

THE PROCESS OF POLITICS:
A STUDY OF THE POLITICAL PROCESS
LEADING TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE
MINNESOTA CENTER FOR ARTS EDUCATION

A DISSERTATION
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA
BY
JAMES DOUGLAS HAINLEN

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DR. NEAL NICKERSON, ADVISER

SEPTEMBER 2009

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author wishes to thank people who generously contributed to the research design, writing, and completion of this thesis:

Professor Neal Nickerson, my advisor for the completion of this thesis, was unfailing kind and supportive in bringing this project to a conclusion. I would particularly like to thank him for supporting my request to re-enter the Department of Educational Policy and Administration;

Professors Arthur Harkins, Byron Schneider, and Darwin Hendel, for reading and offering helpful suggestions;

The 27 informants who willingly shared their first-hand knowledge of the details of this investigation;

My wife, Linda, and sons, Jeffrey and Steven, for allowing me to work on doctoral studies while also being husband and father.

The research and writing of this thesis was divided into two time periods with an intervening period of personal medical issues, and I would like to thank Dr. Charles Sederberg and Dr. Tim Mazzoni for guiding the initial conceptual design, research, and writing.

ABSTRACT

THE PROCESS OF POLITICS: A STUDY OF THE POLITICAL PROCESS LEADING TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE MINNESOTA CENTER FOR ARTS EDUCATION

The purpose of this study was to investigate the political process that resulted in the establishment of the Minnesota Center for Arts Education as a state funded educational policy option. This research identified the interest group actors who initiated the idea and the key actors who guided it through the policy arena, and analyzed the interactions of the participants from the political perspective of actors, goals, motivations, resources, strategies, arenas, critical interactions, and outcomes. This study focused on the executive and legislative arenas in Minnesota government. The study was bounded in time by the initial policy proposal set forth to the members of the Minnesota Alliance for the Arts in Education in 1976, and the final enabling legislation passed in 1989. The research methodology was a single case study with qualitative data gathered from interviews of 27 significant informants, archival sources, and the public record.

The research found that human agency and personalization of policy were key elements in the policy making process and a constant factor in the dynamic interaction between Governor Perpich and state legislators. The concept of a state financed arts high school originated outside the K-12 policy subsystems and gained crucial support when the Governor attached himself and the resources of his position to the idea in 1984. The findings are significant for proponents of educational reform who believe that education policy options ought to be enacted on the merits of the idea and underestimate the importance of the complex interplay of human behavior: power, motivation, advocacy, executive leadership, and political strategy. This research concluded that the legislation for the Minnesota Center for Arts Education was enacted because of the effective use of resources controlled by the Governor and his staff, and a pragmatic understanding and implementation of political strategies during critical interactions in the legislative arena.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study was to investigate and analyze the political process that resulted in the establishment of the Minnesota Center for Arts Education as an alternative in Minnesota public educational options (Minnesota Statutes: 129C.10 Center for Arts Education, 1985, June 21). This research examined how the educational idea was initiated, evolved over time, gained attention in the executive and legislative arenas, was influenced by political negotiations, and officially implemented with fiscal resources. This investigation provided a view of a complex process that changed an established reality by the use of power, personal influence, legislative strategy, and maneuvering in the political arena.

The policy alternative of a state-supported residential high school for students in the fine arts was a multifaceted issue with great uncertainty about the positive and negative outcomes. There were multiple perspectives about the need for an arts high school in Minnesota that arose in the public, educational, and legislative arenas. Strident positions were articulated about a separate school to serve artistic students in contrast to increased resources directed to arts programs in all schools. Public pronouncements made by some legislators were highly partisan, even surprisingly immature at times. Other legislators remained more detached and astutely used the issue for political gain and patronage in their legislative districts. Some opponents of the issue acknowledged that the idea of a state sponsored arts high school had educational merit but held that it was not an appropriate institutional response. Other opponents articulated deeply held family and community values that resonated statewide with many people who opposed building an arts high school. A diverse group of arts advocates enthusiastically embraced the arts high school alternative and developed the concept through public hearings, foundation support and interest group

promotion that drove the policy debate for several years in the interest group arena before it emerged in the state policy arena.

The policy option of a state supported arts high school first developed in the unofficial policy arena in 1976. It was elevated to the official policy arena in 1984 by Governor Perpich and remained on the legislative agenda for six years. The policy conflict resulted in continued focused actions by the Governor, key legislators, lobbyists, aides, state agency staff, arts advocates, teacher's unions, and the media. People who find the development of policy making interesting will find the study of the Minnesota Center for Arts Education a compelling story of the circuitous route a simply stated, but contentious educational policy initiative can take on its way to becoming law.

Background of the Study

Many students who excelled in the fine arts (music, dance, literary arts, visual arts, and theater), did not have the opportunity to refine their artistic skills and achieve their career goals within the public schools, according to the Minnesota Department of Education Task Force Report (1984, p. 8). Consequently, these students made educational choices that took them out of public schools, and instead they enrolled in music conservatories, dance studios, writing schools, and theater schools away from their local school districts or out of the state. During the 1970s William L. Jones, Music Director of Greater Twin Youth Symphonies, observed that many of the finest student musicians in the state were leaving Minnesota to enroll in advanced music schools in other states. These schools included among others: Interlochen Arts Academy in Michigan, and North Carolina School for the Performing Arts. Because of his personal knowledge and experience at the publicly funded North Carolina School for the Arts, Jones envisioned a similar arts high school in Minnesota. This school would have the advanced arts curriculum, necessary facilities, and outstanding faculty to prepare students for careers in the fine arts, while keeping them in Minnesota. Jones, under the joint auspices of Greater Twin Cities Youth Symphonies and the Minnesota Alliance for the Arts in Education,

received a Northwest Area Foundation grant in December of 1978 to study the feasibility of an arts high school in Minnesota. The idea was developed into a policy proposal by a broad range of energetic arts leaders, and was initially presented to Minnesota Governor Al Quie in 1980. However, Minnesota was facing a severe budget deficit at that time and the proposal did not advance past the informational stage into the official policy arena.

The policy proposal emerged a second time, three years later, when it was presented to the next Governor of Minnesota, Rudy Perpich, in the summer of 1983. He attached himself to the idea and set up a Governor's "Commission on the Arts," that among other state sponsored arts initiatives, studied the policy option of an arts high school. During January 1984, William L. Jones had a breakfast meeting with Governor Perpich at the official residence, and presented the extensive recommendations that had been developed from 1976 to 1980 on a Minnesota Arts High School. Governor Perpich considered the merits of the idea without any further known public debate or policy discussions. He then surprised both his staff and arts advocates when he summoned them to the state capitol and held a hastily called press conference on 1984, February 3, where he officially announced that an Arts High School would be a significant part of the legislative goals for his administration. The Governor immediately named a 15 member "School of the Arts Task Force" and officially empowered them to study the pre-existing Arts High School proposal and develop a comprehensive policy initiative to bring forward to the 1985 Legislature.

The subsequent policy conflict engaged many individuals and interest groups on multiple levels of policy making and political action. Charges of elitism that favored a few students and lack of available arts educational resources for all students frequently dominated the discourse. One Republican legislator thought that the idea of an arts high school was so outlandish that he labeled Governor Perpich, "Governor Goofy," and printed up lapel buttons with that phrase for opponents to wear on the floor of the legislature (Legislator, interview, 1997, November 2). Another legislator asserted in the press, that this was one of Perpich's "silliest ideas." Many people, including the Police Chief of Minneapolis, Tony Bouza, expressed concern that adolescents' moral values would be corrupted and their safety threatened if students

left their families and local communities to live in Minneapolis or St. Paul. School administrators and teachers opined about the loss of the best arts students from local public school art programs. Out-state legislators and newspapers decried that, yet again, the metropolitan area of Minneapolis and St. Paul would be selected as the site for a public building project and that resources and jobs would not reach rural areas. Finally, opponents and the media framed the debate as metaphorically equating the Arts High School with the then current movie and television series, *Fame*. This symbolic pairing of an educational policy proposal and cinematic fantasy generated sarcastic editorial cartoons in the newspapers and negative responses in the general public that challenged the proponents to separate the policy initiative from the illusions of pop culture.

The media reported on the conflict with editors vacillating between supporting and opposing the Arts High School. The competing local newspapers, the Minneapolis Star Tribune and St. Paul Pioneer Press and Dispatch¹ vigorously joined the debate during the 1987 session when it looked like there would be a major architecturally designed building with the accompanying local economic benefits. Bruising political battles cost some people, who opposed the arts school, their jobs at the Department of Education (Agency staff, interview, 1997, November 4). Successful passage of the legislation resulted in new positions in state government for some legislative supporters: including judgeships and commissioner level appointments (Agency staff, interview, 1987, December 2). Perpich let it be known, following the final passage of the bill that the school cost in the range of \$50 million in patronage to secure the votes of hesitant legislators (Perpich associate, interview, 1997, December 26). State policy insiders stated that the patronage included an “Arts High School Interstate Highway 94 rest stop,” built near a northern city to secure that representative’s vote (Agency staff, interview, 1997, December 2). Various bridge projects and at least one college building were reportedly built in response to intense bargaining for votes. By the time the Minnesota Center for Arts Education became a reality in 1989, it had gone through so many iterations that it had been nicknamed the

¹ The two newspapers each changed to one edition during the 1980s. They are referenced in this thesis as the Minneapolis Star Tribune and the St. Paul Pioneer Press and Dispatch.

“Phoenix School for the Arts,” “the Lazarus School” (because it kept rising from the dead), “Bingo High” (for its initial funding source), “Lola’s school” (for the governor’s wife), and “Fame High School” (for the movie and TV show).

The research into this policy conflict was initially guided by the question: how did a state-supported residential arts high school move from an idea developed by a coalition of arts interest group advocates through the political arena and into public policy in Minnesota? This issue, though simple to state, consumed thirteen years before the school opened and enrolled 135 juniors in the fall of 1989. The energy and time expended on this issue suggested a symbolic importance beyond the monetary expenditure or the number of students affected by this educational policy. The educational policy issues in this case also presaged larger policy changes to come on both a state and national level. As the research progressed, the complexity of the policy issue, the competing public values, the leadership by policy elites, and the legislative maneuvering became apparent and questions emerged that spanned the range of policy making and the political analysis of the use of power in educational policy issues.

There is no extant written comprehensive history of the founding of the Minnesota Center for Arts Education. The narrative, as related by key actors to this researcher, included many similar stories, but at other times the perceptions were ambiguous even contradictory. The archival records from official state documents and media sources provided confirmation of known public facts. But the behind the scenes recollections of non-public moments reflected both selectivity and perhaps self-interest by the participants. As with deeply personal perceptions and even private documents, different conclusions could be drawn from the same data by different people. This researcher turned to two primary conceptual frameworks in order to organize the data and investigate meaningful conclusions. These frameworks were: Easton’s Political Systems Model (Easton, 1965), and Mazzoni’s Conceptual Framework for Political Analysis of Education Issue Conflicts (Mazzoni, 1992). The blending of these two frameworks allowed the researcher to account for both the broader policy environment and the intense political conflict that developed in the political arena. The supporting literature on fine arts education and case study design

provided the basis for understanding the issue and planning the research design within a theoretical tradition.

Statement of the Problem and Initial Research Questions

Many policy alternatives have been suggested in the educational arena in the past twenty-five years: specialized schools, charter schools, vouchers, school uniforms, alternative learning centers, and same sex-schools were among the policy alternatives explored as remedies to perceived educational problems during the time period of this study. However, the concept of a state-sponsored residential arts high school as a policy alternative had not been suggested or explored in the official educational policy arena in Minnesota preceding 1984. There were limited educational options for gifted young people in the fine arts in public schools throughout the United States during the two decades before this study. Alabama, Florida, and Pennsylvania had state arts high schools before 1976. Two states had arts high schools that defined their service area as nation-wide; North Carolina School of the Arts and Interlochen Arts Academy in Michigan. Cities and local school districts had promoted magnet arts high schools as a response to desegregation initiatives to serve students within their boundary area. In a 1980 summary, the first of its kind, by the United States Department of Education there were forty-three cities across the country with arts magnet schools and six county or parish magnet arts schools (memo to William L. Jones, from the Arts Education Coordinator for the United States Department of Education, Lonna Jones, dated 1980 in the Greater Twin Cities Youth Symphonies archives). One city arts high school had special status because of its longevity, location, and reputation. The New York City High School of Music and Art was well known throughout the national arts community for training musicians and dancers from the five boroughs of New York City and was known by the public because it served as the model arts school for the popular movie, *Fame*.

There have traditionally been private arts opportunities such as music schools, private teachers, youth symphonies, ballet schools, dance academies, children's theater groups, and visual arts studios in large and small cities all over the country.

There was no existing systematic nationwide directory of the schools because of the transitory nature of these schools with respect to longevity and stable funding. Additionally, there has existed for many years, highly selective opportunities for talented students in the performing arts to associate themselves with prestigious conservatories and universities by enrolling to study with professors as private mentors in pre-collegiate programs. All of these options were known and discussed by the early advocates of an arts high school in Minnesota (Arts advocate interview, 1997, October 26)

The policy alternative of an arts high school did not initially materialize on the official policy agenda, ready to be written as a bill, and voted upon by legislators. Rather, it emerged over time from an inauspicious beginning and developed slowly through statewide conferences and advocacy from interest group leaders and unofficial policy advocates. The key moment occurred when Governor Perpich endorsed the arts high school proposal and placed it on the official policy agenda. The enabling legislation faced numerous challenges over the course of three successive legislative sessions: 1985, 1987, and 1989, before the final legislation was enacted with fiscal resources for building rental, curriculum development, and staff.

This research focused narrowly on the context of the policy alternative, the multiple influences on the policy development and the political actions in the executive and legislative arenas that brought the arts high school into existence. The investigation sought explanations as to how the participants interacted to advance their ideas and deny access to other peoples' ideas in the political arena. These questions had not been systematically studied and publicly reported in the context of the Minnesota Center for Arts Education. The data gathering process was defined with four broad questions. All major questions had associated sub-questions to elicit informant responses consistent with the conceptual frameworks selected for this investigation. The final question was an open-ended question that allowed informants to convey any relevant information that was not directly solicited by the researcher. The major questions and sub-questions that guided this research were:

1. What was the chronology of events leading up to the establishment of the Minnesota Center for Arts Education?
 - a. Who were the major participants in establishing the arts high school?
 - b. How were they involved in the issue conflict?
 - c. Where was the conflict played out?
 - d. When and why did the issue of an arts high school generate conflict?
2. What were the political dimensions of the conflict?
 - a. Where did the initial idea for the arts high school come from?
 - b. What did the participants seek to accomplish?
 - c. How did the policy dimensions emerge following the initial idea?
 - d. What were the major issues and conflicts that arose during the policy debate?
 - e. In what political arenas were the policy issues debated and how were the issues resolved?
 - f. What resources; personal and political, were brought to bear on the policy participants?
 - g. How willing were participants to use their resources to exert influence on the policy conflict?
 - h. What strategies were employed to build support for the policy positions?
 - i. How were the setting and the context defined in the decision making process to implement the legislation?
 - j. What were the key decisions, critical moments and miscalculations of the participants that influenced the outcome?
3. What was symbolically important about having a public arts high school in Minnesota?
4. Is there anything else that you would like to share with this researcher about this case study that has not been asked?

Overview of Study Design

The methodology used for this research was single case study, which allowed the researcher to concentrate on a limited number of interviews, but dig deep to reveal the many rich layers of data (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Becker (1968) stated the rationale for case study, when he asserted that the case study method is useful to arrive at a comprehensive understanding of the group under study and to develop general theoretical statements about regularities in structure and process. Case study research also seeks “well grounded...explanations of processes” (Miles & Huberman, 1994) that answers the “why,” “what,” and “how” questions. When the significant participants in the process were interviewed in depth, it allowed the researcher to

generate explanations as to why the issue surfaced, why it was contentious, what was at stake, what strategies were employed, and how the process and participants influenced the outcomes.

Qualitative methodology was appropriate in this research for the reason that the events to be studied occurred in the past and the qualitative data preserved a chronological flow of events. The data was comprised of informant interviews, archival records, and media reports, which allowed the events to be examined with an eye toward meaningful explanations for cause and effect (Miles & Huberman, 1994). In addition, the data had the elusive quality of “undeniability” because almost all of the key actors talked with the researcher and explained the events from their perspective. Much of the history of the Minnesota Center for Arts Education was contained in narratives that people remembered and retold to the researcher during the interviews. The essential content of this information was not in numbers; rather, it was the vivid story itself that potentially offered insights for policymakers and future researchers (Miles & Huberman, 1994).

The decision process that resulted in the establishment of the Minnesota Center for Arts Education was traced through twenty-seven structured interviews of major participants that were taped and transcribed. Official records from Governor Perpich’s tenure were studied in the archives at the Minnesota Historical Society. History of official legislative actions and committee hearings were analyzed in the archives of the Minnesota Legislative Library. Founding documents of the Minnesota Center for Arts Education; including board notes, committee deliberations, and recommendations of the Governor’s Task Force were studied in the archives at the Minnesota Center for Arts Education. Documents pertaining to the initial idea; including letters, grant applications, committee meeting minutes, and summaries of public meetings were researched in the archives of Greater Twin Cities Youth Symphonies. The public record was systematically reviewed in the two major Minnesota daily newspapers, the St. Paul Pioneer Press and Dispatch and the Minneapolis Star Tribune. Associated Press articles and original stories about the Minnesota Center for Arts Education were analyzed in thirty-two newspapers from

around Minnesota. Secondary sources were used for literature review and general background knowledge.

Definition of Terms

Several important terms in this research were drawn from common discourse but were used with specific political theory or policy making connotations.

Arena: The context for the conflict. The arena included individual roles and institutional roles, decision sites, and rules of the game which constrained action, routines, and environmental forces. The arena was more than a location; it established legitimacy of participants, mediated the strategies, encouraged, and discouraged means of reaching agreement (Mazzoni, 1991, 1992; Kiser and Ostrom 1982).

Arts High School: The Minnesota Arts High School had multiple names during the issue conflict. These names included; Minnesota High School for the Arts, High School for the Arts, Arts High School, Minnesota School and Resource Center for the Arts, and Minnesota Center for Arts Education. This researcher used the generic term; arts high school (lower case), when referring to the general concept of an arts school in the state or nation and Arts High School when referencing the Minnesota Arts High School. The title for the school inside quotation marks was identical to the original document. The abbreviation MCAE refers to the Minnesota Center for Arts Education, the official name for the Arts High School in the final enabling legislation of 1989.

Conflict: Conflict involved the allocation of scarce resources and who gets those resources and who does not get those resources (Bolman & Deal, 1991).

File Number: House File Number, HF, a bill introduced in the House of Representatives.

Senate File Number, SF, a bill introduced in the Senate.

- Fine Arts:** The term “fine arts” referred to more than the visual arts. The terms “fine arts” and “the arts” were interchangeable in this research and referred to the five major artistic disciplines that formed the core curriculum at the Minnesota Center for Arts Education. These artistic disciplines included: visual arts, dance, music, literary arts, and drama.
- Goals:** The ends that participants sought to accomplish (Mazzoni, 1992). Goals maybe stated or inferred and embraced stakes, stands, values, attitudes, beliefs, and interests (Bolman & Deal, 1991).
- Motivations:** The will to use resources to bring power and influence to bear on the policy conflict (Mazzoni, 1992). Power was a relationship in which “one person [had] the ability to affect, modify, or in some way shape the actions of another (Cobb & Elder, 1983 in deGrieve 1995).
- Participants:** Participants was an open-ended term that included individuals, groups, factions, coalitions, stakeholders, and independent actors (Mazzoni, 1992). Key actors were participants with direct knowledge about what happened in the policy conflict (Patton, 1980). Minor actors were participants with direct knowledge about the policy conflict but were involved in the policy dispute for a limited time period or in a less significant role. Official actors differed from key actors in that they had the authority to render binding decisions on the policy issue (Easton, 1965). Proximate actors had positions near official actors but lacked the formal authority to secure binding decisions (Lindbloom in Anderson,. 1983). Unofficial actors were participants who were interested in the policy issue but lacked the formal authority to make policy. They included individuals and interest groups outside the policy system who became involved in the policy issue (Lindblom, 1968; Allison, 1971; Wilson, 1990). “Informants” was the general term used for all participants interviewed for this investigation.

- Policy making:** The dynamic process that combined the stages and “streams” of decision-making to reach an outcome (Kingdon, 1984). The spelling of policy making is ambiguous in the literature, i.e., policy-making, policymaking, and policy making. This researcher selected Kingdon’s use of two words, policy making, for this investigation.
- Political Parties:** DFL (Democratic Farmer Labor Party)
IR (Independent Republican Party)
These names and abbreviations are the specific Minnesota names for the national Democratic and Republican parties.
- Outcomes:** Results of the policy making process.
- Resources:** The assets, contacts, credits, and capabilities that actors can bring to bear on one another to alter the situation (Campbell & Mazzoni, 1972).
- Strategies:** The manner in which resources are activated: the action patterns, the moves of individuals or groups (Allison, 1971). Strategies included access, voice and exit, coalition formation, agenda setting, scope of conflict, and symbol manipulation (Truman, Hirschman, March, Schottschneider & Edelman in Mazzoni, 1992)

Limitations of Study

This study was limited in several ways: specifically, in regard to conceptual frameworks, comprehensiveness of data, methodology, and research scope. The conceptual frameworks selected for this research could be considered two out of several ways of viewing the political process (Allison, 1971). Each framework would have posed different questions based on different basic assumptions about “how things work.” Hence, differing models would give varying viewpoints as to the issue conflict involved and the policy outcomes. The use of Easton’s “Political System Model” grounded the research in a model that has longevity in political science research. The model however seemed incomplete, in that the model was vague on the processes inside the “conversion system” (Howell & Brown, 1983). This researcher

placed Mazzoni's "Conceptual Framework for Political Analysis of Education Issue Conflicts" inside Easton's conversion system to provide a blended framework for analyzing the process of politics in the arts high school policy issue.

The data were also incomplete in one notable way; Governor Rudy Perpich died before this research commenced. There were participants who could speak about his goals, use of power, motivations, and strategy, but only he could have spoken for himself, and that authentic voice was missing. The methodology of single case study has limitations for generalizability. While this case study may have policy implications that can be recognized in other settings, it is only one study of policy making and lacks the characteristic of generalizability to the broad category of policy making. Finally, the scope of the research had limits of both time and budget. This study was undertaken to complete a Doctor of Philosophy Degree in Educational Policy and Administration and the timelines for the degree influenced the extensiveness of literature review and fieldwork.

