obtainable (N.S.F., Ford Foundation, Carnegie Corp., and Rockefeller Bros. Fund are among possible sources). Heavy academic and scientific backing of the project can be expected.

## TOTAL COSTS OF PLAN

Phase	I.	(completed)
Phase	II.	\$ 5,000.00
Phase	III.	28,000.00
Phase	IV.	118,000.00
Phase	V.	<u>76,000.00</u>
	Total	<u><u>\$227,000.00</u></u>

## HYPOTHETICAL EXAMPLE OF SHARED FINANCING

All or part of costs would be eligible for funding as scientific and cultural grants through various governmental agencies and independent foundations. In addition, all or part of costs would be eligible for funding as expenses through other government agencies.

NEH	3,000	\$ 5,000	Syllabus and Planning
NEA	2,000		
Executive Office		28,000	<u>Government Culture Support Inventory</u>
Private Foundation		42,000	<u>Policy Panels</u> (public report)
Private Foundation		50,000	<u>American People's Culture Profile</u> (maximum \$150,000 with NSF sharing)
NEH	15,000	30,000	<u>Policy Panels</u> (government policy report)
NEA	15,000		
Federal Council		32,000	Legislative Research and Preparation for White House Conference
Congress	20,000	40,000	
Executive Office	20,000		
		<u><u>\$227,000</u></u>	

Low-Cost, Alternative "A"

An alternative would cut out the government support inventory and combine The Policy Panel and People's Culture Profile into a Selected Interview system. The Revised and Enlarged Syllabus would be used as the basis for an interview (1/2 day) of 300 persons: 30 State and local politicians; 30 culture-activist businessmen and 20 other businessmen; 160 (80 pairs) of artists and intelligentsia; and 60 others (workers, farmers, homemakers). They would come from all regions of the country. A rich in-depth (but not fully representative) range of experience and opinions of every relevant type of person--professional and citizen--would emerge. Result would be a Policy Resource Compendium, a volume of 600 pages of selections, general description, and tables. Total costs: \$76,000, as follows:

\$14,000	1/3 time supervisor
28,000	2 full-time research associates, 8 months
14,000	2 full-time secretaries, 8 months
8,000	Travel and per diems
12,000	Overhead

Total cost of Phases II through V would then be:

II.	Syllabus (Revised and Enlarged)	\$5,000
III.	Government-Culture-Support Inventory (cancelled)	--
IV.	<u>Policy Panels</u>	Selected Interviews
V.	<u>People's Culture Profile</u>	Syllabus
		<u>76,000</u>
		<u>\$81,000</u>

Alternative "A" thus costs less:  $\$227,000 - 81,000 = \$146,000$  less. This is the lowest systematic project cost. The next step is personal policy research.

Lowest-Cost, Alternative "B"

Here the chosen Consultant prepares answers to the revised and enlarged syllabus on the basis of the existing literature and some informal interviews, with a panel of critical readers. Result: A Guide to Policy Considerations in Federal Culture Support. Total costs: 10 months, \$32,000.  $\$227,000 - 32,000 = \$195,000$  less.

Costs include: Contractor-Supervisor (10 months, 1/2 time)...\$18,000  
 Research Assistant..... 6,000  
 Travel, overhead (and all other)..... 8,000