Research design is a view through a lens at a pre-selected issue. Much of the universe of possible research was excluded in the design phase. However, it was still difficult to sift all of the data from close to seven-hundred pages of informant interviews, hundreds of newspaper articles, statutes, and tape-recorded committee hearings without dealing with data overload, contradictions of fact and interpretation, and ambiguity of informant motive and selective recall. The researcher began with a structure based on the two academic frameworks and returned often to the frameworks to organize the data and clarify the avenues of inquiry. However, in the space between certainty and doubt there existed questions of authenticity, accuracy, rival interpretation, effective methodology, and procedural error. Rather than ignore this, the researcher accepted these limitations and embraced the opportunity to play a role in telling "the most interesting story – bar none" (Mazzoni's description of the Arts High School story), make a contribution to educational theory, and in a small way, make a difference for the common good of understanding educational policy making.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

People reflect on experiences in life and assemble meaning by filtering the knowledge of how human beings and events interact over time (Joy, ed., 1997; Tirrell, 1990). The search for personal meaning in life does not differ markedly from educational policy research, where an investigator assembles meaning by using established frameworks to filter the data of how people and events interact in complex issues over time. Researchers seek to construct meaning by looking at patterns, understanding historical context, identifying central explanations, analyzing alternative interpretations, and considering the implications of decisions and actions (Mazzoni, 1992; Allison & Zelikow, 1999). The search for meaning is simultaneously a personal and communal act that spans disciplines and conceptual boundaries and mirrors many of the essential questions people ask about life: what is the place of the individual within society, what is societies' obligation to the individual, how does a government best exercise authority, how does society use policy to promote educational opportunity, what actions and values are needed to support equity in the face of inequality, and why did something happen when it did? "What," "where," "when," "how," and "why" questions are attempts to connect people and events to explanations and in this way, the explanations enable us to think about causality and make cautious predictions about what might happen in the future (Allison & Zelikow, 1999). These basic questions embrace the "long tradition of political" inquiry (Easton, 1965), but in reality, are grounded in the longer tradition of human reflection on philosophy, theology, literature, and political thought from Machiavelli and Augustine to Locke and Rousseau (Strong, 1990).

Identifying an area of interest for educational policy research centers on a conflict played out over time in the educational policy arena that has implications for greater understanding of the allocation of values in society (Easton, 1965). Conflict arises because of scarcity, either real or symbolic, in the allocation of values, and competing interests enter into the political process and attempt to get some or all of

what there is to get (Lasswell, 1950) through the use of power, the art of bargaining, and the many resources and strategies that can be employed in the arena of interest. It is at this juncture that the strictly “private lens,” that was satisfactory for personal meaning, must be replaced by more detached conceptual frameworks, that can guide the collection and analysis of data so that the chronology of events and the interactions of people can be placed in meaningful and verifiable contexts. Not that complete or ultimate answers are proffered, but important questions are explored that reveal facets of meaning and suggest elements of human agency and causality (Mazzoni, 1992; Strong, 1990; Easton, 1990).

The initial conceptual decision faced in this investigation was whether to frame the research as the examination of politics or the analysis of policy making? Could the investigation be guided by an underlying assumption of equal significance between politics and policy making? Alternately, could the research be framed as an investigation of policy making with politics the subordinate, but authoritative means of allocating values? Finally, could this investigation be structured as a study of the process of politics, with policies being the outputs? These basic questions could be answered credibly all three ways but would imply different theoretical presuppositions that would shape the “conception of reality” (Easton, 1990, p. 129) and the conclusions. This researcher ultimately framed the guiding questions based on the review of related scholarly literature in policy making, politics, fine arts education, and qualitative case study.

Review of Literature on Policy Making

The review of policy making will consider four theories that were relevant to this investigation. Because the literature is vast in this area, and several comprehensive reviews have been written, (See deGive, 1995; Anderson, 1983) the focus of this review was to explicate what was useful in this research not what is extant. The literature of policy making has varied definitions and numerous perspectives on the basic question: what is policy? Malen and McLeese offered a distillation of ideas that defined policy as a purposeful “course of action, officially

adopted by a designated set of governmental and organizational actors who have the formal authority to make binding decisions.” They further asserted that policy making is “a solution to a problem, a product of power, and an allocation of values” (Malen & McLeese, 1992, p. 10). This definition offered seven supporting principles for understanding policy making:

1. Purposeful course of action
2. Officially adopted by governmental and organizational actors
3. Formal authority
4. Binding decisions
5. A solution to a problem
6. Power to implement
7. Authoritative allocation of values.

The overview of policy making that has guided much scholarly thinking arose from Graham Allison’s seminal work, Essence of Decision (1971). This analytical book considered the Cuban missile crisis and concluded that valuable insights could be gained by viewing the policy process through different conceptual lenses. Allison recognized the “elusiveness of policymaking” (Malen & Knapp’s term 1994, p. 1) and emphasized the difficulty of conceptualizing a single analytical model that accurately traced the essence of decision making in complex circumstances with multiple participants and conflicting goals. Allison was an early voice that began the movement toward more broadly based models, capable of recognizing, if not entirely accounting for the ambiguous process of allocating values, and making authoritative decisions regarding goals and actions in the real world. Building on Allison’s lead, an understanding of several policy making models, defined the conceptual boundaries for this research.

Rational Perspective on Policy Making

The rational perspective represents the view that policy making aims at solving identifiable problems with “value-maximizing choices” (Malen & Knapp, 1994, p. 7). These choices are made by people in positions of authority who, it is assumed, have extensive information about options available, the ability to make the decisions, and the time to follow the process in the course of coming to a decision (Allison, 1971).

The model presumes that rational policy making responds to demands made of governmental units through a series of steps that are comprehensive in diagnosis, thorough in considering options, capable in implementation, and thoughtful in evaluation of outcomes. The rational perspective further assumes that identified problems are solvable with policy solutions that are instituted with rules, regulations, resources, sanctions, and admonitions (Malen & Knapp, 1994). The rational perspective model has been the dominant model for several decades in “economics, policy analysis, and political science” (McDonnell in Furhman et al., 2007, p. 25).

The limitations of the rational perspective model are outlined by Lindblom (1980) and McDonnell (in Furhman et al., 2007). Lindblom claimed that this model did not explain how conflicts of values and interests were resolved, how problems were defined as part of a policy agenda, or how policy actors exerted control, influence, and power over each other (Lindblom, 1980). These limits of process flawed the model for Lindblom. McDonnell concurred that the conflict of values, specifically in education policy analysis, are not adequately dealt with in the rational perspective model, due to the fact that a large component of educational policy making deals with the deep philosophical and ideological differences over what is appropriate education. McDonnell believed that policy solutions that involve rules, regulations, and admonitions may not adequately consider the conflicting ontology of values in emotionally charged policy conflicts (McDonnell in Furhman et al., 2007). Finally, the rational perspective does not adequately account for the serendipity of thoughts and actions by people who react to other people and events in unpredictable and non-rational ways. First, people do not necessarily follow a rational paradigm in the search for “value-maximizing choices” that arise as conflicts in the policy arena. Secondly, the rational perspective minimizes the importance of ideas for the public good and that people are capable of transcending “self-interest” to seek policy outcomes for the common good (McDonnell in Furhman et al., 2007, p. 25). Rational perspective policy analysis assumes as a basic tenet, a “rational” explanation to policy problems that can rarely be matched in the complexities of reality. These limitations do not invalidate the model but argue for a more “relaxed” (Malen & Knapp, 1994)

conceptualization and application in policy analysis, particularly education policy analysis.

Organizational Perspective on Policy Making

The organizational perspective places the organization at the center of policy making; it considers the primacy of the values within the organization, the structures, routines, habits, and continuity of existence in response to its environment. The stability and longevity of the organization is dependent on efficient and effective responses to demands from external sources. The structures and routines that guide this framework coalesce into patterns that over time, secure the longevity of the organization (Allison, 1971). The policy making continuum begins with a response to an issue that causes a disturbance. This issue is analyzed for patterns that make it amenable to previous organizational solutions or extrapolations of existing solutions. The organizational analysis proceeds with the assumption that the outcomes will be incrementally, but not radically different than previous solutions. The similarity of response is an institutionally effective response but limits the organization in framing the problem and generating solutions out of the norm (deGivè, 1995).

Political Perspective on Policy Making

The political perspective on policy making views the policy arena not as a rational setting, nor as constricted by organizational norms, but rather as the application of power and influence of actors upon other actors (Allison, 1971; Campbell & Mazzoni, 1976; Malen & McLeese, 1992). Policy decisions are viewed as the allocation of values and scarce resources, which can be real or symbolic. The issue conflict is engaged by oppositional players who implement specific strategies to get as much of what there is to get (Lasswell, 1950) to achieve their goals. This analysis of policy making suggests that important issues are rarely solved once and for all. The authoritative allocation of values is a temporary solution that legitimizes the process, the institutions, and the immediate outcomes, but maintains the possibility that the next decision process will respond differently to a new set of

actors and an altered context. The policy making outcomes are neither viewed as rational, or as focused on organizational survival.

Political analysis of policy making views the process as beginning with an issue or interest that emerges from the general environment of policy considerations. The issue transgresses a crucial moment when it is elevated to the official policy agenda (Kingdon, 1984). Goals are elucidated and alternative solutions are advanced and debated in the political arena. The interactions of the participants effectively shape the final outcome of the policy decisions. The outcome is likely to mirror the gradations of power that the participants hold in the policy arena and not necessarily a rational or organizational allocation of values (Allison, 1971; Bolman & Deal, 1984; Malen & McLeese, 1992).

Advocacy Coalition Perspective on Policy Making

Sabatier (1988) articulated a conceptual approach to policy making that viewed policy making as the result of three interrelated factors:

1. The interaction of competing advocacy coalitions within a policy subsystem or community
2. Changes external to the subsystem in socio-economic conditions, system-wide governing coalitions, and decisions from other policy subsystems
3. The affects of stable system parameters, such as basic social structure and constitutional rules on policy making.

This framework contributed an important concept to policy theory by extending the boundaries of more traditional policy making frameworks from insiders to interest group coalitions. Sabatier's advocacy coalitions are made up of competing actors formed from a broad spectrum of the political landscape and not limited to the usual small group of policy actors who held official status and controlled access to the policy system, the so called "iron triangle" (Mazzoni, 1991). Private actors and interest group participants are able to penetrate the policy system in the advocacy coalition perspective and interact with official actors at all levels of government with the belief that they can change existing policy. However, competing coalitions are both united and constrained by a shared set of beliefs, and organize themselves within

those “stable parameters” to influence the rules and achieve their goals over time. These beliefs include the idea that conflict is mediated not by the participants themselves, but by “policy brokers,” who are versed in the formal rules and who have a high concern with the stability of the system. One of the primary tasks of the advocacy coalition is to learn the rules of the game and maintain active engagement with the policy system over a period of time to present their policy goals (Sabatier, 1991, p. 153). The intriguing and subtle distinction that Sabatier made with the advocacy coalition perspective was the inherent agency of powerful “subsystems” that are entrenched within the policy system yet allow coalitions access to the system. These subsystems understand the official and explicit rules of policy making along with the equally important implicit and unspoken rules that the competing coalitions must learn and operate within, if they want to advance their policy choices. New ideas can emerge and advocacy coalitions can have direct access to policy makers, but to advance in the policy making process the competing coalitions must interact with subsystem actors within stable rules and procedures. This framework accounts for the more unexpected policy proposals that arise from interest groups and advocacy groups that coalesce around perceived important policy issues. The policy system entertains these proposals but on their terms, not the unlimited terms of the coalitions.

Formal and Informal Policies

Easton made a subtle and useful distinction for public policy scholars, between the formal policies adopted by official policy actors and the informal policies or “associated outputs,” of which any specific goal or action might be a partial expression (Easton, 1965). The formal policies are adopted after official debate and implemented in political settings within policy arenas (Mazzoni, 1991). The informal policies or “associated outputs,” are policy statements, explanations, or information designed to persuade within the wider public arena. The formal and informal are linked in the policy issue conflict to influence the outcome. Both “formal policies” and “associated outputs” are authoritative allocations of resources and values, and

seek to control, regulate, stabilize, and solve conflict issues and problems in society (Easton, 1965).

The process of policy making is highly relevant to the outcomes of policy making. Kingdon (1984, p. 3) outlines the process in four steps: 1. Setting the agenda, 2. Specification of alternatives from which a choice is to be made, 3. An authoritative choice among those specified alternatives, and 4. Implementation of the decision. To concentrate only on the outputs or products of policy making, is to obviate the vital nature of the process and human agency, that is, the events that happen which drive or obstruct the allocation of values and the choices that people make during the process. Allison articulated the concept that the framework under which the data is classified and analyzed reveals an *a priori* “substructure” that has significant consequences for the content of thought and understanding the process (Allison, 1971). The analysis of policy conflicts that proceeds from consistently similar assumptions end up categorizing problems in the same way, and selects comparable data that is likely to show regularity and predictability in insight and conclusion. The overarching questions of inquiry, the examination of the process, the value of causal explanations, and the predictive worth of the analysis, are thus constrained by the analytical lens. The value of the conceptual framework is in directing the research toward significant data and not predicting the value of the data or the course of the research (Lasswell & Kaplan, 1950, p. xiii in Malen, 1983). The framework that provided a basis for the data collection and directed the course of this research was Easton’s Systems Framework. This provided both a theoretical tool and a framework that has been front and center for much policy research. It is a framework that encourages the researcher to look not just at conclusions in the discrete categories but consider the process (Kingdon), the *a priori* substructure (Allison), and the turmoil that exists at the boundary points where the data is robust, even contradictory.

Systems Perspective on Policy Making

The complexity of policy research can be intimidating and overwhelming. Each aspect of the inquiry seems relevant and worthwhile to pursue: the participants, their

goals, the unique circumstances brought to bear by competing interests, and the policy outcomes that reflect the past but also have implications for the future. The researcher can be paralyzed by data, by multiple interactions, and by concepts from competing frameworks. Meaningful observations are elusive, lost in the sheer volume of information and possible tangents of inquiry. On the opposite end, the lure of oversimplification might mean missing important insights because of too tightly controlling the breadth of the investigation. Researchers have often turned to the *systems model*, explicated by Easton (1965), for a historical framework that accounts for complexity, but allows for meaningful conclusions based on observations of relevant data within three conceptual categories; inputs, conversion system, and outputs.

Easton defined *systems* as any set of variables that help us understand and explain the interaction of human behavior and events, particularly the intersections of competing values where conflict is greatest because much is at stake. The explanations for human agency include the decisions, actions, and power of individuals, groups, institutions, and societies over time, centered on differences in values that the participants take seriously. The political system functions to induce most of the people, most of the time, to accept the authoritative allocation of values, hence to perpetuate the adaptability of the political system within the society (Easton, 1965 and 1979). Political systems seek stability and deal with scarce resource where one side wins and the other side loses but the decisions are binding because authorities have means of “reinforcing the decisions” through “norms of legitimacy, tradition, or custom” and more powerfully through laws, sanctions, and force (Easton, 1965, p. 54).

The model, as developed by Easton, has two essential elements: the environment, which is the stable historical situation that resulted from what happened in the past; that is the stasis of people, choices, institutions, and events (Easton, 1990) and the *political system*, which deals with stresses and demands, and the allocation of values going forward (Easton, 1965, p. 62). The political system is distinguishable from the environment in which it exists and yet is open to influences from the environment. The political system exists to handle scarcity which “is perhaps the

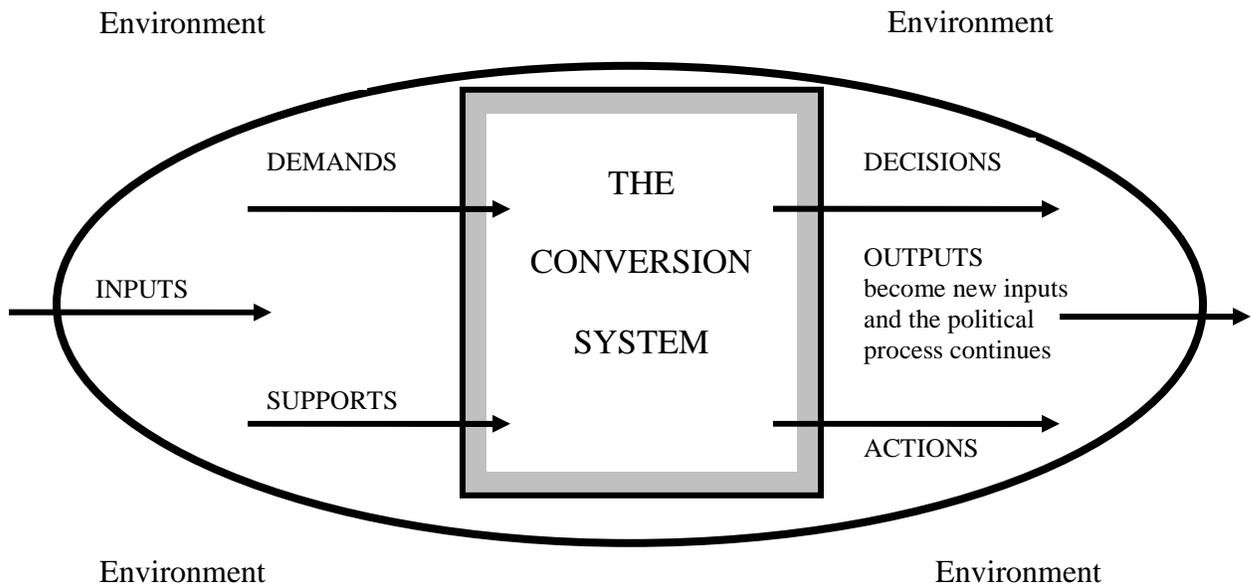
most significant phenomenon of all societies, not always in an absolute sense but in light of the expectations of the members of the society” (Easton, 1965, p. 80). Scarcity is expressed as inputs which cross the boundary from the stable environment and enter the political systems as preferences, hopes, expectations, or desires that are voiced by an interest group, a coalition, or mass media. When inputs are directed toward authorities they become demands for change. Conversely, supports bind the members to the system by “loyalty and affection” so that they seek to dissipate the stress on the system by emphasizing the legitimacy or the sense of community that exists without acceding to the demand for change (Easton, 1965, p. 125). Not every hope or expectation penetrates the political system because structures, organizations, and gatekeepers exist to mediate inputs and deal with those which are appropriate for political action.

The *conversion system* or *political system* (Easton used the words interchangeably) lies at the center of Easton’s framework and acts to change, transform, adapt, or redirect the inputs of demands and supports “in such a way that they are converted into outputs” (Easton, 1965, p. 111) that meet the demands of some (or most) of its members. Easton was vague on the specifics and vocabulary of the conversion system and rejected descriptions such as power, public policy, or decision-making, contending they were “less useful” explanations (Easton, 1965, p. 49). He deliberately chose to frame the conversion system with a broad and vague definition, contending it “is just a means whereby certain kinds of inputs are converted to outputs” (Ibid., p. 112). But, he strongly asserted that no society could survive that did not provide a political process through which authoritative allocations could be made (Ibid., p. 53). The conversion process, though lacking descriptors, is viewed as a dynamic process because conflicting values are presented for adoption and are debated and accepted or discarded. When the values are allocated as outputs there are winners and losers. The outputs may be tangible or symbolic, but they are both important to the participants because they represent the allocation of scarce values. An important final concept for Easton was the feedback loop, whereby the outputs stabilized the conflict for some period of time, but inevitably the outputs

became new inputs for the political process to renew itself and cope with new or different stresses from the environment over the allocation of values.

Easton's Political Systems Model can be graphically illustrated where the human and social *environment* surrounds the political system and produces the initial *stress* that requires a response to a conflict in values. *Inputs* of demands and supports are portrayed on the left and penetrate the boundaries of the system and enter the *conversion system* (political system) in the center. *Outputs* of decisions and actions are on the right and represent the binding allocation of values.

Figure 1: Political Systems Model



From A Framework for Political Analysis by Easton, D., 1965,
(Graphic depiction, Hainlen, J. 2009)

Though the systems framework provided the broad conceptual base for this investigation, it was difficult to ignore the reality that Easton's framework failed to meaningfully describe "what goes on inside the...box labeled political system [conversion system]" (Dye, 1972, p. 324, in Anderson, 1983). This problem was significant because it was challenging to make valid comparisons and observations

when a commonality of vocabulary and process was missing. The conversion system is open to multiple interpretations and leaves much for each researcher to define anew with successive applications of the model. This investigation chose to address this theoretical and practical quandary by selecting a framework that explicated the political process inside the conversion system, with conceptual clarity and consistency. The framework this researcher chose was Mazzoni's *Conceptual Framework for Political Analysis of Education Issue Conflicts* (Mazzoni, 1992). Mazzoni's framework was placed inside the conversion system of Easton's model, a framework within a framework, to offer precise vocabulary and a consistent framework for analyzing the political process. This blended framework will be introduced in the review of the literature on political analysis.

Review of the Literature on Political Analysis

School reform ideas are generated in a variety of ways; among them are policy subsystems, academic theories, popular ideas that gain currency, media pressure, coalitions, powerful elites in the legislative or executive branches, maverick sources, or as in this case study, an interest group with a specific reform they brought to the political arena. Sometimes educational interest groups view political involvement as unnecessary, because they naively hold the view, that what is "good for children" is self-evident to all and should be implemented. One outcome of this value is that political actions can be viewed as distasteful because they sully the purity of ideals surrounding children and education. McDonnell cautioned that engagement in the politics of education is necessary for three reasons, "Because it constitutes the processes and institutions through which valued societal benefits are distributed; politics gives public schooling its rationale, defines its mission, and allocates resources to accomplish that mission" (McDonnell in Furhman et al., 2007, p. 19). The difficulties facing the implementation of educational reform policies in the state political arena are daunting. Kingdon (1984) outlined those difficulties in a general way as: How does an idea gain official attention, how are the alternatives formulated,

how does the reform emerge on the official governmental agenda, and why does an idea's time come when it does? This researcher attempted to investigate the implications of the arts school policy reform through the context of individual and societal benefits, and resource allocation while asking the questions Kingdon posed.

Making educational institutions work well by understanding the underlying political dimension is a challenge worth taking up for educational policy research (Barzelay, 1992). It is worthwhile because educational policy involves conflicting values that are played out at the local, state, and national levels. The difference in values is not trivial and often engenders debate over deeply held beliefs that involve children and the choices that parents, communities, religions, interest groups, state officials, and federal officials make, that ultimately satisfy some participants, but alienate, disappoint, even enrage other participants. Competing claims about the need for a new policy or the sufficiency of the current policies are difficult for the political system to arbitrate. The passionate cast of participants may change often as new actors enter the issue conflicts they care about and other participants age-out as their own children grow up. Some participants are inexperienced in political conflict and learn "on the go," while other players are savvy and embrace all-out political engagement to get what they want out of the political process. This case represented an outlier in educational policy research. It was not an education aid formula battle in the legislature nor was it an issue that the public school teachers or their unions were heavily invested in. It was not championed in the legislature by the school board association or the administrators association. The budgetary allocation was considered "no more than a rounding error" in the state's educational budget (Agency staff, interview, 1997, November 4) by policy participants, yet ideology, competing values, program content and curriculum, and symbolic scarcity elevated the policy conflict to the most intense political levels.

This research is an explication and interpretation of the process that led to the establishment of the Minnesota Arts High School and sought to account for and trace the meaning and dynamics of the political process that resulted in the policy output of an arts high school that gave artistically gifted students a statewide educational option. The research was grounded in an understanding of politics as the science of

governing, “dealing with the form, organization, and administration of a state” (Oxford English Dictionary, 1973). The definition of politics in this research was further informed by the assumption that politics was the use of power and influence to get some or all of what there is to get (Lasswell, 1950). Political systems are distinct from other social systems because they have as their purpose the authoritative allocation of values among members of society (Easton, 1965). The values that are allocated in a political system revolve around the basic questions of societal organization: who gets what, where, when and how (Lasswell, 1950). There is also an efficacious aspect to political behavior. Political analysis in this regard, studies and makes judgments about the effective use of political resources in handling people and events in settings so that you “influence the system in the desired direction” (French & Raven, in Natemeyer & Gilberg, 1989 p. 195). The desired direction in the allocative system of state legislative deliberations is a policy that enacts, with supporting resources, what an individual or coalition desires and chooses not to enact or support what another individual or coalition desires.

The study of politics in policy issues where participants have contested goals has a long scholarly tradition (Lasswell, 1950; Dahl, 1984; Nagel, 1975; Salancik & Pfeffer, 1977 in Natemeyer & Gilberg, 1989; Pfeffer, 1992, Allison, 1971; Bolman & Deal, 1991; Campbell & Mazzone, 1976; Kingdon, 1984). This tradition allows researchers to access analytical frameworks, to sift the data, and wrestle the disparate parts into a coherent and meaningful whole. By using orienting questions from the scholarly tradition of political research, patterns may emerge that help “unravel the processes through which a political system is able to cope with the various stresses imposed upon it” (Easton, 1965, p. 24). The first section of this review considers power and influence in politics. The second section explicates Mazzone’s *Conceptual Framework for Political Analysis of Education Issue Conflicts*. Mazzone’s framework is then blended with Easton’s Systems Framework and represented the operant framework for this research.

Power and Influence

Political analysis is inextricably tied to the understanding of power, authority and influence in organizational behavior (Luthans, 1995). There are many arenas in which to apply the concepts of power, but it is helpful in an analysis of political power focused around government, to recall that Alexander Hamilton wrestled early in the country's history with the use of power, the right to wield power, and the ethics of power in The Federalist in 1787. "A government ought to contain in itself every power requisite to the full accomplishment of the objects committed to its care, and to the complete execution of the trusts for which it is responsible; free from every other control, but a regard to the public good and to the sense of the people" (in Bryant, 1993, p. 25). Hamilton's pre-constitutional ideas on power contain much that is relevant in the investigation of the political process: authority of government, engaged participants, power and responsibility, goals for the public good, motivation, and ethical behavior and outcomes.

Political theory has yet to produce a universally accepted definition of power across the relevant disciplines of organizational behavior, political science, sociology, and educational policy (Geary, 1992; Luthans, 1995). Rather, the tradition of power and influence scholarship has spawned multiple "conceptual landmarks" (Geary, 1992, p. 10) that are useful in guiding further analysis. Max Weber delineated a perspective on power that has been frequently quoted as an orienting point for theoretical discourse. He defined power as the "probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his own will despite resistance" (Weber, 1947, p. 152). Weber's definition alluded to the concept that power is dyadic: the user of power engages resistance to the use of power and is capable of pursuing the goals in part, because of the existence of power and influence. Rogers expanded the definition of political power from will and participant interaction to the arena where power is legitimized and applied. "Politics involves the question of where power is located, who makes the choices and decisions, who carries out or enforces those decisions, and who has the knowledge or data regarding the consequences of those decisions. It means the strategies involved in the taking of

power, the distributions of power, the holding of power, and the sharing or relinquishing of power” (Rogers, in Greening, 1984, p. 4). Rogers extended the definition in an operational way from people using power on people, to include the context of power, the locus of power, the strategies, the goals, the outcomes, and the interactions of the use of power.

Contemporary theorists build on the concept of power to emphasize the utilitarian ends, suggesting, “It [power] is the raw ability to mobilize resources to accomplish some end” (Luthans, 1995, p. 321). The emphasis rests on the positive aspects of power, the use of power to win political issues, and the use of strategy to out-think the opposition. Other organizational theorists have suggested that power is potential force or “the potential ability to influence behavior, to change the course of events, to overcome resistance, and to get people to do things that they would not otherwise do” (Pfeffer, 1992, p. 30). Because the use of power is not always benign, resistance to power raises what Geary, (1992, p. 16) labels the “sinister wing” of power. Power can suppress, power can deny, power can prevent, and power can force compliance through actual or implied threat.

Semantic clarification requires that related terms for power be discussed. The words; power, authority, and influence are rife with potential confusion. Some scholars use power and influence interchangeably (Dahl, Polsby, Goldhamer, Shils in Geary, 1992), while other scholars draw fine distinctions between power as coercive and influence as persuasive (Bierstedt in Geary, 1992). Influence for some theorists is the more informal concept, broader in application than power (Luthans, 1995). Yet other scholars designate power as focused influence (Lasswell, 1950). Luthans outlined a model that informed this investigation because of its conceptual clarity. *Authority* legitimizes and is a source of power. *Power* is the ability of an individual or group to achieve its goals as it defines them. *Influence* is less specific than power and may be used by individuals or groups (Geary, 1992 and Luthans, 1995). In sum, authoritative participants in political issues may exercise *influence* broadly, with *power* being more focused on achievement of specific goals.

Sources of power

Social psychologists French and Raven (in Natemeyer, 1989) have identified five categories or sources of power that are important distinctions. Power, as used by French and Raven, is a social interaction where one participant exerts the power and the recipient of the power reacts to the use of power. French and Raven delineated the five categories as:

1. Reward power that is based on the ability to reward others with the recipient of the power placing value on the reward
2. Coercive power is dependent on fear and the ability to inflict punishment
3. Legitimate power is based on values that accept legitimate authority embedded in role or position
4. Referent power comes from the desire of the target of the power to identify with the actor exercising the power
5. Expert power is the power of acknowledged expertise in the perception of the target of the power.

Scholars have not strictly adhered to the enumeration by French and Raven. Pfeffer (1981) and Etzioni (1961) recognized another source of power that extends into the symbolic realm. Symbolic rewards can and do substitute for tangible rewards in certain situations and are legitimate outcomes of the use of power. The use of symbolic rewards can confuse both the interaction and the analysis of the interaction because it is incrementally more difficult to understand both the identity of the symbolic reward and the sufficiency of the reward in political interactions when significant values are at stake. It is conceivable that the participants themselves are not fully aware that symbolic satisfaction can substitute for tangible outcomes in the issues conflict. Crozier (1964) analyzed another complexity in the use of power where the user of power and the target of power must exceed a hierarchical relationship to reach a mutually satisfactory position. He posited task interdependence as a source of power because the participants have a mutual dependence. Analysis of the use of power is inadequate, according to Crozier, when the assumption is automatic that more power will win out over less power. Rather, the participants can view themselves as dependent on each other and exceed the one-

dimensional outcome of winner and loser by rising above that paradigm and seeking a more nuanced conclusion. Lastly, Lasswell (1950) identified additional traits of power that reside not in the use of power but are inherent in the personality or traits of the participants. He was particularly alert to the subtle influence of physical characteristics and charisma on the outcome of power conflicts. Physical characteristics can be, in and of themselves, useful in conflicts where one participant can exert influence and gain advantage in an arena of power because of certain physical characteristics they possess. Likewise, charisma that manifests itself as the use of inherent or developed personality traits in the form of mysterious allure, charm, and ease in public, with the media, or on television, and an appeal that is in tune with the times can count for much in power conflicts. Charisma and personality traits tend to be time-bound and not all traits are equally appealing over the course of time, but for those in power whose traits line-up with what are considered appealing traits at that moment in history, they may effectively employ those traits in political conflicts.

The existence of power within the structure of an organization or the authority that resides with an individual does not necessarily account for the scope of power. French and Raven (in Natemeyer & Gilberg, 1989, p. 203) extended their classification of power with a model for understanding the power beyond the personal and into a more theoretical understanding. They advanced the ideas that:

- The stronger the basis of power the greater the power
- Referent power has, in general, the greatest range
- Power used outside its range tends to be reduced
- Dependence is greatest in reward and coercive power
- Coercive power increases resistance, reward power increases attraction
- More legitimate coercive power will produce less resistance

French & Raven also hypothesized that the sources of power are interrelated and that the use of power was not confined to a one-dimensional schema. The same person may move seamlessly back and forth effectively using different types of power in different circumstances.

A more recent contribution to power theory is the concept that power assists an organization in understanding and aligning itself with the realities it confronts. This theory builds on the contingency approaches to power, being in the right place at the right time, and a strategic understanding of power (Pfeffer, 1992). Salancik and Pfeffer contend that “power helps organizations become aligned with their realities” (Salancik & Pfeffer in Natemeyer & Gilberg, 1989, p. 234). They propose a framework labeled “strategic-contingencies theory of organizational power.” In this model, those units or subunits of an organization that are most able to deal with and solve the organizations “critical problems and uncertainties acquire power” (p. 234). The result of the use of this power is that the organization adapts to solve the problems or realities it faces in the environment in which it operates.

The “strategic-contingency” perspective views power as the basis in an organization for a person or subunit “to take or not take actions that are desired by others” (Salancik & Pfeffer in Natemeyer & Gilberg, 1989, p. 237). Power in this model implies both force and negotiation, because it involves a desired action by one person (for example a governor) and the ability to enforce compliance or negotiate compliance with another person or group (legislature, interest groups, and lobbyists). This paradigm recognizes the nature of the use of power in organizations where one person or group “has the capacity to do something and another person does not, but wants it done” (p. 237). In the political arena of state government this distinction is crucial in illuminating the nature of negotiation, compromise, and coalition building. The individual, who exercises power (governor), faces the reality that he or she cannot accomplish the work of government as a single individual, because of constitutional separation of powers. The legislature equally realizes it cannot accomplish the work of government without the signature of the governor on legislation. No matter how acrimonious the policy conflict, this arrangement compels the sharing of power within an organization. Individuals and subgroups within an organization share power out of necessity because no one person can control or physically accomplish all of the activities of an organization. “Because power derives from activities rather than individuals, an individual’s power is never absolute and derives ultimately from the context of the situation” (Salancik & Pfeffer in

Natemeier & Gilberg, 1989, p. 237). Personal power in this theory is dependent on the context of the larger group. Other people have the power to partially define the goals and control the outcomes of an organization, and other people have the power to “undercut the uniqueness of the individual’s personal contribution to the critical contingencies of the organization” (Salancik & Pfeffer, in Natemeier & Gilberg, 1989, p. 237). The power to define the goals of an organization is a significant power, but this model suggests a more complex definition where power revolves around “scarce and critical resources” (p. 237). The authors contend that resources can be “abundant or trivial” and still be the basis for power. It is the ability to control the allocation and the definition of what is critical that becomes the basis for power. Finally, Salancik and Pfeffer believe that uncertainty affects the use of power. When individuals within an organization have disagreements about the goals of an organization, power and institutionalized social processes will affect the outcome. Because of access to resources (money, time, personnel, information) by individuals and the need for others to access those resources, people are “more likely to defer” to those who have the power to control those resources.

The power to define the goals of an organization is a significant issue, particularly in state government (Salancik & Pfeffer, in Natemeier & Gilberg, 1989, p. 237). The power a governor can exert to define legislative goals and enact his or her legislative agenda is different from the use of power in other organizations (business, education, social organizations). The power resides partially in statute, but also in personality, in oration, in public perception, in political skill, and in party leadership. The governor according to Jewell, is “frequently the most powerful single force in the legislative process” (1969, p. 62). Jewell outlines the formal powers of the governor as: the power associated with public opinion leadership, the power inherent in legislative relationships, the power of party leadership, and the power of patronage (1969, pp 62-80). The formal powers begin with the authority to initiate legislation and report to the legislature. The governor has authority over the budget and the ability to call a special session belongs to the governor. The governor controls a negative authority in his or her ability to veto legislation. Veto authority

may be exercised during the session, or the governor can hold legislation at the end of the session for a “pocket veto.”

The power of public opinion leadership is exercised through press conferences, television appearances, radio broadcasts, and public appearances. The significance of speaking with a “single voice,” (p. 69) is contrasted with the legislative diversity of expression. Additionally, the governor generally speaks for his or her political party and can create the illusion or sustain the reality of public support around gubernatorial and party positions.

“No factor,” writes Jewell, “is more important in determining a governor’s legislative success than his relationship with the legislative leaders of his party” (p. 71). Committee assignments, floor deliberations, and legislative strategy are governed by this relationship. Proximate actors represent the governor in many of the inner workings of the legislature. They keep their eyes and ears open for the politics of the legislative process and often meet daily in caucus sessions to plan strategy, in consultation with the governor’s aides. Party leadership carries with it the ability to reward support with leadership positions, committee assignments, and visibility in party affairs. Equally important is the power of the governor to sanction legislators who challenge the leadership position of the governor.

Patronage can be a persuasive tool of power for the governor. The ability to pass out jobs and a variety of favors can sway legislators at crucial moments. The governor has constitutional authority to fill positions from judgeships, to commissioners, to task forces positions, to government leadership jobs. Political acumen implies that a governor will fill these positions with allies who support the governor’s policies rather than people who oppose them. “The dispensing of jobs offers the governor one of [the] best opportunities to influence legislators” (Jewell, 1969, p. 77). The governor not only can offer jobs, but he or she holds the power of the negative, that is, the governor can dismiss certain people for disloyalty. But patronage means more than jobs; it is the many smaller items that get added to a bill that involve money for projects. Patronage allows the governor to steer policy programs, buildings, services, and other tangible items to a legislator’s district in exchange for support for the legislative agenda of the governor. Insiders maintain an

important distinction between corruption, which puts money and services directly into the legislator's pockets, and patronage, which puts something in the legislator's home district (p. 80). The nuance of the distinction may be blurred for the public or mocked during campaigns, but the political reality is that the legislative process pairs money, timing, roads, bridges, construction projects, and a host of tangible and symbolic items with a legislator's voting record. Politics is the use of power and influence to get what there is to get and patronage, though partially hidden from public scrutiny, is the political method of allocating the rewards for cooperation and support.

This study accepted the premise that policy making was advanced in the political arena by the authoritative use of power and influence. Participants in policy making are motivated to achieve their goals and implement their ideas through the use of power, including, reward, coercive, legitimate, referent, and expert power. The power to negotiate and the power to take or not take action also informed the model. The formal and informal powers of the governor related to the legislative process were crucial to analysis of power in this research. The issue conflict takes place over scarce or critical resources that may be abundant or trivial. The participants in the conflict were highly motivated to mobilize resources to achieve their goals. The authoritative allocation of resources involved strategies by the participants to secure their goals and deny the opponents their goals. The political process assisted individuals and organizations to align themselves with the realities they faced in the context in which they operated. The ability to mobilize resources toward a desired direction influenced the interactions and the outcomes of the issue conflict.

A Conceptual Framework for Political Analysis of Education Issue Conflicts

A Conceptual Framework for Political Analysis of Education Issue Conflicts (Mazzoni, 1992) encompasses many of the perspectives on power delineated above. The basic assumption of Mazzoni's framework is that human agency, that is, the motives and actions of people (Easton, 1965; Tirrell, 1990), have an impact on the goals and outcomes of an issue conflict. Analysis of human agency and events begins

by identifying the participants who have conflicting goals over an issue that the participants take seriously. The participants are those individuals, groups, factions, coalitions, influentials, stakeholders, and independent actors who determine the goals, scope, relevant resources, strategies, and actions which affect the outcome.

Additional terms that political theorists have used for participants include: key actors, official actors, unofficial actors, proximate actors, minor actors, players, and influentials (Allison, 1971; Easton, 1965; Mazzoni, 1992). This investigation will limit the breadth of terminology and identify the participants as key actors, minor actors, proximate actors, and official actors who were involved with the issue conflict (See definition of terms in chapter one). The category of interest group forms an important sub-group of participants in this investigation. Wilson defined interest group as a group of actors who coalesce around a particular cause or interest but are separate from official government actors, though they may work in partnership with the government. They establish close and important relationships with key government officials and maintain the relationship for extended periods of time (Wilson, 1990, p. 55). The interest group preserves a cohesive internal association because of a unified political interest in an identified policy issue, though the membership may change over time.

Goals can be broadly framed to include a program, stand, symbol, service, expenditure, position, agency, or building (Lasswell, 1950). Goals are also stakes, attitudes, beliefs, and interests that are established by individuals and coalitions through negotiations (Bolman & Deal, 1991). The goals, stated or inferred, are those that the participants seek to have accomplished (Mazzoni, 1992). Conflict is generated around incompatible goals; if the specified goal is achieved, one group wins, and another group loses. The seriousness of goals must be able to explain the participant's willingness to engage in real and protracted conflict.

Resources that the participants command allow them to influence the flow and outcome of the conflict. Resources can be general or relative and are not absolute in terms of amount. Resources are assets, contacts, credits, and capabilities that actors can bring to bear on another to alter the situation (Campbell & Mazzoni, 1972). Skill in handling people is a special resource for participants who influence public

attitudes. Skill in oration, the written word, media image, and philosophical consistency, are important for those who seek to manipulate public perception (Lasswell, 1950).

Conflict involves the allocation of scarce resources and who gets those resources (Bolman & Deal, 1991). Resolution of conflict is not merely the cessation of disagreement but the process that sorts out competing interests and assets along the way. The resolution of the conflict ends with an authoritative allocation of scarce resources, but the end itself may generate a new conflict. Easton (1965) described this as outputs returning to become inputs in the next political issue. Scarcity of resources can be significant or trivial in an issue conflict (Salancik & Pfeffer in Natemeyer & Gilberg, 1989, p. 237). Scarcity is generally thought to mean something tangible; however Campbell and Mazzoni's (1976) inclusion of "capabilities" extends scarcity into the less tangible and more illusive domain of need fulfillment and symbolic scarcity. Symbolic scarcity becomes significant when the resources that are authoritatively allocated imply that one set of values wins or is prized over a competing set of values.

The resources are effective only if they make a difference to the participants at whom they are directed. The motivation of participants to use their resources is a factor in their involvement in the issue conflict; the participants must understand the costs and perceive benefits that explain their willingness to exert influence in the conflict (Mazzoni, 1992). There also is an assumption that their leadership or active involvement in the issue conflict will make a difference in the outcome. Participants in a policy conflict are in general, highly motivated to put their stamp on public initiatives that involve the allocation of resources.

The strategies employed dictate how the participants will mobilize their resources to influence the actions and activities during the issue conflict. Access, voice and exit, coalition formation, agenda setting and symbol manipulation constitute strategic behavior (Mazzoni, 1992). Strategies in this investigation are viewed as long-term, when the behaviors and actions extend from one month up to several years and strive for continued influence in the issue conflict. Tactics are a sub-category of strategic behavior that attempt to gain short-term advantage. Short-

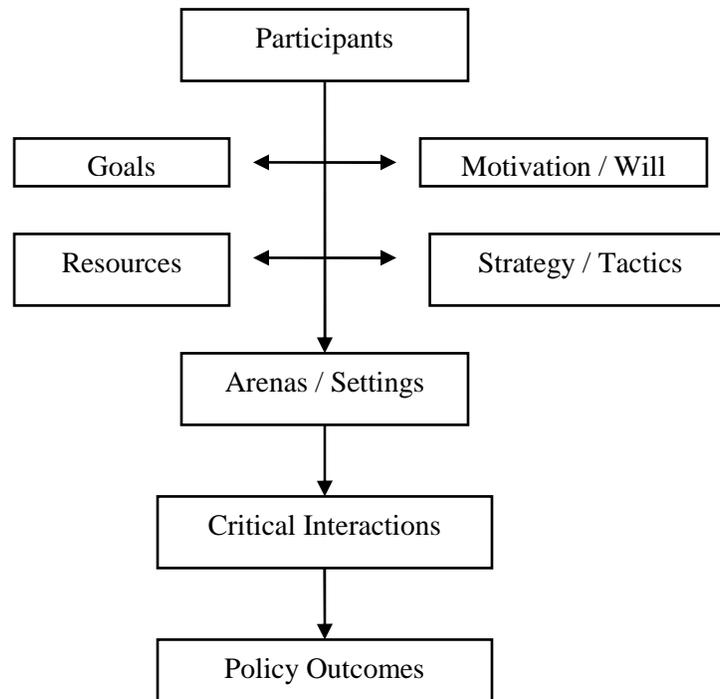
term advantages include efforts to gain immediate advantage in the political arena either by planning or by opportunistic behavior and include efforts that extend from the immediate, up to several days and weeks. Actors are constantly striving to gain advantage and contextual forces create opportunities that present themselves and require immediate tactical thinking and action. Because “the opportunity structure is never neutral” (Malen & Ogawa, 1988, p. 255) actors use both short-term tactics and long-term strategies to gain influence.

The arena (setting) defines and conditions the flow of influence in a conflict, however roles and expectations (French & Raven, 1959), decision arenas (Kingdon, 1984), rules of the game (Kiser & Ostrom, 1982), and environmental forces (demographics, economic, and cultural) affect the use of power. The arena may also include “government actions channels” (Allison, 1971) and “an array of social institutions that shape public policy” (Mazzoni, 1991, p. 116). Hilgartner and Bosk (1988) have produced a group of attributes that are shared across conceptual formulations of arenas and include: carrying capacity that limits time, attention, and resources for considering issues, selection principles that affect which issues will be considered, political biases that set the acceptable range of discourse, rhythm of organizational life that influences interactions among actors, and social networks and patterned institutional relations that connect arenas (in Mazzoni, 1991, p. 135). Settings are physical locations where participants interact under accepted rules of the game but the concept of arena has expanded to include the social, temporal, political, organizational, and environmental milieu that legitimizes what happens in settings to influence the allocation of values. This investigation will consider the following under arenas: executive leadership arena, expanded leadership arena, arena of political patronage, legislative arena, and impromptu arenas of negotiation.

Interactions that unfolded during the conflict defined the outcomes. The stages of decision-making; agenda-setting, alternate formulation, and the dynamics of the participants, influenced the resulting policies and political outcomes. Mazzoni’s model posits an intentionality regarding human behavior which Tirrell (1990) termed moral agency. This researcher believed that the term human agency captured the meaning without the implication of moral versus immoral behavior or activity.

Human agency (Easton, 1965) was played out in choices, actions, and activities that both created and resolved issue conflicts. People had stated goals and implied goals and chose to use resources and strategies in specific contexts to achieve the outcomes they desired. Mazzoni's Conceptual Framework for Political Analysis of Education Issue Conflicts has not been graphically illustrated in the literature. The illustration below is a conceptualization based on this researcher's understanding of the framework.

Figure 2: Conceptual Framework for Political Analysis of Education Issue Conflicts



From: A Conceptual Framework for Political Analysis of Education Issue Conflicts, Mazzoni, T., 1992 (The Conceptual Framework was a graduate level teaching tool, according to Mazzoni, and had not been published or graphically illustrated in the literature as of 2009, March)

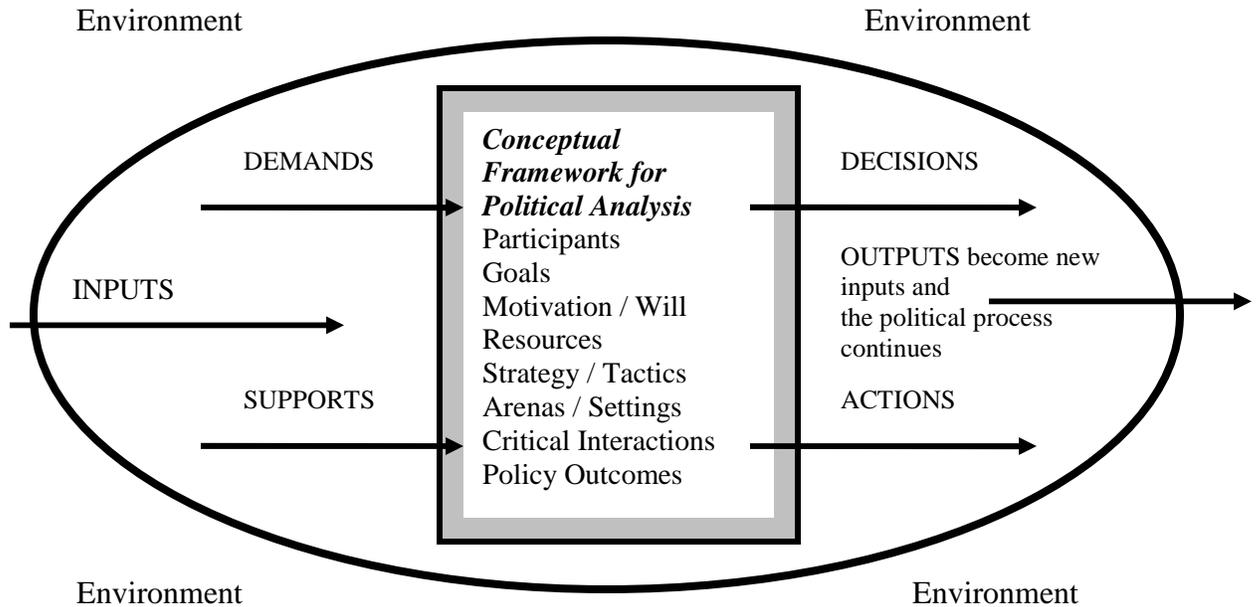
(Graphic depiction, Hainlen, J. 2009)

Blended Frameworks – a working model for this investigation

The two primary frameworks selected for this investigation both provided important scholarly means to analyze the data from informants, official archives, and media sources. Easton's "Political Systems" model offered the broadest view of the political process but in important ways failed to give a clear set of questions about the conversion process (Dye, 1972). Mazzoni's framework provided greater conceptual clarity and consistent vocabulary, which this researcher believed, remedied Easton's lack of specificity about what happened inside the conversion system. This researcher blended the two frameworks by inserting Mazzoni's "Conceptual Framework for Political Analysis of Education Issue Conflicts" into Easton's "Political System" model, specifically Mazzoni's framework was placed in the conversion portion of Easton's model. The blended framework offered a logical flow for analyzing data, and a replicable set of questions that future researcher's could pose in reviewing this case study or extrapolating this case study design to similar research. The blended framework is graphically illustrated below.

Figure 3: Blended Frameworks

Easton's Political Systems Model with Mazzoni's Conceptual Framework for Political Analysis of Education Issue Conflicts inserted into the Conversion System



From Systems Analysis of Political Life by Easton, D., 1965
 and A Conceptual Framework for Political Analysis of Education Issue Conflicts
 by Mazzoni, T. 1992

(Blended frameworks and graphic depiction, Hainlen, J. 2009)

Conclusions

The analysis of the political process that lead to the establishment of the Minnesota Center for Arts Education was based on an understanding that policy making is a process. That process maybe analyzed from multiple theoretical frameworks. This researcher based the initial conceptual design on Malen and Mcleese's definition of policy making that offered seven supporting principles for understanding policy making. Multiple frameworks were viewed through these principles and ultimately Easton's comprehensive and historical, Systems Perspective on Policy Making was selected as the foundational model. The review of the literature, particularly Anderson (1983) suggested that the central portion of Easton's

model failed to meaningfully explicate what mechanisms shaped the actions inside the Conversion System. Mazzoni's Conceptual Framework for Political Analysis offered a framework that remedied that lack of specificity and offered conceptual clarity in analyzing education issue conflicts. The researcher blended the two models to analyze the process of politics in this case study.

Review of the Literature on Fine Arts Education

The importance of the arts to human society and the development of young people through education in the fine arts provided the philosophical basis for creating the Arts High School. The fine arts have been placed in a position of importance in all human societies, though they have no "obvious survival value" (Winner, 1982). Historians trace human artistic expression back to Cro-Magnon humans, who painted and possibly made "music, dance, and drama" (Winner, 1982). Paintings with masks, musical instruments carved from bones, and depictions of rituals support the view that from pre-historic times to the present, humans have created artistic representations, and participated in artistic rituals and acts.

Artistic behavior by people seems to be a fundamental aspect of human cognition and behavior (Winner, 1982), but what exactly is essential about art is less certain. Making a pot to store grain may involve artistic skills, but the motivation, creation, and product seem to be different in a basic way than writing a poem to expiate the horrors of World War I (Giddings, 1988). Some artistic creations embody the noble aspects of humanity, while other art debases and polarizes the artistic community and drives the general population to conclude that the fine arts are remote and elitist, even destructive of sacred and communal values. Some art memorializes and inspires participants for centuries after it is created, while other artistic creations are transitory and exist for the moment, and then are forgotten. Some art creates inner narratives of personal understanding that transcend historical and cultural differences, while other art is external and oriented to group experience; yet both can speak in inexplicable ways to the profound nature of personal identity and the human experience. Efforts to create a definition of art based on inherent properties flounders

when artistry and artifact, skill and utilitarianism, emotional response and moral agency (Tirrell, 1990), become requisite properties. Attempts to set out necessary and sufficient features for a comprehensive definition have engaged many scholars over the years. Bell (1913) contended that artifacts become art when they have “significant form,” which brings about “aesthetic emotions” in the participant. Other scholars (Tolstoy, 1930; Collingwood, 1938) rejected the “necessary and sufficient” definition of art and focused on the emotional affect of the fine arts in human communication. Even modern rock and rollers have tried to articulate the transcendent nature of art. Frank Zappa stated, “The most important thing in art is **The Frame**. For painting: literally: for other arts: figuratively – because without this humble appliance, you can’t **Know** where The Art stops and The Real World begins (emphasis in the original) (Barron, ed., 1997. p. 196). Zappa believed that art begins with a frame, literal or imagined, and our attention is drawn to something in an elevated way which leads to an artistic experience different from the everyday experiences of living.

Wittgenstein challenged the concept that an epistemological category of origin or knowing, that is, “what is knowledge,” “what is moral,” “what is art,” must share all of the characteristics to be a member of the category. He advanced the argument that category members are united by strands of similarity, but do not always include all of the properties (Wittgenstein, 1953). Thus art is defined, not by inclusive categories which must all be present, but by a web of similarities which are open and maybe only partially present. Goodman (1968) defined a position that has further energized the debate in recent years. He proposed that all art works contain symbols that are themselves symbolic of emotion, aesthetic insight, and antecedent sentient structure. Viewed in this way, art is a manifestation of the most characteristic activity of human beings; the construction and use of symbols, (Goodman, 1968) to represent meaning.

The types of symbols artists use are categorically different than the types of symbols scientists use. Scientists attempt to communicate exact and precise information with “discursive symbols,” such as letters, and numbers (Langer, 1957; Ewens, 1989). Artists use “representational symbols” (Winner, 1982) which “stand

for” the way people feel and the sensations or emotions they have which are personal, yet common and shared with many other people across place and time. The symbols of art thus take the aspects of form and content, specific to that art, and structure the expression with tension and release, motion and stasis, and fulfillment and desire to communicate profound meaning that exists in a different realm than discursive symbols. Music combines melody, rhythm, and harmony played out over time to share artistic insight. Poetry uses words, rhythmic language, and metaphor to communicate the genre of the personal. Visual arts bring together line, color, viewpoint, form, and framing to commit the artistic vision to canvas or sculpt the moment for future generations to experience and ponder. Dance embodies the range of emotions from joy to sorrow in gesture; movement enlarged or movement diminished to create in the participants and the viewers, sensations which are more readily felt than expressed with words. Art, then, can be understood as the creation of a product through symbolic encoding followed by affective and cognitive decoding of a symbolic transcript of emotions (artistic product) which reflects the contour of feeling and the human experience.

The importance of the arts in education is apparent from ancient societies to the present day. Linguists have traced the word, *mousike* [music], “to describe dance, melody, poetry, and elementary education” in Greek society (Winn, 1981). In the twentieth century, scholars began asserting the power of arts in education to not only promote the understanding and communication of specific art forms, but also cultural empathy, character education, and moral development. These controversial claims culminated in the assertion that arts education can remedy some of the ills of society, increase creativity (Jeffers, 1993), assist personal growth, improve school attendance, stimulate reading skills (Hurwitz & Day in Jeffers, 1993), enhance cognition, expand our view of the world and its’ people, enable participants to share common experiences (Heidegger, Jackson, Eisner, Greene, in Jeffers, 1993) and more recently, promote early childhood neurological development (Rauscher, 1995).

Students in the arts, claim as much or more, for arts education as scholars. In preliminary studies for this research, this author compiled a list of thirty-two traits that senior high school music students, alumni, and parents self-reported they had

learned from participating in music classes in high school. These traits included: to believe in themselves, to be creative, to be more effective leaders, to deal with different people, to overcome fear, to develop discipline, to be successful in life after school, to understand history, to think about other cultures, to make meaningful contributions to a group process, to dedicate themselves to an ideal, to have direction in the use of their time, to have more compassion for others, to work hard for excellence, to have confidence, to understand that success involves group effort not only individual skill, that self-confidence learned in one pursuit transfers to other areas of life, to listen and work effectively, to see and embrace personal progress and growth, to move slowly with determination toward a goal, to set high personal standards, to plan ahead, to fail and keep trying, to not procrastinate, to open up to personal emotions, to enjoy the physicality of the arts, to enjoy the memories of outstanding moments with others, to feel you belong to a community of people who share a common interest, to love music, to understand the importance of form and structure in music, and to create beauty (Hainlen, 1996).

The American population, in a national survey, (Artbeat, 1993) reinforced what scholars and students felt about art and art education. According to survey data by the National Cultural Alliance, eighty-one percent of adult Americans felt the “arts and humanities are essential to a healthy American Society. “The benefit of exposing children to arts...is considered important by virtually every respondent.” Ninety-one percent agreed that “the arts and humanities provide a form of expression that is essential to a democratic society (Artbeat, 1993. p.4). Belief in the inherent value of art education is persistent in society and provided a profound philosophical basis of advocating for arts education for young people as a part of educational policy.

However, the political question must be addressed: Does a philosophical basis for the arts translate into the reality of policy leadership, art education programs, and adequate resources? The 1988 report to Congress by the National Endowment for the Arts contended that a basic arts education must communicate a sense of civilization, give students tools to create and understand the artistic creations of others, and make informed artistic choices as consumers. The national report, Toward Civilization, concluded that a basic arts education does not exist in the United States. A sequential

curriculum that communicates a sense of the arts in civilization is virtually non-existent in the United States public school system (p. 10). Arts graduation requirements are so vague that many non-arts courses can be substituted for arts courses. Furthermore, colleges do not require fine arts courses for admittance, so there is reduced incentive for enrolling in public school arts classes (p. 10). There have been two national assessments of student knowledge in the arts. These assessments were in music and visual arts (1971 and 1979). The results showed a decrease in knowledge from 1971 to 1979 (p. 13). There is minimal consensus about curricula among art specialists and most curricula are developed on a district-by-district basis with little sequence and scholarly research. The report found that most adults have never had any form of arts instruction in school: fifty-three percent have had no lessons or classes in music, seventy-five percent have had no visual arts, eighty-four percent have had no dance, and eighty-two percent have had no creative writing. Finally, instruction in the fine arts occurred early in the school experience with little follow-up in subsequent years.

The recommendations of the National Endowment for the Arts to Congress in 1988 included: explicit policies on a state and local level to address arts education, consensus by state education agencies and school districts on what minimum artistic standards should be expected, specific time requirements for elementary, junior high, and high school arts education, state coordinated arts education curricula developed by arts experts, and adequate resources by state governments to support these goals. However, even these explicit policies recommendations do not purport to solve the differences between school systems and the opportunities available to students. The nature and place of the fine arts in society at large, does not guarantee a similar position for the fine arts in education.

Review of Literature on Case Study

Research design can be equated to creating a blueprint for “assembling, organizing, and integrating information, and it results in a specific end product, that is, “research findings” (Merriam, 1988, p. 6). Qualitative research documents “the

description of phenomena and events in an attempt to understand and explain them. Such descriptions may be used to seek principles and explanations that generalize” (Krathwohl, 1993, p. 311). Qualitative research seeks to understand and explain events when the phenomena cannot be separated from the context (Guba & Lincoln, 1981; Yin, 1984). The descriptive nature of qualitative research contrasts to the manipulation of a variable and the use of numbers to report the findings of an investigation in quantitative research (Merriam, 1988).

The concept of qualitative research does not represent a single agreed upon protocol for conducting an investigation. Rather, it represents several “emerging inquiry paradigms” (Zaruba, Toma & Stark, 1996, p. 436). Zaruba, Toma, and Stark outlined nine features of qualitative research that informed the methodology of this research:

1. The research was carried out in a natural setting with the entire context of social, cultural, historical, and political interaction as its’ purview
2. The researcher was the primary data-gathering instrument
3. The researcher used qualitative methods to engage in purposeful data-gathering
4. Analysis did not proceed toward a preconceived hypothesis
5. Qualitative analysis focused on developing theory grounded in the data, not *a priori* theory
6. The design emerged, yet was altered by the course of the research
7. The perspectives of the informants were included in the interpretation of the meaning of the events
8. The intuitive knowledge of the researcher had an impact on the work
9. The results were reported in a narrative format

(pp. 436-437).

The difficulty of using qualitative findings to “seek principles and explanations that generalize” (Krathwohl, 1993, p. 311) was considerable. The challenge of researching a case that could be characterized as an outlier, and suggesting a broader context from the findings posed several difficult problems. This case study represented an unprecedented policy solution and was not stumbled upon accidentally; rather it was deliberately selected for this investigation. Furthermore, the key actors had deeply held and sometimes contradictory opinions about the importance of events, chronology, and meaning of the outcomes. The research design

needed to take these factors into account if the findings were to be more than an interesting story. This researcher sought to create a case study design that would allow other researchers to replicate the process and apply the implications from this single case to be extrapolated to the wider population of educational policy cases. The three issues and de-limitations (Krathwohl, 1993) that arose in the planning stages of the design were:

1. This was a policy case and it represented important issues that other educational policy cases face in the political arena (policy justification).
2. This case study was transferable to other investigations since the research design and the procedures were explicit in a real world setting (case to case transfer).
3. The theoretical generalizations flowed from the particulars of the case and continued the scholarly tradition of using specific case studies to refine theory (theoretical generalization).

The case study design represented a logical and empirical approach to data collection and analysis. The criteria that Yin (1984) suggested, guided the methodology in this study: construct validity, internal validity, external validity, and reliability. Construct validity was applied during the data collection and composition phases. Multiple sources of evidence were placed in a compelling sequence of events. Informants reviewed this evidence at multiple stages of the investigation and corrections were incorporated into the chain of events. Internal validity was guided by procedures that placed categories of similar data in similar conceptual “bins.” These categories were reviewed for, “pattern-matching,” “explanation-building,” and “time-series-analysis” (Yin, 1984, p. 41). The search for rival explanations, value conflicts, trustworthiness of informant response, alternative formulations, negative findings, and timing issues were all consciously considered in the analytical stages. External validity was incorporated into the generalizability of the design. Future researchers could reconstruct the methodology and analysis, check the veracity of the interviews, and judge the validity of the conclusions.

Conclusions

The objectives of a useful framework were three: to identify the important variables requiring investigation, to make useful observations about the relationships among the variables, and to achieve this through generalizations that have coherence (Easton, 1965). The conceptual framework used to investigate the political process that resulted in the Minnesota Center for Arts Education assumed the inherent value of a fine arts education for Minnesota public school students. The framework took as a starting point the usefulness of the Easton's Systems orientation to policy conflicts; that policies are the result of inputs that go through a conversion process to allocate values that are outputs. Outputs equate to policies, which are authoritative decisions enacted to solve problems that are taken seriously in the political arena. The conversion process was specifically defined as a political process that was a dynamic interplay of participants, goals, resources, motivations, strategies, arenas, and outcomes (Mazzoni, 1992). Political analysis was particularly appropriate for this research because it accounted for the diversity of participants, the intensity of the conflict, the confounding stages of debate and action, and provided for a systematic development of explanations about educational policy making.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

The primary methodology used in this research was a qualitative case study. The utilization of this methodology necessitated a research design with multiple explicit and implicit decisions regarding the collection of data, the number of informants, the management of information and the analysis of the data (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Although the implications of each of these decisions on the issues in the study became clearer as the research progressed, early planning was important to frame the process, focus the study, and increase the productivity of the analysis stage.

This investigation was linked to previous studies by the history of case study theory, by hypothesis, by framework, and by research design (Krathwohl, 1993). The questions selected by the researcher influenced the findings, but the responses by the informants reflected their experiences and point of view. Reliability was sought in the methodological procedures and protocols. Researcher decisions were based on academic precedent and these decisions were made explicit at all points. The key informants may have respond differently to different questions from another researcher, but the veracity of the procedures and the analysis of data are grounded in scholarly precedent and not speculative in protocol or conclusion.

Setting and Data Sources

The context for this research was the process in Minnesota that established the Center for Arts Education as a choice in Minnesota public education policy by actions of the Minnesota Legislature in 1985, 1987, and 1989. There were two primary arenas for study: the executive arena and the Minnesota Legislature from 1984 to 1989. The secondary arenas for study included the arena of interest group influence outside the legislature from 1976 to 1984 and the interactions of special interest groups and state agency actors from 1976 to 1989.

The literature has no references to an arts high school that was designed as both a residential high school for students and a statewide resource for educators and fine arts students. Other states, (e.g. North Carolina, Alabama, and Illinois) have high schools for the arts, but not the educational resource component for public school arts educators. Many cities (e.g. New York, Atlanta, Chicago, and Pittsburgh) have performance arts magnet high schools, but the enrollment is limited to single city attendance boundaries. There are also a limited number of conservatories, such as Juilliard School of Music in New York and national arts high schools, such as Interlochen in Michigan that are open by audition to high school students, but they are tuition based. The Minnesota Legislature created an unprecedented policy alternative for public education; a statewide, tuition free, residential arts high school combined with an arts education resource center. This official state policy agency had statutory responsibility for educating students in a residential high school with a fine arts emphasis, and developing exemplary arts education information to share with all fine arts teachers in Minnesota.

Data sources for this investigation included nineteen formal, structured interviews and eight informal interviews with twenty-seven informants who participated in the policy discussions during the years 1976-1989. Sixteen interviews were completed in person. The shortest interview was forty-five minutes and the longest interview was two hours and fifteen minutes. All sixteen face-to-face interviews were recorded. A typist transcribed the taped interviews, and when printed, the transcription totaled 661 pages. The researcher retained sole possession of the tapes and printed transcriptions. The original tapes were coded by date, so that the transcriber did not have access to informant names. All tape recordings and transcripts were stored in a locked file cabinet in the researcher's office.

Eleven interviews were completed on the phone and with the shortest being twenty minutes in length and the longest being one hour and thirty minutes in length. These telephone interviews were not taped but transcribed as a series of direct quotations and general impressions as the interview progressed. All direct quotations were checked with the informant with the question, "Did I accurately record your words when I wrote . . .?" The researcher immediately typed-up each interview

following the telephone interview. The telephone transcripts totaled forty-five pages. All of the interviews were arranged chronologically in the order in which they were conducted. The completed transcript of each interview, the tape recording of the interview, and all additional documentation was stored in a folder which was labeled with the date of the interview and the name of the informant. These folders were stored in locked file cabinet drawers in the researcher's office.

This researcher was wary from the beginning, and took Krathwohl's reminder seriously, that informants represent a specific point of view and personal context (1993, p. 327). Memories can be faulty ten years after the event. Respondents in positions of influence, or who hoped for a position of influence, might have yielded to the temptation to view and report events with an ulterior motive in mind. Family connections, political party loyalty, personal animosity, or any number of hidden reasons may have altered the veracity of the data. For this reason, the informants' observations needed to be confirmed from several angles. Denzin (1970) labeled the confirmation of data from several perspectives as triangulation. Triangulation used multiple data sources across time to establish the accuracy of the data: for example, interview data was compared to archival data, and the public record in media accounts. One informant's words were compared and contrasted to another informant's words on the same event (Krathwohl, 1993, p. 327). Difficult choices were however, unavoidable in research where only one informant might have a particular insight, e.g. the only staff member in the governor's office. This researcher chose to use minimal data from these settings and only if the outcome in public action correlated with what the informants reported happened in the private setting.

Archival Documents

Data were collected from a wide variety of official and unofficial documents. The official archives of the Minnesota Center for Arts Education (MCAE) were stored in boxes at the Arts High School. These archives held task force reports, minutes of meetings, signed memoranda, letters sent and received from multiple sources, board meeting minutes, and documents officially listed in board minutes; roll

call vote tallies on legislative issues, hearing officer reports, proposed bills, and official state statutes. The archives also contained two boxes of newspaper clippings from the two major newspapers in Minnesota, the Minneapolis Star Tribune and the St. Paul Pioneer Press and Dispatch. These clippings were stored in chronological order and collected in folders, labeled by year. These folders contained news stories, Associated Press stories, editorials, editorial cartoons, opinion columns, and letters to the editor. While it was a significant collection of newspaper articles, it did not contain every story printed about the school from 1976 to 1989. The Minneapolis Star Tribune is indexed in both print and electronic media (pre-1982 is print). These sources were used to gain access to all stories. One issue that made access difficult was that titles of stories were not uniformly accurate in the electronic index. The author search feature on the compact disc index proved to be the only reliable access to stories. The actual stories were accessed from compact disc or microfilm and duplicated for the researcher's files. The St. Paul Pioneer Press and Dispatch was indexed only in printed form for the pertinent years of this investigation. The articles for the years 1976 to 1989 are available only on microfilm. The archives at the Minnesota Center for Arts Education also contained press releases, Associated Press stories, and original stories from over forty out-state newspapers. All of these articles were studied for similarities and differences in content and compared to the two large urban papers. Articles of interest were copied from the printed archives, microfilm, and compact disc archives and these copies were then filed in chronological order in file folders. The folders were stored in chronological order in file cabinet drawers in the researcher's office.

The official documents of the state legislature are housed in three locations, the legislative library in the State Office Building, the tape library in the State Office Building and the Minnesota Historical Society. Documents included tape recordings of committee meetings, roll call vote records, journals of proceedings of the House and Senate, state statutes, status reports, task force reports, and committee reports to the state legislature.

The official documents from Governor Rudy Perpich's years in office are stored in archival boxes at the Minnesota History Center and by executive order, at the Iron

Range Research Center in Chisholm, Minnesota. All of the documents relating to the Arts High School are stored in the Minnesota History Center in St. Paul. The only documents stored in Chisholm, Minnesota that could have been used in this research were the daily appointment calendars. These documents were judged by the researcher and informants who were aware of the content, to be of insufficient importance to require a trip to view them. All documents at the History Center are placed in file folders and are indexed by topic area. These topical indexes are available on the reserve shelf of the Minnesota History Center. The documents in the boxes are a mixture of formal documents and informal documents, many which contained hand written margin notes from the governor and his staff. The formal documents on the Arts High School included: a chronology of legislative action, chronology of committee action in the legislature, commission reports, task force reports, and roll call votes. Informal documents in the archives included news releases, memoranda, speeches, letters, and news clippings retained by the governor.

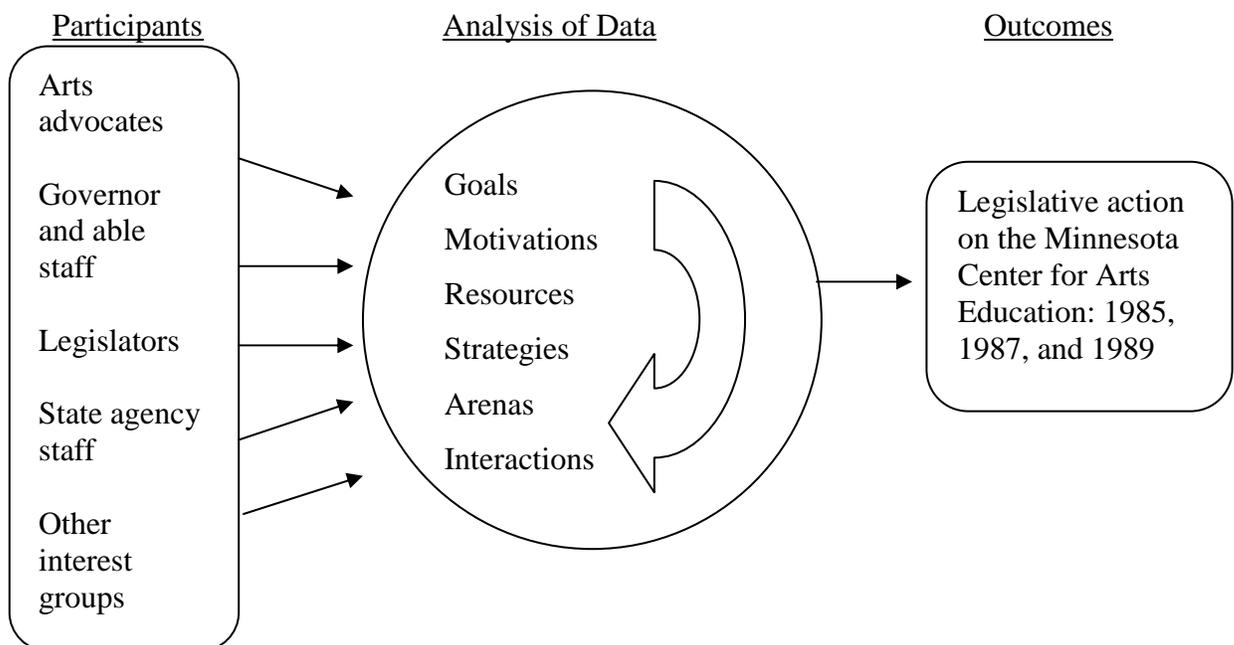
The researcher also had access to one box of archival materials that documented the initial idea development from 1976 to 1984. These documents were available at the offices of Greater Twin Cities Youth Symphonies, a non-profit musical organization in Minneapolis. The documents are no longer available through that source, in that they now reside in a private archival collection. This box included grant applications, an extensive collection of letters, budget proposals, demographic studies, philosophical reflections, task force documents, committee meeting reports, speeches, a chronology of major dates, and other materials that were not catalogued. The researcher had unlimited access to this material for the length of the investigation.

Three other researchers have carried out investigations of the Minnesota Center for Arts Education. One of these researchers was a participant in the issue conflict and completed a Masters Degree thesis on the school. Repeated requests by this researcher for a copy of the paper, in either electronic or printed form, established that the document was not available or had been lost. One other paper was written for the Hubert H. Humphrey Center for Public Affairs at the University of Minnesota. This paper was not made available to this researcher. The third researcher compiled

numerous documents from an insider’s perspective but was not able to locate the documents or any written materials from the research. Two other researchers were reported to have an interest in the Minnesota Center for Arts Education. Phone calls to both parties confirmed that interest, but also confirmed that no systematic investigation had begun on their part. This researcher knows of no other scholarly efforts to study the founding of the Minnesota Center for Arts Education.

The available documents provided the researcher with a chronology of events, a written history of the issue conflict, and a public record from media accounts. Participant interviews provided the researcher with insider recollections of the unfolding of the issue. Proximate actors corroborated the position, influence, and importance of the major actors, *vis-à-vis* the issue conflict. Taken together, the archival records, media accounts, and interviews provided chronology, knowledge, and significance. The goal for analysis was to take the raw data and participant recollections and trace the decisions and actions, pattern of events, historical context, and causal relationships that created meaning in the chain of events. The process is graphically illustrated in Figure 4.

Figure 4: Framework for data gathering, analysis, and outcomes of the political process



Participants

Participants were those people who were knowledgeable about what happened in the issue conflict. These people were chosen and interviewed because the researcher could find out from them, those things that could not be observed and assessed from the archival records (Patton, 1980). It is not possible for researchers to observe behaviors that took place at some previous point in time. Therefore, the observations of all participants helped create a mural of supporting and conflicting eyewitness accounts from which the policy making process could be reconstructed. Certain participant observations had a tone of authenticity because they were supported in the archival record of legislative action and media accounts. Other data remained contradictory because it represented sincere differences in recall of events, and it was expected that some participants would selectively burnish the record to cast their actions in a favorable light. The researcher ultimately created the filamentation of meaning by considering all accounts, actively seeking rival interpretations, analyzing the data for replicable patterns, and making judgments about the implications of visible actions in the arenas of interest and conflict. It is understood in case study research, that situations may not be dispassionately recalled, and because some policy making takes place under stress and out of public view, there are often no independent eyewitnesses to relate dispassionate accounts. It is also difficult, if not impossible to discern how participants organized their internal worlds and the meanings they attached to people, places, and events. Researchers must ask the participants the basic questions: who, what, where, why, and when. The purpose of interviewing, then, is to allow us to “enter into the other person’s perspective” (Patton, 1980, p. 196).

Informal discussions with proximate actors generated an initial list of twelve key actors. Formal inquiry at the Minnesota Center for Arts Education produced a list of twenty-five individuals representing fifteen organizations that had high involvement and influence in establishing the Arts High School (See Appendix G for the comprehensive list of key individuals and organizations). Several participants were questioned early in the investigation and asked to name key actors that the

researcher could contact. Those names were cross-referenced with the initial list of twelve names and the second list of twenty-five names. All names were placed on a matrix representing knowledge of events, position occupied, political party affiliation, gender, and support or opposition to the policy initiative. From this extensive list of participants, actors were selected who represented a cross section of all criteria (See Appendix B). All informants were then contacted by mail with an initial letter and a description of the study (See Appendix C). Each informant received an early, researcher-generated chronology of the Arts High School. Follow-up phone calls elicited their interest in participating in the study. When participants agreed to be interviewed, the researcher set up a face-to-face interview or a phone interview as dictated by the participant's personal schedule and geographical location. A confirmation letter of interview time and site was sent to each informant with two copies of the University of Minnesota Human Subjects form enclosed. Research protocol required that both copies of the Human Subjects form be signed before interviews could be held. The informant retained one copy, and one copy was placed in the informant's file in the researcher's file cabinet.

Because of the public nature of this case study, many of the participants could readily be identified by the positions they held in government and in the arts community. Previous policy researchers (Anderson, 1983) have struggled with the issue of when to identify major actors by name and/or role. This researcher chose to identify participants by name when the data were taken from the public record. All information that was gained in confidential interviews was grouped in informant clusters. The use of a quotation that would clearly identify the informant was generally handled by attribution of the informant category and deleting the identifying date. In this way, the pattern of dates could not be assembled from citations in order to speculate on the informant's identity. There were however, instances when the quotation could only reference a single person, in a single role, i.e. chair of the education subcommittee or governor's chief of staff. The date in these citations was reduced to the year only, deleting the month and day, again so that the pattern of interview dates in the citations would not readily reveal the identity. If the quotation confirmed action that was available in the public record, no further attempt

was made to conceal the identity. At no time were false or misleading citations used to conceal identity. The informant clusters that this researcher chose were: arts advocates, legislators/legislative staff, executive branch officials, policy experts, media expert, Perpich associates, and state agency staff. The issue of the high profile on the state policy stage of many of the informants and identification of informants was raised at the beginning of all interviews. Each informant confirmed that they were satisfied with the privacy safeguards, and in all cases except one, the informants specifically stated they did not object to their name being attached to their viewpoint in the use of the interview data in this research. This position conformed to all of the representations and safeguards in the Human Subjects guidelines from the University of Minnesota Graduate School.

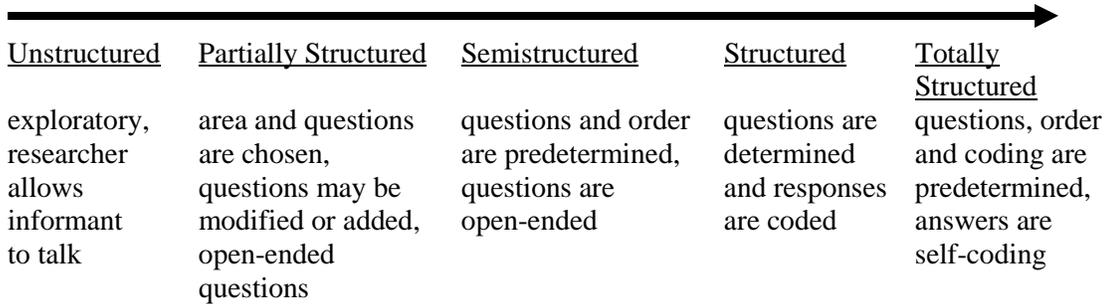
Human Subjects Review and Approval

Human Subjects review and approval was sought and gained from the University of Minnesota before informants were approached. Following the approval of the research design by the Graduate School, the initial list of informants was formalized. Each informant was told that the researcher was a doctoral student in Educational Policy and Administration at the University of Minnesota. The nature of the research, the purpose of the interview and the time requested were communicated to each informant. A letter of confirmation and consent was mailed to each informant preceding the interview, reiterating the information from the phone contact (See Appendix D). Each informant received two Human Subjects forms before the interview and retained them until the interview date. All informants who participated in phone interviews mailed the Human Subjects form to the researcher before the interview. Informants who participated in face-to-face interviews personally handed the signed Human Subjects form to the researcher before the interview began.

Interview Format

The process of gathering informant data, which could generate consistent categories for analysis and fully reflect informants' views of events, can be visualized as a continuum from unstructured interviews to totally structured interviews.

Figure 5: Continuum of interviews with increasing amounts of structure



(Graphic depiction, Hainlen, J. 2009)

Because the categories for inquiry were established by the conceptual frameworks (Easton, 1965; Mazzoni, 1992), this researcher chose the semi-structured and structured interview as the most useful formats for gathering data. A written interview guide was developed for this single case study that attempted to generate responses within the conceptual framework (See Appendix E). Two University of Minnesota Education and Policy faculty members reviewed the written questions, and changes were made based upon their recommendations. The use of a standard interview instrument focused the questions on a common vocabulary and the chronology of events focused the responses on the appropriate time frame (See Appendix A). The researcher however, did not seek a similarity of interpretation, but actively pursued alternative ideas, rival hypothesis, and the personal insight of informants to answer how things worked, and how people and events interacted in the issue conflict within the historical context.

The structured interview questions and follow-up probes that were used attempted to establish that the informant and the interviewer shared a clear understanding of the conceptual and linguistic assumptions of the process.

Specifically, the probes were developed to conform to Krathwohl's contention (1993, p. 369) that probes are useful in:

- making sure the respondent correctly understands what is asked
- following up on incomplete or non-responsive answers
- getting responses from individuals who might not respond to a questionnaire
- identifying the aspects of situations that seem to be leading to effects
- finding explanations for discrepancies
- finding explanations for deviations from prevailing effects by individuals or subgroups
- providing clues to the processes and mechanisms called into play by the situation

The interview format was based on the model of Taylor and Bogdan (1984). In this model the motives and intentions of the interviewer were shared with the informant in a written document before the interview and verbally at the beginning of the interview. The responsibility for information included in the final document was clearly the choice of the researcher. The issue of non-payment for information was confirmed with all informants at the time the interview was set up. One research problem developed that required a slight alteration in the format. Two informants were so enthusiastic to talk about the case, that when contacted on the telephone about an interview time, they spontaneously shared information about their perspective. The researcher handled this enthusiasm by thanking them for their insight, but asked them to refrain from sharing at that time. The researcher followed up by asking questions in the formal interview that allowed the participants to share the same recollections. This information was tape recorded and transcribed after the Human Subjects consent for the interview had been signed.

The nature of the questions in the formal interviews moved from structured to open-ended. The structured questions were framed to elicit answers pertinent to personal experiences, behaviors, opinions, values, knowledge, and facts (Taylor & Bogdan, 1984; Merriam, 1988; Krueger, 1994). The open-ended questions and probes centered on the specific perceptions of the individual informant and elicited the exclusive viewpoint of that person. Finally, each informant was asked a broad summary question that allowed them to respond with any information they judged

relevant to the investigation. This final question encouraged informants to take seriously the researcher's goal to generate all possible data that revealed important ideas and relationships. The question was consistently phrased, "Is there is anything else that you would like to share with this researcher about this case study that has not been asked?"

Interview Protocol

The contact with informants began in October of 1997 and continued through April of 1998. All but four of the informants on the initial list resided in Minnesota and were contacted for in-person interviews. The four informants who had moved away from Minnesota were contacted for phone interviews. Unlisted telephone numbers, and changed phone numbers and addresses caused significant delays in reaching many informants. Several informants suggested the Official Directory of the Minnesota Legislature as a source of past and current phone numbers and addresses. This proved helpful but not comprehensive. Other informants offered current phone numbers from their private phone lists when they suggested names for the informant pool. Two informants were also generous in calling potentially hesitant informants and preparing the way for the researcher to call. Three informants were tentative about being interviewed after the initial phone contact and the reception of the information packet. These potential informants were contacted one more time to solicit cooperation. When they chose not to be interviewed, they were asked to recommend someone who might have the same perspective on the process and the policy issues. In each case they declined to provide more information or additional names.

All of the in-person and telephone interviews that were conducted, ended with the informants confirming their availability to clarify issues of importance that might not arise until the transcripts were read (member checks). Several informants remarked on the quality of the interviewer's skills and expressed gratefulness for the opportunity of recalling the events. At least one participant was highly reluctant about the initial interview but after completing two interviews suggested that it was

“fun and even healing.” As the interviews progressed, the process of framing the questions became more focused and the paid transcriber commented on the interviewer’s growth in framing questions and more quickly moving to important issues. On two occasions, the transcriber voluntarily confirmed that the quality of follow-up probes had improved and the researcher was more skillful in phrasing difficult questions and gathering helpful responses.

The interviews were annotated with field notes, which captured ethnographic details of voice, gesture, and physical location. Following each interview, the researcher completed an interview assessment guide that was based on Anderson’s model (1983). This researcher changed the response portion from a narrative format to a Likert Scale that was a continuum from 1 to 5, where the number 1 represented uninterested, reluctant, uninformed, unclear, and removed and the number 5 represented interested, straightforward, knowledgeable, remembered well and integral participant (See Appendix F). This Likert Scale allowed a quick overview of participant reactions and guided future interviews. The interview assessment guide was filed at the end of the field notes with the interview transcript for each informant. Thank you letters were sent to all informants, communicating the researcher’s gratitude for their voluntary participation in the research.

Metaphor Question

Miles and Huberman (1994) believe that, “the notion that research should focus only on matter-of-fact, literal-even actuarial-description, with cautious, later ventures into interpretation and meaning, is responsible for much intellectual poverty and misery” (p. 250). Lakoff stated (1987) that people “can only grasp abstract ideas by mapping them on to more concrete ones” (in Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 250). People use metaphors to make sense of their experience, so researchers need to make sense of those metaphors. Miles and Huberman contend that researchers should explicitly examine the meaning of the metaphors in the data, “The issue, perhaps, is not *whether* to use metaphor as an analysis tactic, but to be *aware* of how we - and the people we study - use it” (p. 250).

The variety, the richness, and the ambiguity that are represented in real-life human situations can be reduced to a simpler conceptual understanding by a single metaphor. Miles and Huberman again argue that analysis of metaphor, “lets us see new theoretical possibilities” (p. 250) because metaphors serve to reduce data by “taking several particulars and making a single generality,” (p. 250) and metaphors pattern our thinking and perceptions (p. 251). This researcher posed one deliberate question on metaphor to each informant, “What vivid metaphor would best describe the process that resulted in the Minnesota Center for Arts Education, from your perspective? The process was like - [insert an informant generated metaphor or simile].” The coherence of the answers was structured by the choice of metaphors (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980) and illuminated the perceptual structure from the informant’s personal viewpoint. The researcher then placed the deliberate and casual metaphors in a matrix that matched participants with orientation, process, and the analytical implications. Although this proved to be highly useful in understanding the process, the metaphors were so personal that there was little functional similarity for use in formal analysis. After collecting, and coding this data this researcher decided that the difficulties involved in using the information outweighed the value of extended metaphorical analysis and chose not to include this in the results of the investigation.

Role of the Interviewer

The data gathered by the researcher and the nature of the relationship with informants was in many subtle ways, influenced by the researcher. The researcher presented certain skills of a social nature, which enhanced or detracted from the personal aspects of the interview. Because the researcher was a part of the process, procedures were designed to maximize validity in qualitative research. This researcher believed initially that he knew only two of the potential informants, but it turned out that the researcher knew to some degree, six of the informants. This acquaintance with the respondents was both helpful and cautionary. It proved helpful in access and in trust, but was cautionary because of the possibility of inherent bias in

research methodology and candidness of informant response. Some scholars believe that a stranger may “elicit...rich and useful material which he would be unable to get if his relationship with them was either more intimate or of longer duration” (Richardson, in Anderson, 1983 p. 49). This researcher was a stranger to twenty of the respondents, little known to three participants and well known to four informants. The use of a common data-gathering instrument was critical to project neutrality to the informants. The neutrality of the researcher was not questioned by any respondent and triangulation of data provided the major check on validity. Lastly, there was a factor of academic trust. The researcher strove to maintain an ethically grounded, trustworthy relationship in all interviews and data handling. The research community ultimately puts reciprocal trust in the veracity of the researcher until mistakes or breaches of an ethical nature are revealed (Anderson, 1983).

Coding of Data

Miles and Huberman believe that “Coding is analysis” (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 56), but data collection and analysis, no matter how voluminous, no matter how comprehensive, still reflects researcher selectivity. Some data are collected, other data, perhaps important data, are left uncollected, and may never be collected. The analysis process mirrors the same problem. Budget and time considerations prohibit the researcher from completely getting it all (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Coding is the analytical technique that takes all that the researcher has collected and reduces, synthesizes, and dissects, while keeping the “relationships between the parts intact (p. 56).” Coding technique assigned a descriptive phrase or key number (Krauthohl, 1993, p. 337) to clusters of data. This allowed the researcher to see patterns and repetitions in the data. Conceptual bins were filled with units of similar data that allowed the researcher to seek insight and extract meaning from the similarities and differences.

This researcher had twice used the Strauss (1987) model in other research efforts and had developed a comfort with this coding methodology. Strauss and Corbin (1990), in a more complete explication, suggested that the written data be

reviewed and that categories or clusters of similar data be labeled next to each paragraph. Because of certain physical limitations, the researcher further revised the Strauss and Corbin coding model. The revision minimized the amount of writing, typing, and cutting during the analytical phase. After several failed efforts, the following coding revisions allowed for a comprehensive review of the data. The researcher had the professional typist set the left-hand and right-hand margins on all of the transcripts to 1 ¾ inches. The margins on the top and bottom were also slightly larger than an inch to allow for coding margin notes. The initial coding categories proved to be too detailed and were revised down to fourteen as the data informed the categories (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 61). Each code number was paired with a descriptive phrase. The number and the descriptive phrase were printed on peel-off labels. The coding labels were placed in the right-hand margin; denoting common phrases, viewpoints, consequences, actions and concepts (Strauss, 1987). The researcher also used the peel-off labels and printed the interview code number and informant name on them. These informant code numbers and names were placed in the left-hand margin directly across the text body from the descriptive category and code numbers. In this way, all data were identified by descriptive phrase, code number, and informant name. These coded data were then analyzed based on the blended framework (Easton, 1965; Mazzoni, 1992). The categories were entered into a spreadsheet where the data clusters were placed by informant and page number under the outlined categories. Each data cluster was also identified with a portion of the first sentence from the transcript so that there was an ease in locating the data in the informant transcripts. The fourteen categories for the analysis code are listed below in Figure 6:

Figure 6: Analysis Codes

100	Initial idea
200	Policy dimension
300	Major actor
400	Goals and conflicts
500	Leadership
600	Resources

- 700 Motivation and will
- 800 Strategies and tactics
- 900 Arenas and settings
- 1000 Critical Interactions
- 1100 Symbolically important
- 1200 Metaphor of process
- 1300 Lesson for politics of education
- 1400 Coherent narrative of political process

The researcher followed the recommendation of Miles and Huberman (1994) and avoided double coding any data. Although this proved difficult at times, a front-end decision eased the difficulty of data analysis and placement in the conceptual outline. After placing the data in the analytical outline, the researcher worked backwards and started with the outline and returned to each location in the written transcript to check the context, assess the validity of the data, and judge again whether the use of that narrative data was accurate. In some cases it was judged to be an erroneous placement and the coding process started anew for that data set. A different label was placed over the old label and the data were inserted in the outline in a new location. The end result of this process was a detailed outline of results, based on the blended framework with data clusters listed in the outline as evidence from the informants. The conceptual outline with supporting evidence was typed in a single spaced format, which added up to fifty-four pages in length.

Triangulation of Data

The data gathering process was monitored by the researcher for consistency in response areas compared to the theoretical framework. Response clusters were entered on a matrix of informants and research categories. The annotations of the researcher clearly indicated whether answers were being generated in each cell of the matrix for each respondent. Probes were restated in subsequent interviews or follow-up phone calls that were made to gather more robust data for each cell of the matrix. The Matrix of Key Informants and Research Data, Figure 7, was based on the

Mazzoni's Conceptual Framework for Political Analysis of Educational Issue Conflicts (Mazzoni, 1992).

Figure 7: Matrix of Key Informants and Research Data

Participants	Goals	Resources	Motivations	Strategies	Arenas	Interactions	Outcomes
Data	Data	Data	Data	Data	Data	Data	Data
Data	Data	Data	Data	Data	Data	Data	Data
Data	Data	Data	Data	Data	Data	Data	Data

(Graphic depiction, Hainlen, J. 2009)

The intent during the data gathering stage was descriptive not explanatory (Miles & Huberman, 1994) and the matrix held the researcher to a standard of similarity of data categories. This technique was an attempt to maximize the information in a single case study so that the findings would be applicable to other case studies. If the data gathered were scattered across multiple conceptual frameworks and had low replicability from informant to informant, it would be difficult to make any generalizations regarding the process or policy issue involved. The researcher also maintained a journal recording the flow of ideas on the challenges of educational policy research. This journal served to focus the conceptual aspects of the research and provided a self-critique of methodology and practice compared to committee expectations and experienced researcher insights.

The storage of information on computer hard drives and discs received great attention because of the experience of two colleagues; one who lost all data and dissertation work in a fire, and another who lost all field notes in a car theft. It is the nature of research to deal with data and documents that are irreplaceable so this researcher attempted to guard against loss by storing information that was private in a locked file cabinet. The written documents (dissertation, analysis documents, references, etc.), were stored on a home computer. Each time an addition was made to the text; multiple discs (later flash drives) were updated. One floppy disc and one Zip disc were stored in the researcher's home desk. One disc was stored in the researcher's brief case and traveled with the researcher. One disc was stored in the researcher's office at work. In addition to storage on the home computer, the

dissertation was stored on the computer at the researcher's office. This computer could be accessed only through security codes and was networked to a main server. The network was backed up weekly with archival tapes available for the entire year. This thorough effort provided multiple copies of the dissertation, stored in a variety of locations that would allow the researcher to recover recent work in the light of hard drive failure, fire, theft, or loss.

Data Display

Miles and Huberman (1994) proposed the use of data displays to know what is going on, how "things are proceeding," and why things occur the way they do (p. 91). The displays allowed the researcher to consolidate the findings as he progressed and to assess areas of incomplete data. Displays also facilitated description (Bernard 1988, quoted in Miles & Huberman, 1994). The descriptive displays meant, "Making complicated things understandable by reducing them to their component parts" (p. 90). The primary display that undergirded and informed this research centered on time periods and sequences of events. This display was the Comprehensive Chronology of the Minnesota Center for Arts Education 1976-1989 (See Appendix A). Newspaper accounts were the starting point for the comprehensive chronology. However, the newspaper accounts gave only the barest outline of events. Archival data from the Minnesota Center for Arts Education, Greater Twin Cities Youth Symphonies, and the Governor's office files at the Minnesota History Center, legislative records, and informant interviews supplemented the newspaper accounts. The researcher revised the Chronology of the Minnesota Center for Arts Education eighteen times with corrections of fact, more robust detail, and increasingly accurate dates. The resulting documentation encapsulated the entire process from 1976 to 1989. The written document, when mailed to informants prior to the interviews, jogged memories of actors and actions and served as a springboard for questions in the informant interviews, while placing the issue conflict in a sequence that helped informants locate their personal memories in an overall context.

The analysis of the data proceeded by identifying specific questions within each broad area. These questions were based on recurrent data clusters and questions from the literature that reflected research interests within that area. The comprehensive coding questions are listed below in Figure 8.

Figure 8: Comprehensive Coding Categories

<u>Code</u>	<u>Initial questions to guide the coding</u>
100	Where did the initial idea for the arts high school come from and what did the participants seek to accomplish? (Goals, #2 in Mazzoni)
110	The needs and aspirations of people are the reason we organize our efforts - what needs of human beings were being met by this goal of an arts high school? (Salancik & Pfeffer)
120	Who was involved in goal setting - early on and throughout the process?
130	Did participants have a vivid metaphor for the arts high school? (Landau in Easton)
140	What were the stated public goals? (Mazzoni)
141	What were the inferred goals? (Mazzoni)
150	What were the participants trying to achieve? (Mazzoni)
151	What were the stakes? (Mazzoni)
160	Was there a difference between public goals and “real” goals? (Mazzoni)
170	Could you take at “face value” the public statements of the participants?
200	How did the policy dimensions come into being from the initial idea? (Sederberg)
210	What formal and informal organizations were in support and opposition to the policy proposal?
220	What resistance was anticipated? (Salancik & Pfeffer)
230	What resistance was a surprise? (Salancik & Pfeffer)
240	Did the governor look for good ideas to champion, good ideas to create a “mark” or good ideas to create educational opportunities?
300	Who were the key actors in the initiation and further development of the arts high school? (Participants, #1 in Mazzoni)
310	Do informants disagree on the key actors?
311	Do informants disagree on the minor actors?
312	What interest groups were involved?
313	Who played what roles?
314	What emotional states were relevant?
320	Could you identify the competing coalitions and actors? (Mazzoni)
330	The emergence of leaders should be relevant to the context- which leaders emerged “at the right time,” and in the “right place?” (Salancik & Pfeffer)
340	What was important about the context for leadership? (Terry)
350	Did the governor assume power as the “governor of educational change?”
360	What was the effect of the educational change environment on the arts high school?

- 370 What model of participant involvement could you draw?
- 371 What issues characterized the conflict between out-state and urban populations?
- 372 How did partisan politics enter into the issue conflict?
- 373 What parts of the conflict reflected iron-range values versus the rest of the state?
- 400 What were the major issues and conflicts that arose in the policy debate? (Easton)
- 410 It is not sufficient to reason that the governor persisted in this conflict just to engage the legislators and media in the process, what deeply held values was he committed to? (Salancik & Pfeffer)
- 420 What roles were played by people involved in the conflict?
- 430 Who had a specific plan to implement and solve the conflict?
- 440 What were those plans? (Salancik & Pfeffer)
- 450 What was the power of the press in advocating for or against the issue?
- 500 In what arenas were the policy issues debated and how were they resolved? (Mazzoni)
- 510 How and from where did leadership emerge in the political context?
- 511 To understand power, one must look outside the conflict arena, what did the environment look like - groups/context?
- 530 What is an accurate model of the state educational environment during this time?
- 540 How would you characterize the political environment?
- 600 What resources, personal and political, were brought to bear on the policy participants? (Mazzoni)
- 610 What resources did the governor's office control and use?
- 611 Money
- 612 Time
- 613 Position
- 614 Skill
- 615 Power
- 616 Influence
- 617 Assets
- 618 Staff
- 619 Power base
- 620 What resources did the legislature control?
- 621 Money
- 622 Time
- 623 Position
- 624 Skill
- 625 Power
- 626 Influence
- 627 Assets
- 628 Staff
- 629 Power base
- 630 What resources did the arts school coalition control?

- 640 If the importance of an issue is thought to be related to budget size, why did this issue generate such conflict with such a small budget? (Salancik & Pfeffer)
- 650 Could this be characterized as time well spent or time misspent by the governor, and what drove him to spend time, money, influence and power, on the arts school? (Salancik & Pfeffer)
- 660 The granting of a budget could be considered a critical resource, what was the sequence and strategy of budget authorization? (Salancik & Pfeffer)
- 670 Because the art school needed money doesn't fully explain why they received it, why was it funded?
- 680 Who understood the use of power as a resource?
- 681 Who used power effectively?
- 690 What activities did participants engage in that gave them power?
- 691 How accurate was communication (information as a resource) to the public, to the media, to the participants?
- 692 Which direction did information flow, top down, bottom up? (Salancik & Pfeffer)
- 693 How did quantitative and qualitative data guide the decision process? Who controlled it?
- 694 Time is a resource, how did each side use it?
- 695 Who was most effective with long timelines?
- 696 Who was most effective with short timelines?
- 697 If power is dependent on the context, or situation, how was power used around scarce resources or values?
- 698 What were the scarce resources?
- 699 What were the values?
- 700 How willing were participants to use their resources to exert influence on the policy conflict? (Mazzoni)
- 710 The willingness to distribute rewards influences outcomes. Who was willing to distribute rewards?
- 711 What were the rewards?
- 720 How did the use of rewards influence the events?
- 730 How were rewards used to co-opt the opposition?
- 740 Who had what to give?
- 741 Who had nothing to give to influence the conflict?
- 750 What was shared?
- 760 Was the use of influence cooperative, competitive, antagonistic?
- 770 Which leaders had a sense of efficacy?
- 780 What difference did the will to use influence and the intensity of use make? (Mazzoni)
- 790 Who chose not to participate?
- 800 What strategies were employed to build support for the policy positions? (Mazzoni)
- 810 Which coalition out maneuvered the other side?
- 811 How was this accomplished?
- 820 Which side was worn down by persistence? (Salancik & Pfeffer)
- 821 Which side was out-strategized?

- 830 How did the initiation of structure (budget, staff, etc.) give MCAE a semblance of agency status?
- 831 What effect did hiring staff for the yet to be funded school have? (institutional legitimacy)
- 832 How did the structure come about?
- 840 How was the ability to structure the information significant?
- 841 The flow of information is important- how did information reach you?
- 842 Where did the information come from? (staff, legislative staff, governor, constituents)
- 850 Where did the strategies emerge from to guide the political process?
- 851 Could you identify strategies that emerged in retrospect (unplanned, but effective) to support or oppose the process?
- 852 What conscious strategies were employed?
- 860 Was there a difference between bargaining positions and “real” positions? (Mazzoni)
- 870 Who controlled the agenda of the meetings?
- 871 Who defined the scope and boundaries of the issues conflict?
- 880 Who controlled the symbols of the issues conflict?
- 881 What symbols were manipulated in public?
- 890 How was proximity to arenas, to power, to agenda, used as a strategy?
- 900 How were the setting and the context defined in the decision making process to implement the legislation? (Mazzoni)
- 910 Was the legislature in or out of touch with the realities of the arts community (small budget, symbolic importance, support of elites)?
- 920 Which physical settings (arenas) were associated with important decisions?
- 921 Who controlled those settings?
- 922 What level of control was used?
- 923 How did context constrain the flow of influence?
- 930 Who was represented in the coalition in favor?
- 931 Who was represented in the coalition opposed?
- 940 How did leaders use the “rules of the game” to influence outcomes?
- 941 Who and how were the processes and routines controlled?
- 950 What percent of legislative time did this issue take?
- 951 Was this percent in proportion to the budget and the interest?
- 960 Was the communication of ideas to the public accurate in the media?
- 970 What contingencies were forced by the governor, legislature, MCAE?
- 1000 What were the key decisions, critical moments and miscalculations of the participants that influenced the outcome? (Mazzoni)
- 1010 Who ignored critical issues and strategies?
- 1020 What were the most important structural issues in determining the outcomes? (Salancik & Pfeffer)
- 1030 What was important in the external environment that influenced the outcome? (Salancik & Pfeffer)
- 1031 Can this environment be charted or modeled?
- 1032 What were distinct stages of decision-making?
- 1040 How did participants legitimize their public perceptions?

- 1050 Who set the agenda (Mazzoni?)
- 1060 How would you model the group dynamics?
- 1070 What alternatives were discussed?
- 1080 How would you assess the influence?
- 1081 Positional
- 1082 Reputational
- 1083 Decisional
- 1084 Combinations
- 1100 What was symbolically important about having a public arts high school in Minnesota? (Mazzoni)
- 1110 Who manipulated symbols effectively? (Mazzoni)
- 1200 What metaphors of the process were generated by the informants? (Miles & Huberman)
- 1300 What lessons can be learned from this case for the study of the politics of education?
- 1400 What part does a coherent narrative play in political relationships?

Analysis of Data

The analysis of qualitative data began during the collection of the data. The researcher made judgments and moved back and forth between collecting new data and simultaneously evaluating the data that had been collected in order to plan for the next data gathering (Miles & Huberman, 1994; Merriam, 1988; Anderson, 1983; Patton, 1980). Analysis began with the first document viewed, the interview with the first informant, the first matrix to wrestle material into some tentative order from seeming chaos, and the incipient timelines that strove for sequence and chronicity. The researcher started early to formulate partial explanations, partial connections, and reformulate the initial hypothesis to lay bare the important questions which were hidden by the apparent easy answers. Objective procedures and explicit criteria for analysis formed the basis for these early judgments. Anderson (1983) introduced a composite of criteria (Patton, 1980; Murphy, 1980; Bogdan & Taylor, 1975) that delineated a model of analytical validation:

- position and certainty of source
- clarity, detail, consistency and plausibility
- ability to corroborate the information from other sources
- ability to triangulate the information from different research methods, and different sources.

The data analysis that began with these criteria and returned often to the framework for grounding was more likely to illuminate the basic research questions, than analysis that scanned volumes of data but lacked a conceptual underpinning. The researcher believed that the analysis began with the assumption of the impact of human agency, that is, the impact of the major participants on the process and the outcome. The participants' values, goals, decisions, interactions, and actions were central to the basic question of this research: what was the political process that led to the establishment of the Minnesota Center for Arts Education? The raw data of the interviews (tapes and transcripts) were retained in their totality along with the field notes from the interviews. All follow-up data from the informants was filed within the same file folder. This included attachments from phone calls and archival documents mailed to the researcher by the informants. A large three-ring notebook held original documents or copies of all relevant archival documents; including legislative bills, proposals to foundations, correspondence, meeting notes, news releases, newspaper articles and other documents. A second three-ring notebook was used for notes, charts, assessment instruments, incipient framework analysis, and matrix development.

The analysis proceeded by reducing the data and testing it against the analytical framework. Miles and Huberman (1994) maintain that the first reduction of field contact is the "summary sheet" (p. 51). This document was a single sheet that focused on the main events, major themes, the variables that explicated the framework, alternative explanations and new ideas that should be explored in the next field contact. The summary form also developed into a planning form for the next scheduled interview. The questions posed on the summary form guided the planning for each interview after the first several field contacts. The researcher assessed the position and knowledge of the next respondent and prepared for the interview with expanded probes to elicit their unique knowledge.

CHAPTER 4

CONTEXT AND ORIGIN OF THE ARTS HIGH SCHOOL

The context for the development of an arts high school in Minnesota was shaped by a one-time convergence of multiple educational policy initiatives, state budget difficulties that drew attention to disparity in funding for arts education, a growing awareness at the state level of gifted education, and effective advocacy for arts education in the educational and policy arenas. This context was explored in the research question: where did the idea for the arts high school come from? Effective arts education advocacy began in Minnesota because of the influence of interest group actors and proximate actors who developed a policy alternative and lobbied in the political arena for increased fiscal resources for arts education in public schools. The Minnesota Alliance for the Arts in Education was the most broadly based and effective arts advocacy organization in the early stages of the arts high school policy issue. Official actors in the state education policy system also created a new awareness for arts education by evaluating existing programs, expanding arts education opportunities in public schools, and proposing future arts education initiatives. These official actors included the Minnesota Department of Education (MDE), the State Board of Education, and the Governor's Commission on Economic Vitality in the Arts.

The idea for an arts high school had multiple origins. Several influential arts education actors were identified by informants as important contributors to the early development of the arts high school policy initiative. However, it was not possible to trace with certainty, an exact date that the idea of an arts high school was proposed by a single person. Rather than one person, the concept initially arose from several arts advocates with strong educational values and shared goals of artistic excellence for young people. The first financial support for the study of the arts high school idea came from the foundation community, but the policy idea failed to secure authoritative resources in the legislative or executive arena when it was proposed. The policy alternative of a state sponsored arts high school did not emerge from the

educational policy subsystem and generally there was little public knowledge or support for the idea. The educational constituency of teachers, education unions, education policy experts, and education committee legislators did not overtly support the arts high school policy, but neither did they strongly oppose it in its initial form. The environment of support developed after Rudy Perpich was elected Governor in November of 1982. His election followed an earlier gubernatorial defeat to Al Quie in the 1979 governor's election and Perpich's subsequent employment by the computer company, Control Data, as a trade representative based in Vienna, Austria. The time Perpich spent in Europe proved to be pivotal to the arts high school issue. During that period, Perpich expanded his vision of the importance of the fine arts to society in general and to education in particular (Perpich associate, interview, 1997, December 26). The passage of the legislation that established a state-supported residential Arts High School and Resource Center in Minnesota was dependent on the personal history, educational values, and political skills of Governor Rudy Perpich. When he attached himself to the goal of establishing an arts high school, he brought the resources associated with the executive branch and the influence of the office of governor to the policy issue in the legislative arena. The will to use these resources during the years of the policy conflict moved the arts high school from an interesting, but relatively unnoticed policy proposal (1976-1983), to a highly visible issue in the state policy arena from 1984 to 1989.

Multiple Policy Initiatives for Educational Reform 1976-1989

The educational environment in Minnesota reflected a progressive political history that valued a "moralistic" culture (Elazar, 1972). The citizens of Minnesota believed in the idea that government can, and should do good things for the governed. This legacy of an activist state government created an educational tradition that supported a commitment to local school control and a statewide funding priority for education (Mazzoni, 1993). Two official policy stakeholders, the legislature and the governor, often vied for influence in setting educational policy. The legislature in Minnesota is a bicameral body that has moved toward full-time status in recent

decades. This growth included an increase in full-time staff of education analysts and aides in the 1980s. The Democratic Farmer Labor party controlled the State Legislature for much of the period from 1976 to 1989. However, the Independent Republican party gained control of the House of Representatives for one term, 1985-1987. This created a sharing of power with a Republican House, Democratic Senate, and Democratic Governor during the crucial 1985 legislative session, when the Arts High School bill was first introduced and debated. Two Minnesota Governors served the state during the time the Arts High School policy issue was proposed, developed, and reached the official policy agenda: Rudy Perpich (1976-1978 and 1983-1990) and Al Quie (1979-1982). Perpich's first full term as Governor (1983-1986), coincided with the Republican control of the House and was characterized by the confrontations of partisan politics. His second term again paired a Democratic Governor with a Democratic majority in both chambers of the state legislature. However, Perpich could not automatically count on support from all members of the Democratic Party for the arts high school policy initiative.

State educational policy also was strongly influenced by the nine-member State Board of Education and the Commissioner of Education, who was appointed by the Board (Mazzoni, 1993). Perpich advocated early in 1983 to change the selection process and give the Governor the power to appoint the Commissioner of Education. "If I have to take the heat, I want to appoint the Commissioner," was a phrase he used to support the change in procedure (Executive branch official, interview, 1997, Dec. 18). He was successful in his advocacy, and became the first governor with the statutory authority to appoint the Commissioner of Education. His first appointed Commissioner was Ruth Randall, who assumed the position in July of 1983. The power of appointment by the Governor effectively made the Commissioner the "agent of the Governor," in policy matters (Legislative staff, interview, 1998, January 13; Policy expert, interview, 1998, February 19), and in Ruth Randall, Perpich had a strong institutional supporter of the arts high school policy.

Three organizations were important players in the educational environment for this case study: the Northwest Area Foundation, the Minnesota Business Partnership, and the Citizens League. Foundations played a noteworthy role in funding many

educational, social service, and arts related projects in Minnesota. The Northwest Area Foundation funded the first study in 1978 of an arts high school as a component of its mission to support gifted and talented education for young people (Northwest Area Foundation application, September, 1978, in the archives of Greater Twin Cities Youth Symphonies). This grant provided the early fiscal resources to hire consultants, fund meetings, pay travel expenses, and write and disseminate a report on a Minnesota Arts High School. Funding by a prestigious foundation also added an important sense of official recognition for the concept of an arts high school (Arts advocate, interview, 1997, October 26).

The Minnesota Business Partnership (MBP) was a public policy interest group of chief executive officers drawn from the 104 largest Minnesota corporations. The Minnesota Business Partnership was formed by four CEO's in 1977 so that business could approach the "problems of society with a statesmanlike viewpoint..." (1998-1999 MBP Resource Guide). The MBP's mission, as stated in the Resource Guide, was to foster job creation and lobby in the policy arena for MBP positions on education, budget, property taxes, healthcare, civil justice, government ethics and elections, regulatory policies, and welfare reform. In 1984, the MBP issued a plan that called for stipends for "11th and 12th grade students to attend public or private colleges at state expense (Cibulka & Derlin, 1992). This issue developed into an important policy initiative in 1985 when it was expanded into the Post-Secondary Enrollment options bill. The MBP maintained an active agenda in the educational environment throughout the 1980s, promoting site-based funding, charter school expansion, educational tax credits and deductions, educational choice, and statewide student assessment with public reporting of results (1998-1999 Minnesota Business Partnership Resource Guide).

The Citizens League was a public interest group founded in 1952 that has had significant influence on public policy in Minnesota. The League (2,500 members at the time of this study) "promotes the public interest in Minnesota by involving citizens in identifying and framing critical public policy choices, forging recommendations and advocating their adoption" (Citizens League, 1998). The League believed that citizen involvement in thinking about the problems and

solutions was the key to improving the state and the region. The Citizens League advocated for multiple educational policy initiatives during the time of this study, including: accountability, vouchers, and open enrollment. The Minnesota Business Partnership and the Citizens League both sought out, and hired recognized policy experts to lead their respective organizations, and lobbied state officials on behalf of their positions in the policy arena, through the media, and in public forums.

Minnesota had a reputation for excellent public schools with high graduation rates, and high state rankings on SAT scores during the time of this case study. The state was also in the forefront of the national effort to reform public schools through policy changes. Mazzoni (1993) detailed a chronological listing of state policy initiatives and their outcomes. The following figure lists fifteen educational initiatives that were debated in the policy arena during the years the arts high school issue was in the policy mix, 1976 to 1989. The researcher added three Arts High School references to Mazzoni’s chronology to show how the multiple policy initiatives dovetailed during the relevant years of this investigation.

Figure 9: Policy Initiatives for Minnesota K-12 Educational Policy 1976-1989

Issue area	Policy outcomes
Regional service centers (1976)	Law established regional Educational Cooperative Service Units (ECSUs)
Accountability (1976)	Law mandated a Planning, Evaluation, and Reporting (PER) process for all school districts
Tuition tax credit (1976)	Educational tax deduction increased
School district planning (1977)	Law mandated a comprehensive educational plan from every school district for 1980-1983
Gifted and talented (1979)	Law funded gifted and talented education options
State budget retrenchments (1980)	School-funding cuts; few educational reforms enacted from 1980 to 1982
School improvement (1983)	Law established “Article 8,” K-12 reform initiatives with emphasis on educational technology, instructional “effectiveness,” and in-service education
Early childhood family education (1984)	Law provided state and local funding for early childhood and family education programs

Arts high school (1985)	Law provided planning money for Arts High School
Post-secondary enrollment option (1985)	Law established a post-secondary enrollment options act for 11 th and 12 th graders
High school graduation incentives (1987)	Law established a high school graduation incentives program that gave dropouts and “at-risk” students the right to enroll in programs outside their resident district.
Arts high school (1987)	Law provided bonding authority for Arts High School and established an Arts Resource Center
Outcome-based education (1987)	Law mandated state-developed “Essential Learner Outcomes.”
Open enrollment (1988)	Law established comprehensive open enrollment for all school districts by 1990.
Arts high school (1989)	Law established the Minnesota Center for Arts Education. This authorized and funded the residential and resource portions of the Arts High School.

(Mazzoni, T. 1993; Hainlen, J. 2009)

This activist approach to educational policy was systemic in nature with interest groups, official policy actors, proximate actors, and policy entrepreneurs vying for influence in the educational policy arena of the state. The proposal for an arts high school, while not significant in fiscal resources, number of students served, or capital expenditure, nonetheless injected into the educational policy arena a controversial idea that involved stark difference in the allocation of educational values (Legislator, interview, 1997, December 12; Easton, 1965).

Budget Rescission 1979-1982

The potential fiscal support for the proposed arts high school from the state legislature was tempered by the reality of significant budget shortfalls in the state general fund between January 1980 and December 1982. The “Start-up and Initial Operations Budget, 1980-1983” for the proposed Minnesota School for the Arts, projected Minnesota Legislative appropriations of \$86,000 in 1981-82 and

\$1,590,000 in 1982-83.² This projection by the planning committee was made public at approximately the same time that Minnesota faced major budget shortfalls. The state general fund initially faced a budget shortfall in May of 1980, when actual revenue was \$34.1 million below estimates for that month (Sederberg, 1983, all subsequent budget figures in this section are from this publication). June continued the trend, and revenues ended \$69.5 million below budget office estimates. In July, Governor Quie brought agency heads, legislative leaders, local government leaders, school officials, and media representatives together to explore reductions in the state budget and the impact on state operations. A continuing shortfall in August of 1980 required the state to cut \$195.1 million to balance the budget for the biennium 1979-80. Aids to local school districts were reduced by \$89.5 million with a 5.3 percent per month rescission enacted in November to spread the deficit out over seven months.

The year, 1981, continued to be filled with fiscal challenges for the state. The legislature passed, and Governor Quie signed into law Senate File 2 in February 1981 that restored \$89.5 million in school aids that was unallotted in 1980. However, in May 1981, a memo from the Commissioner of Education informed school districts that no school aid payments would be made during April or May of 1981. The fiscal year closed on 1981, June 30 with a reported general fund deficit of \$20.5 million. The legislative auditor disagreed with the methodology and the conclusions, and issued a dissenting report stating that the liability was significantly understated and was actually \$264.2 million. In August, the Commissioner of Finance resigned amid reported governmental agency disagreements. December 1981 brought more negative news for school systems when the Third Special Legislative Session passed a bill reducing school aids by an additional \$129.8 million. In 1982, January, the school aid payments due to the schools, \$6.8 million, were withheld because of lack of state revenue. Governor Quie announced on January 25, 1982 that he would “not seek re-election in order to take the budget issues out of the political arena” (Sederberg, p. 19). By 1982, November the projected cash deficit in the general fund

² Minnesota School for the Arts, Start-Up and Initial Operations Budget, 1980-1981, Greater Twin Cities Youth Symphonies archives.

was a negative \$637 million, and in 1982, December, the Legislature passed a \$352 million budget-balancing bill.

Arts educators in Minnesota concluded in the Arts Education Survey-Part I, Spring, 1982, that the fine arts sustained reductions in staff, courses, and performance options as a direct result of the budget reductions at the state level. Fifty-one percent of the music educators in the state reported in a 1982, May survey that their districts had experienced staff and course reductions in 1981-82. Forty-six percent of those responding to the Minnesota Department of Education survey believed that the reductions were not equally distributed across the curriculum and staff. The report documented that music classes sustained reductions in the general music classes, band, orchestra, and choir. Figure 10 details the budget reductions in music:

Figure 10: Minnesota Department of Education Survey of Reductions in Music

<u>Classroom music</u>	<u>Band</u>
-33% Elementary	-23% Elementary
-18% Middle School/Junior High	-24% Middle School/Junior High
-9% Senior High	-21% Senior High
<u>Orchestra</u>	<u>Choir</u>
-5% Elementary	-12% Elementary
-5% Middle School/Junior High	-18% Middle School/Junior High
-3% Senior High	-20% Senior High

(Arts Education Survey, Part I, 1982, Spring, Minnesota Department of Education)

The recession convinced both the Minnesota Department of Education and arts educators that budget reductions fell more onerously on the arts than other classes in the public schools. This data supported the general perception among arts educators and reinforced Governor Perpich’s belief that the arts experienced disproportionate reductions in times of budget difficulties (Agency staff, interview, 1997, November 4). Perpich referenced this concept during the policy debate to support the arts high school concept and a dedicated budget for artistically talented students.

Gifted and Talented Education Movement in Minnesota 1978-1984

The Governor's Task Force for the Minnesota School of the Arts based its 1984 recommendation to the Governor on the belief that an arts high school would meet the unmet needs of artistically gifted and talented students in the state, better than local school systems. The context for this decision was an emphasis in Minnesota in the late 1970s and early 1980s on gifted and talented education. The Task Force report developed an extensive philosophical basis for the arts school that drew on Renzulli and Smith's 1980 definition of giftedness. This definition was quoted in its entirety in the Task Force report to Governor Perpich in 1984 (Renzulli & Smith, *An Approach to Identifying and Programming for Gifted and Talented Students*, 1980). This definition stated:

“Giftedness consists of an interaction among three basic clusters of human traits – these clusters being above-average general abilities, high levels of task commitment, and high levels of creativity. Gifted and talented children are those possessing or capable of developing this composite set of traits and applying them to any potentially valuable area of human performance. Children who manifest or are capable of developing an interaction among the three clusters require a wide variety of educational opportunities and services that are not ordinarily provided through regular instructional programs” (as cited in the Minnesota Arts Education Governor's Task Force, 1984. p. 8).

The Task Force further concluded that, “we in no way assume that one is ‘born with’ giftedness. Almost all human abilities can be developed to some extent and it is our intent to call attention to the potentially gifted, i.e., those who could ‘make it’ under the right conditions” (Governor's Task Force, 1984. p. 9). The extension of the concept of giftedness from demonstrated achievement, to “potentially gifted” was controversial and one arts advocate considered this to be a significant shift of emphasis away from the initial planning documents for the arts school to accommodate political reality. “That changed the focus then, away from being that of gifted and talented to the point of saying all students are gifted and talented, some, whose talents have been discovered and some that are still undiscovered” (Arts advocate, interview, 1997, October 26). This shift in definition ultimately resulted in

developing a selection process for admissions based on proportional representation of students from each legislative district rather than selecting students from around the state based on the highest audition scores or the most advanced portfolios in art and writing.

The gifted and talented movement of the late 1970s and early 1980s provided not only a rationale for the proposed arts high school, but there was a cross-over of people interested in gifted and talented education and people interested in the Arts High School. The Minnesota Department of Education researched, wrote, and disseminated the curriculum bulletin number 54, “Some Essential Learner Outcome Extensions for Students Gifted in Art, Communication, Mathematics, Music, Science, and Social Studies” in the spring of 1978. The editor of this document was the Coordinator for Education for the Gifted at the Minnesota Department of Education, Lorraine Hertz. The following year, 1979, Hertz joined the planning committee for the Arts High School feasibility study and represented the gifted education division of the Minnesota Department of Education.

The gifted and talented movement provided not only the underlying philosophical motivation for an arts high school but a potential funding source. William L. Jones, a key spokesperson for the idea, sought early on to connect the concept of artistically gifted young people in Minnesota with the emerging awareness on the state level of gifted and talented education. He saw this as a means to serve artistically gifted students and just as importantly, he envisioned this as a way to develop a stable funding source for an arts high school by tapping into the state gifted and talented budget. Jones began presenting sessions at the Educational Cooperative Service Unit’s (ECSU) conferences in 1978, October about the proposed arts high school. He articulated his vision of a school to serve artistically gifted and talented students in Minnesota and referenced the state gifted and talented budget as a possible source of funding to sustain the arts high school.³

The Northwest Area Foundation embraced the emerging state movement to support gifted and talented education and announced a funding priority for gifted

³ Hertz, Lorraine. Letter to William L. Jones. 1978, October 27. Greater Twin Cities Youth Symphonies Archives.

programs in 1978-79. The Foundation issued a bulletin through the Minnesota Educational Cooperative Service Units (ECSU) that it had “recently decided to concentrate its elementary and secondary grant-making activities in three areas: rural education, gifted education, and teacher effectiveness.”⁴ The availability of grant money from a well-known foundation was a fortunate match of resources, in the selected area of foundation priorities, at precisely the right moment that the Arts High School Planning Committee needed money to further develop the concept of an arts high school. The selected “Areas of Interest” for funding by the Northwest Area Foundation was defined in the “General Features” section of the bulletin: “The Foundation seeks written proposals from educational-related agencies that address the following areas: Special schools where curricula is specifically for gifted students.”⁵ The Northwest Area Foundation funding priorities were aligned in content, focus, and structure, and emphasized “special schools.” As a result, an unprecedented moment existed for advocates of the Arts High School to successfully gain foundation funding, to visit existing arts high schools in the country, bring in arts education experts to speak to the Planning Committee, and for the first time, create a written proposal that articulated the vision for a Minnesota School for the Arts.

The attention to the gifted and talented movement by the special interest actors, official state actors, and foundations paralleled a national awareness of “alternative schools” that had enrolled three million students in specialty schools by the fall of 1979, according to a *U. S. News and World Report* article dated, 1979, September 10 on alternative schools for the gifted, schools for basic education, and desegregation magnet schools. The Houston High School for the Performing and Visual Arts was referenced as providing a “rigorous scholastic curriculum and a rich environment in dance, drama, the visual arts, and vocal and instrumental music” (*U.S. News and World Report*, 1979, September 10, p. 37). This article was underlined in multiple places and copies were widely disseminated by the chairperson, William L. Jones, to the Arts High School Planning Committee. It was retained in the archives of the

⁴ Northwest Area Foundation. Background Information on Gifted and Talented Education. Educational Cooperative Service Unit. Greater Twin Cities Youth Symphonies Archives.

⁵ Northwest Area Foundation. Background Information on Gifted and Talented Education. Educational Cooperative Service Unit. Greater Twin Cities Youth Symphonies Archives.

planning committee as one of only a few popular press articles, and connected the efforts in Minnesota to a national perception of trends in gifted education and specialty schools.

After Governor Perpich announced his interest in an Arts High School at his 1984, February, press conference, the Task Force on the Minnesota School for the Arts reconvened and issued another six-page planning document, The Education of Gifted Learners, later that same year. This document established a more comprehensive historical context for gifted and talented education beginning with references to the landmark report on gifted education issued in 1972 by the U. S. Commissioner of Education, Sidney Marland. Marland reported that there are six categories of giftedness: General Intellectual Ability, Specific Academic Aptitude, Creativity or Productive Thinking, Visual or Performing Arts Ability, Psychosocial or Leadership Ability, and Psychomotor Ability (Education of Gifted Learners, undated. p. 1, in the archives of MCAE). The Minnesota School for the Arts Task Force concluded in their report that this definition had, “gained general support among educators and researchers in the field of gifted education” (Ibid., p. 1). The document further established the linkage to the gifted education movement in Minnesota by asserting that, “This definition is subscribed to by the State of Minnesota Department of Education” (Ibid., p. 1). The Task Force concluded that twenty to thirty percent of the population needed special programming for giftedness, but five percent needed “regular, intensive, individualized programming which cannot be made available in regular school settings” (Ibid., p. 3). This Task Force concluded, based on these definitions, that a special school was necessary to meet the needs of artistically gifted students in Minnesota.

The contributions of the Northwest Area Foundation to the gifted and talented debate were recognized in the planning document when Judith Healey, Vice President of the Northwest Area Foundation, was quoted in a Foundation report, “Gifted Children: Nurturing a Resource 1978-1982.” She asserted,

“We recognize gifted adults by their actual accomplishments. We can listen to a Mozart symphony, contemplate Einstein’s reconceptualization of the universe, marvel at the discoveries of Marie Curie, or examine the impact of Martin Luther King’s leadership. Then we can debate the existence of each

individual's giftedness on the merits of his or her accomplishments.... To identify giftedness in children, we must look at their current abilities and areas of strength as indicators of their potential for adult-level giftedness" (The Education of Gifted Learners, undated, p. 3, in the archives of MCAE).

The planning document posed the question, "Does the existence of advanced abilities 'mandate' specialized programming?" The answer revolved, not primarily around artistic considerations, but around giftedness. The writers spoke of "gifted leaders," "gifted scientists," and "gifted artists, writers, and performers who will illuminate and solve our greatest problems. If we nurture the potential identifiable in our gifted children, we can expect a richer, more fulfilled life for all members of society" (Ibid., p. 4).

The planning committee summarized the context for the Arts High School by asserting that it is a "quintessentially American belief that each person has a right to reach his or her highest potential" (Ibid., p. 4). The gifted population can expect that they have an "individual right to 'life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.'" This "translates into the right to a stimulating and challenging educational environment" (Ibid., p. 4). These words resonated with the most fundamental beliefs about personal destiny and opportunity in America, and sought to frame the necessity for an arts high school within that tradition, echoing the basic ideas and documents of the American experience; the right to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." The committee deflected the criticisms of gifted programs as being unnecessary because "gifted students are so smart, they get it on their own anyway" (Ibid., p. 5). The analogy of a professional basketball player possessing the skills but needing that talent nourished by coaching, practice, and high-level development was offered as an example for high achieving students in the fine arts. The report concluded, "Intellectual and creative talents are no different. If [skills] are not used, refined, and stretched, the most brilliant mind will stagnate" (Ibid., p. 5).

The intellectual and public justification for the Arts High School was tied to the gifted and talented movement. Artistic students' needs were not being met in their local schools and a special, alternative school was needed in Minnesota to meet their needs and keep them in Minnesota. The most widely accepted definitions of gifted

and talented education supported the belief that artistic students could be identified and their potential developed in a residential school for the arts. An influential executive branch official, in the Perpich administration, concluded that the “genius of the Arts High School planners” was that they coupled the Arts High School to the gifted and talented movement of the 1970s and 1980s (Executive branch official, interview, 1997, December 18).

Arts Education Advocacy 1972-1985

There was a confluence of people and events from 1972 to 1985 that produced a highly favorable climate for arts education in Minnesota. Youth orchestra director, William L. Jones, came to Minnesota in 1972 to direct the Greater Twin Cities Youth Symphonies. Exceptionally talented students performed at outstanding levels and were recruited by major colleges and music conservatories around the nation. However, Jones observed that other highly gifted student musicians chose to leave Minnesota, while still in high school, and attend advanced high schools for the arts, such as the North Carolina School of the Arts, and Interlochen Arts Academy in Interlochen, Michigan. The loss of the most talented high school music students from the youth symphony had a demonstrable effect on the achievement of the organization. Recruiters from prestigious music schools accelerated the loss of high school students when they deliberately recruited Minnesota students for their existing arts high schools. During this time period, Jones was elected chair of the Board of Directors of the Minnesota Alliance for the Arts in Education, and used the statewide meetings as a forum for raising the issue of talented Minnesota high school students leaving the state. One of the solutions discussed in these statewide meetings was a Minnesota high school for the arts, modeled after the North Carolina School of the Arts. The year 1976 was the first time the idea of a Minnesota Arts High School appeared in public discussions at the Alliance for Arts in Education forums.

Four other important initiatives created and enhanced the climate for arts education advocacy during the time the Arts High School concept was developed. The Minnesota Alliance for the Arts in Education was organized within the

Minnesota Department of Education in 1973. The MAAE was an arts advocacy outreach program sponsored by the National Alliance for the Arts in Education through the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts in Washington D.C. The Minnesota board of directors was made up of educators, artists, and citizens concerned with arts education in Minnesota. The objective of the MAAE was to develop a statewide effort to “coordinate and implement a comprehensive arts education program for the students in the State of Minnesota” (Report to the Legislature, 1985). The MAAE began as an official actor in the policy arena but separated from the Minnesota Department of Education in 1978 and became an independent interest group. During the first year as a separate organization, the MAAE sought and received funding from federal and state grants, and private sector organizations. By 1984-85 the MAAE had a budget of \$155,000 for statewide arts education advocacy.

The Governor’s Commission on the Arts (authorized during Governor Perpich’s first partial term in office) was an official commission that conducted a survey in 1976 to determine the status of the fine arts and arts education in Minnesota. The resulting report, Minnesota: State of the Arts, 1976, advocated for the idea that the arts are basic for the total education of all students, and recognized that public schools provided the most sustained environment for learning about the arts for young people. The commission recommended that funds be used for licensed arts specialists in elementary school, intensive in-service training for classroom teachers and continuous assessment of arts education programs by the Minnesota Department of Education. Although the report had multiple recommendations for arts education, it was written before the arts high school concept emerged and did not contain any reference to the idea of an arts high school. The Department of Education and the Minnesota Alliance for Arts in Education co-authored another report, the Minnesota Plan for Arts in Education in 1977. Funded with a grant from the United States Office of Education, the plan outlined objectives for improving arts education in Minnesota. The plan also had as a secondary goal, the development of a national model for arts planning in the states. The plan was accepted and approved by the Minnesota State Board of Education in 1978 (Report to the Legislature, 1985).

The Minnesota Department of Education contributed to the context of arts education by expanding its assessment and reporting of student achievement in theatre/writing, music, and visual arts from 1980 to 1982. The Department assessed theatre and creative writing in 226 school districts in 1980. Theatre performance opportunities were reported in ninety-six percent of the districts. Students had the opportunity to attend professional theatre performances in sixty percent of school districts. Elective courses in creative writing were available in forty-eight percent of school districts, and forty percent of the districts brought in writers-in-residence to work with students and teachers (Minnesota Department of Education, 1982) within district classrooms.

Music data were based on responses from 242 school districts during the years 1980-1981. Written curricula were available in forty percent of districts. Elementary music specialists were employed in ninety percent of all districts with an average of sixty-two minutes per week of classroom instruction. Junior high and senior high curriculum emphasized performance classes more than music theory, history, or appreciation. Field trips to concerts were available in seventy-two percent of the districts surveyed.

Dance data were reported from 172 districts. Seventy-one percent of the school districts reported some instruction in dance. Movement, folk dance, and rhythmic response were considered dance instruction by the districts. Only thirty-three percent of secondary schools offered an elective class in dance after the 10th grade year (Minnesota Department of Education, 1982).

Visual arts information was gathered from 246 schools districts. Twenty-eight percent of the districts had a written K-12 visual arts curriculum. High school student participation in the visual arts represented twenty percent of the school population. Field trips to galleries and museums were available in forty-seven percent of the school districts. Guest artists were brought in by twenty-two percent of the schools and sixty-eight percent of the districts had one to two arts teachers at the high school level. Elementary art specialists were hired in thirty-nine percent of the districts. However, elementary classroom instruction was lacking in fifty-six percent of the state's school districts because the classroom teachers were not trained in art

instruction or did not dedicate time to teaching the visual arts (Minnesota Department of Education, 1982).

The 1983 Legislature passed a significant new arts education-planning bill, the Comprehensive Arts Planning Program (CAPP) bill. CAPP grants were awarded to thirty districts to improve arts education in their individual school districts. Districts were required to form a community/district committee to assess the current state of arts education, develop a five-year improvement plan, and promote arts education in the district. Staff from the Department of Education, the Minnesota State Arts Board, and the Minnesota Alliance for Arts in Education was available to train the committee members who served on the Comprehensive Arts Planning Program (Report to the Legislature, 1985).

The second major governmental panel on the state of the arts in Minnesota was convened on 1984, January 23 at the behest of Governor Rudy Perpich. The Governor's Commission on Economic Vitality in the Arts was comprised of thirty-two artists, non-profit arts representatives, foundation officers, business leaders, scholars, and arts management directors (See Appendix N). The commission was charged by Perpich to "survey current information concerning the condition of the arts in the economy and identify projects which would direct increased arts funds toward economic development goals, reinforce the dynamic thrust of the arts, and provide a stability which enables the arts in Minnesota to maintain their national supremacy." The commission's work was guided by six principles from Burgard's "What Makes Cultural Policy" (as cited in the Governor's Commission on Economic Vitality, 1984, p. 1). The fourth principle was "Acknowledge the role played by schools, colleges, and universities in training Minnesota citizens to be artists and audiences thus passing on our cultural heritage" (Governor's Commission, p. 1). This guiding principle increased the awareness of the role played by schools in arts education, thereby giving advocates influence in suggesting a high school of the arts as a possible model of reform in educational policy.

Origin of the Minnesota Arts High School Concept

The idea of a high school for the arts had two distinct origins that merged early in the development of the concept. The most influential independent actor was William L. Jones, Music Director of the Greater Twin Cities Youth Symphonies (GTCYS). Jones invited admissions directors, beginning in 1973, from major music schools (Eastman School of Music, Interlochen Academy for the Arts, North Carolina School for the Arts, Oberlin Conservatory, University of Iowa, University of Michigan, and University of Wisconsin) to attend auditions held by GTCYS for its concerto concert. Skilled Minnesota student musicians performed at the highest levels of artistic excellence and were recruited by these advanced schools and universities. Four to six highly talented youth symphony student musicians self-selected each year, from 1973 to 1978, to drop out of Minnesota high schools and leave the state to attend high school at Interlochen Arts Academy in Michigan or North Carolina School for the Arts. The loss of these exceptionally talented high school students to other states was a significant factor in generating the idea of an arts high school. One informant said, “There was no reason for Minnesota to be losing its gifted and talented youth to institutions such as those, when Minnesota had all the resources to have an equal if not a better school than either one of those two locations” (Arts advocate, interview, 1997).

William L. Jones developed the idea of an arts high school located in Minnesota as a response to the loss of these students and tentatively raised the concept in personal conversations to assess the interest of students, parents, and art educators. At the same time, the Minnesota Alliance for the Arts in Education was developing statewide site locations for arts advocacy and Jones, as chair of the board, included the concept of a residential arts high school on the agenda at several of the meetings in 1976. Arts leaders were positive about an arts high school that “would serve gifted and talented students who could not have their needs met in their local area and they would not have to leave the state in order to have those needs met” (Arts advocate interview, 1997). Jones also began researching in depth, in 1976, the history of the formation of the North Carolina School of the Arts and corresponded with the

Director of Admissions regarding the founding and structure of the North Carolina school.⁶ Additionally, Jones surveyed five other existing arts high schools including the Florida School of the Arts, Pennsylvania Governor's School for the Arts at Bucknell University, Alabama School of Fine Arts, The New York City High School of Music and Art, and Interlochen Arts Academy.⁷ The two contextual issues of talented student's artistic needs being unmet in local school systems and the loss of exceptionally gifted arts students to other states were crucial in bringing a sense of urgency to the idea of an arts high school.

Official actors from the Minnesota Department of Education, independent actors from foundations, and regional arts organizations quickly involved themselves in the idea of a Minnesota Arts High School. Jones used his organizational skills and compelling personal vision to develop support for the idea from 1976 to 1978 by building coalitions of influential proximate actors and framing the issue to appeal to a wide constituency. The first official document to propose an Arts High School in Minnesota was 1978, September 15. On that date, Jones submitted a grant application from Greater Twin Cities Youth Symphonies to the Northwest Area Foundation (Minnesota Alliance for the Arts in Education was the non-profit fiscal agent) seeking funds for a feasibility study for an Arts High School. The application listed six additional participants in the planning process: David Price, Music Department at the University of Minnesota-Duluth; Mary Honetschlager, Art Education Specialist, State Department of Education; Eugene Young, Principal, Chippewa Middle School, Mounds View Public Schools; Lorraine Hertz, Gifted Education specialist, Minnesota State Department of Education; Linda Nyvall, Bush Foundation, and Lila Jacob, former Dean, Children's Theatre and School. This was followed on 1978, November 22 by a meeting with Northwest Area Foundation

⁶ Dawson, Dirk, letter to William L. Jones from the North Carolina School of the Arts, 1976, September 28, Greater Twin Cities Youth Symphonies archives.

⁷ Humphrey, David, letter to William L. Jones from Florida School of the Arts, dated 1976, November 9; Gatty, Arthur, letter to William L. Jones from Pennsylvania Governor's School for the Arts at Bucknell University, dated 1976, October 22; Nelson, James, letter to William L. Jones from the Alabama School of Fine Arts, dated 1976, October 12; Kosakoff, Gabriel, letter to William L. Jones from the High School of Music and Art, dated 1976, October 13; Jocobi, Roger, letter to William L. Jones from Interlochen Arts Academy, dated 1976, October 8. All letters in the Greater Twin Cities Youth Symphonies archives.

officers and directors from the Minnesota Educational Cooperative Service Units to assess the need for an arts high school in Minnesota. The Northwest Area Foundation approved the grant request on 1978, December 12 for \$4,750.⁸ This money was budgeted to bring consultants to Minnesota from Interlochen Arts Academy, North Carolina School of the Arts, Dallas Arts Magnet High School, and New York City High School of Music and Art. The grant also required a planning document be submitted to the Northwest Area Foundation that outlined the results of the feasibility study.

The second and independent origin of the concept for an arts high school centered on the Minnesota Department of Education, Music Supervisor in the 1970s, David Price. Price was raised in rural LeRoy, Minnesota without the advantage of a strong music program in his public school. He enrolled in music for his undergraduate education and after graduation, taught for several years, in the 1950's, in North Carolina. Price returned to Minnesota to work in the Minnesota Department of Education as the Music Education Specialist. During those years he maintained professional contact with colleagues in North Carolina who were knowledgeable about the development of the North Carolina School of the Arts from 1962-1965 (McEwen, 1974, p. 48; Arts advocate, interview 1997). Price, in his official position at the Department of Education, wrote a grant to the National Endowment for the Arts in 1974 seeking money to establish the Minnesota Alliance for the Arts in Education. The original goal of the MAAE was to be a volunteer agency advising the Minnesota Department of Education and acting as an advocate for arts education in the legislative arena. One of Price's early goals within the MAAE was to establish an arts high school in Minnesota, based on the North Carolina model (Undated document titled Minnesota School for the Arts, in the Greater Twin Cities Youth Symphonies archives, signed by David Price).

Price was an important official actor in the Minnesota Department of Education as the Music Education Specialist. He also represented the Department as a member of the Alliance for Arts in Education. It was during this time that he first conceived

⁸ Bonine, Robert, Assistant Executive Director Northwest Area Foundation, letter to William L. Jones, 1978, December 12, Greater Twin Cities Youth Symphonies archives.

of the idea of an arts high school. William L. Jones was an official actor in the Minnesota Alliance for Arts in Education, as Chairman of the Board of Directors, and represented a highly respected private arts organization, the Greater Twin Cities Youth Symphonies, with important ties to the arts and foundation communities. The concept of a residential Minnesota Arts High School, to serve talented fine arts students from all areas of Minnesota, was a convergence of initially independent ideas by two actors under the umbrella of the Minnesota Alliance for Arts in Education. Who articulated the concept publicly for the first time and where that happened was not possible to ascertain. The North Carolina School of the Arts however, provided the definitive model of a residential state-supported arts high school and was the common antecedent for Jones and Price. The North Carolina School for the Arts also provided the dominant structural framework and fiscal model for the Minnesota concept which combined the visions of two individuals into one common vision that was articulated in casual conversations and formal meetings under the auspices of the Minnesota Alliance for Arts in Education.

Feasibility and Planning Committee Proposal 1978-1980

The goal of an arts high school began officially in 1978 with the grant money from The Northwest Area Foundation. The Planning Committee invited forty-nine influential interest group actors, including: artists (1), arts educators (11), arts organizations (20), media representatives (3), Minnesota Department of Education specialists (3), foundations (4), and University of Minnesota experts (6) to a series of meetings (See Appendix L). There were four Planning Committee meetings from 1979, March to June, and three Feasibility Conferences from 1979, June to October. The results of these meetings were summarized and presented to the Assistant Commissioner of Education at the Minnesota Department of Education, the Minneapolis Chamber of Commerce, the Northwest Area Foundation Conference on Gifted Education, and Minneapolis Mayor, Donald Fraser. The summary meeting was labeled a “Conference to Establish the Minnesota School for the Arts” and was held from 1980, February 29 to March 1 in Minneapolis.

The yearlong efforts of the planning committee were guided by seven assumptions:

1. The needs of many artistically gifted young people were not fully met in the existing educational system.
2. There was no secondary school in the state of Minnesota that offered a complete arts program.
3. Private agencies offered some excellent educational experiences for young people. However, most of those agencies were located in the Twin Cities area and therefore, were generally not available to students in other areas of the state.
4. The State of Minnesota was spending millions of dollars on secondary vocational centers, but the arts were not included.
5. The Twin Cities metropolitan area had many nationally recognized professional arts resources that could be utilized more effectively in educational outreach.
6. A significant number of outstanding high school age students found it necessary to leave the state to enroll in arts schools that would fully develop their talents. These students either received scholarships or were from affluent families who could afford to pay the tuition. This was discriminatory against other talented students whose families could not afford the out-state tuition.
7. There were no arts high schools for high school age students in the Upper Midwest.

(Minnesota School for the Arts, 1979, October)

The seven assumptions were expanded into a three-page written document that detailed for the feasibility conference participants, the guiding ideals of the planning committee. Two key concerns were underlined in the document. The first concern was the lack of a “complete arts program” in any secondary school in Minnesota. The second concern was the inability of Minnesota to keep “artistically gifted students in Minnesota” (Minnesota School for the Arts, p. 3, emphasis in the original document). These highlighted concerns emphasized for the participants, key political concepts; scarcity of resources, lack of comprehensive arts programs, and competition for limited human resources, that is, talented students. The concept of state pride as a symbolic reason for the arts school emerged in the concluding sentence. “We are now at the point where Minnesota could again point the way for the rest of the nation in the area of education for the gifted and in its encouragement of the arts. We must

demonstrate that we can live up to this challenge” (Minnesota School for the Arts, 1979, p. 4).

The most significant work of the conference was the summary and presentation of models comparing four existing arts high schools in the nation. The selected schools varied in funding source, tuition charged to students, admission standards, curricular emphasis, student population, and geographic origin of students. The mission statements of the schools also illuminated important philosophical differences, but overall the summary provided working models that interest group actors could study.

Figure 11: Four Models of Arts High School Organization and Funding

Model 1: North Carolina School of the Arts, Winston-Salem, North Carolina

Founded: 1965

Mission Statement: “A training center for exceptionally talented young people directed toward careers in the performing arts.”

Funding: State and private funding, wholly located within the University of North Carolina

Tuition: \$20 in-state students, \$756 for out-of-state students

Admissions: Selective admissions based on academic standing and auditions

Emphasis: Music and dance career training, no visual arts, drama on college level only

Enrollment: 1979 enrollment: 215 high school students

Student Demographics: 57% of students from outside of North Carolina in 1979

Model 2: Interlochen Arts Academy, Interlochen, Michigan

Founded: 1962

Mission Statement: “An arts center where pre-collegiate students can pursue their study of the arts with others of similar interest.”

Funding: Private and foundation funding

Tuition: 1979 tuition \$2,725 for day students, \$5,450 for residential students

Admissions: Selective admissions based on academic standing and auditions

Emphasis: Music, drama, dance, visual art, and creative writing in all grades

Enrollment: 1979 enrollment: 400 students

Student Demographics: Students from 35 states and 12 foreign countries

Model 3: Arts Magnet High School, Dallas, Texas

Founded: 1975, as a part of the school district desegregation plan

Mission Statement: "Designed to give preliminary but intensive training to the young artist."

Funding: Dallas Public Schools

Tuition: Out-of-district student \$640; actual cost per student, \$1,850

Admissions: Selective admission

Emphasis: Music, dance, theatre, and visual arts

Enrollment: 1979 enrollment: 500 full-time, 100 part-time

Student Demographics: Dallas metropolitan area

Model 4: High School of Music and Art, New York, New York

Founded: 1941

Mission Statement: "A college preparatory school for artistically gifted students."

Funding: New York Public Schools

Tuition: None

Admissions: Selective admissions based on academic standing and auditions.

Emphasis: Music and visual arts only

Enrollment: 1979 enrollment: 2,000

Student Demographics: Students come from the five boroughs of New York City

(Source: Minnesota School for the Arts, 1979)

The planning committee included recommendations from this summary in five major areas: site, program, staffing, estimated budget, and funding sources. The site recommendation was the Twin Cities metropolitan area. The committee suggested an unused secondary or college campus with access to public transportation and close proximity to major arts performance venues. The program agreed upon was music, dance, visual arts (painting, drawing, sculpture, ceramics, photography, and graphic arts), theatre, and creative writing. The board of directors was to be drawn from the state legislature, foundations, and the arts education community, and would act as the legal governing body. The administration would be divided between two people, a principal, and a fund-raiser. Each department would have a coordinator supervising the certified staff. Budget estimates were from \$1,000,000 to \$3,000,000 for building rental and renovation. The general budget was proposed to be \$1,040,000 per year with an approximate yearly cost of \$5,300 per student (Minnesota School for the

Arts, 1979. p. 2). The state legislature was viewed as the most desirable source of funding and the planning committee stipulated, “it is the hope of the committee that the state legislature would see this project as vital and commit itself to the full costs of its operation” (Minnesota School for the Arts, 1979, p. 3). Foundation and private funds were also mentioned as supplementary sources for student aid and start-up costs.

The Minnesota School for the Arts planning document represented two years of work by the planning committee from 1978 to 1980. The eleven pages presented the summary ideas of arts interest group actors, official actors from the Minnesota Department of Education, and influential foundation officers. The breadth of the research from other models, the comprehensive groundwork in long-range fiscal planning and curricular and staff development demonstrated the progress from the initial conceptual stage to a high level of detail achieved in 1980, February. A summary, Prospectus for the Minnesota School for the Arts, was printed and widely distributed in the spring of 1980. The idea of an arts high school however, began to generate opposition by significant players in the education arena and was as yet unknown to actors in the policy arena (Agency staff, interview, 1997, November 4; Legislator, interview, 1997, November 11).

Gubernatorial Leadership in the Policy Arena

Rudy Perpich’s personal and political values were shaped by his childhood in the iron-range communities of northern Minnesota. These experiences and the character he developed guided and motivated Perpich during the policy dispute over the Arts High School. Perpich was the eldest of four boys, born to Croatian immigrant parents in St. Louis County, Minnesota. His parents were a part of the South Slav immigration to Minnesota from 1880 to 1910 that clustered Bulgarians, Croatians, Montenegrins, Serbs, and Slovenes in the northeastern iron-ore mining region of Minnesota. The underground mining techniques used on the Mesabi Range increased the demand for unskilled workers, and by 1910 there were 2,650 Croatians in St. Louis County (Holmquist, 1981).

The Perpich family placed great value on education for each of the boys from an early age. Perpich's mother had three years of formal schooling and his father had nine months of education spread over three years. Education was important because it was seen as "a way out of poverty" (Perpich associate, interview, 1997, December 26) and "their key out of the mines" (Legislator, interview, 1997, November 11). Rudy Perpich and his three brothers all completed college, with three degrees in dentistry, one degree in medicine, one degree in law, and one degree in psychiatry spread out among the four boys. One acquaintance said, "There was no flush toilet, and they grew up in tremendous poverty. Most of the young people in the mining towns were uninterested in education, but in the Perpich family the report card was a big deal and they were told from the earliest ages on, you must all go to college" (Perpich associate, interview, 1997, December 26). Perpich believed in the inherent value of education and believed from his experience that government was required to provide children with the opportunity for a public education.

Rudy Perpich placed great importance on standing up for people who couldn't defend themselves and the value of collective action to improve working conditions for people. His maternal grandfather was a union organizer and was caught by the mining company encouraging workers to join the union. The company transferred him, as a punishment, to a job deep in the mine where he worked in knee-deep water with cold water dripping on him from the mineshafts above. He lasted only a short time before he got pneumonia from the conditions and died. This was a "very potent memory for Perpich because it was a disaster for his mother, who had to drop out of school in the 8th grade and her whole family, had very difficult times after that" (Perpich associate, interview, 1997, December 26). Rudy Perpich also told the story of his father passing out pro-union pamphlets at night and being so severely beaten-up by company thugs that Rudy and his brothers would have to bring their father home on a wooden door and attend to his wounds on the kitchen table. This involvement in union activities and hearing the stories of his father and grandfather led Perpich to recognize the nature of leadership for the common good (Terry, 1993) and the moral imperative of "standing up for people who really needed help" (Perpich associate, interview, 1997, December 26). An influential state agency actor summed

up the effect of these beliefs by concluding, “Perpich had great compassion for people he saw suffering, and people who had been hurt” (Agency staff, interview, 1997, November 4).

Perpich began his political career in Hibbing, where he ran for the school board and was elected in 1956. He recognized early on that women in the school system were not being paid equal wages for equal jobs. He worked with the school board to change that policy and it generated great controversy as an impractical idea. Perpich raised the same issue of pay equity as Governor in the 1980s and signed legislation requiring equal pay for equal work for all state employees. Later, when Perpich served on the National Governor’s Association, he again introduced a pay equity resolution for the governors to vote on, and managed to get it passed against intense opposition (Perpich associate, interview, 1997, December 26). This political resolve to make the government seek justice for its citizens; culminated in establishing the Center for Victims of Torture, to assist international victims of torture, by offering them safe housing in Minnesota.

Perpich developed several ideas for educational change during his years on the Hibbing School Board. The first idea was that fine arts programs get shortchanged in public schools. He said on more than one occasion during the arts school conflict that, “If the jocks come up against the arts, the jocks always win and the arts always lose” (Kohl, L. 1987, April, 5, p. A1). He also thought it was difficult for rural students “to get good art education, and they seemed to be punished by the fact that they were interested in the arts, or music or dance” (Agency staff, interview, 1997, November 4). Perpich did not view public policy as an abstraction. He thought public policy could and should help people. When policies stood in the way of reasonable solutions, then the policy should be changed. The idea for open enrollment across school district boundaries developed when Perpich brought his family to the Twin Cities after he was first elected to the State Legislature. He had an apartment in one school district, and wanted to enroll his kids in a nearby district other than where the apartment was located. A state legislator in relating the story said, “I don’t know why it didn’t occur to him, but it didn’t occur to him that he could not do that” (Legislator, interview, 1997, December 12). When he and Lola made the

choice for the school out of their attendance area, the children were denied entrance, and the seeds of “school choice” were planted. This experience emerged twenty-eight years later as the Open Enrollment Bill of 1988 which established comprehensive open enrollment for all school districts. Policies to serve the common good did not “just happen, and they were not developed in a vacuum for Perpich” (Policy expert, interview, 1998, February 19). Perpich believed that people could identify problems and work together with the government for solutions.

Policy Influenced by Perpich’s Time in Europe

The gubernatorial election loss to Al Quie in November 1978 was a painful political defeat for Perpich. One legislator related the story that Perpich went to Mass the next Sunday and the priest upon seeing the Governor in the congregation suggested in the homily that good things could come out of this defeat. Perpich was so upset that he got up and walked out of the church. Following the election loss, Perpich was offered a position as trade representative in Vienna, Austria by Control Data Corporation. He first moved with his family to New York in 1979, January, and then moved to Austria in 1979, September, where he lived until 1982. He was greatly influenced by the artistic culture of Europe. He said in a 1987 interview, that his interest in the arts “stemmed from the three years he spent in Vienna, Austria, between his first and second terms as governor. I just saw what the arts did for that society. It was far less violent. You could walk late at night and not worry about crime. Here, you just wouldn’t do that” (Kohl, L. 1987, April 5, p. A1). Perpich also observed an activist government and “saw how far government could go in supporting the children” (Perpich associate, interview, 1997, December 26). Perpich made it clear while he was in Europe that he planned to return to Minnesota and make another run for governor. It was also clear that he planned an enhanced role for arts and arts education. He corresponded with one official actor from Europe about his plans and wrote that he “would be the arts governor when he returned” (Agency staff, interview, 1998, January 22).

While in Europe, Perpich took the opportunity to travel to other countries and was impressed by the artistic milieu. Both Rudy and Lola were “taken with the prominent part the arts played in the everyday life of the Europeans and struck with how much more they valued the arts in that culture than in the United States” (Agency staff, interview, 1997, November 4). The Moscow School for the Arts, in particular, made an impression on Rudy Perpich as a model of arts education and achievement (Ibid). This same agency actor concluded that the time in Europe motivated Perpich in three ways; first, the fine arts presented educational opportunities for children, secondly, an increased artistic environment would enhance the image of Minnesota around the world, and lastly, personal love of the arts. The opportunity to personally participate in the fine arts made Perpich want to continue as a fine arts advocate once he returned to Minnesota. An influential legislator (1997, November 11) agreed that the time in Europe was profoundly important to Perpich in developing his support of the Arts High School. “I don’t think it [the arts school] would have ever happened. He would have had a limited Minnesota-view of the world. Best thing that ever happened to him was losing in 1978, and coming back and winning again because he had a totally expanded view of government, and he was self-confident at that point; he had dealt with people all over the world and had done it successfully. He was a much different leader at that time” (Ibid). Another legislative staffer corroborated this view, “He was a transformed person when he came back” (1997, December 15). An arts advocate aptly summarized the experience when he observed, “I don’t think he had really put that much value on what the arts meant until he had the experience in Europe” (Arts advocate, interview, 1997, October 26).

Political and Leadership Values of Rudy Perpich

An executive branch official contended that after observing state government for over twenty years there are two types of effective governors. The first type is the governor with an expansive vision of how the government can serve the people. “They draw on things that happened to them and hold values close to their actions.”

The second type is the “good government type” who is dedicated to making government work. These politicians understand “process and rules” (Executive branch official, interview, 1997, December 18). This authoritative informant placed Perpich in the first category of “big vision” governor. From the data, six political and leadership values evolved that guided Perpich’s dedication to the cause of the Arts High School. The arts coalition that championed the Arts High School effectively appealed to these, in translating values to policy.

The first value was that public policy was not an abstraction. One former legislator, who was in a public policy analysis role when interviewed for this research, articulated this principle about Perpich when he stated, “Public policy wasn’t just an abstraction, he could help kids like he had been helped by government” (Policy expert, interview, 1998, February 19). The school system provided the immigrant families with tangible benefits: language skills, elementary and secondary education, post-secondary education, food, recreation, and showers, and Perpich used those childhood experiences as a reference for good government. The issues he chose to work on, he understood on a personal level and dedicated himself to implementing solutions with great passion (Executive branch official, interview, 1997, December 18).

The second value was to keep the big picture in mind and negotiate on the details. Perpich understood the importance of resistance and alternative viewpoints in defining policy solutions. He was considered effective by one associate because he was a leader who “was able to keep an overview in mind, yet still [be] effective in negotiating the details” (Perpich associate, interview, 1997, December 26). This ability was buttressed with an overriding belief that he could work for good things for the State of Minnesota (Agency staff, interview, 1997, November 4).

The third value revolved around the “perception that the State of Minnesota was going to be a leader in the nation” (Arts Advocate, interview, 1997, October 26). Perpich had spent time in Europe and saw opportunities for Minnesota from a global perspective. He knew first hand what business competition meant in the national and international arenas and had an understanding of the importance of a public education system to improve student learning, to compete in those arenas. Perpich advocated

for this in his State of the State speech in 1984. “I am convinced that Minnesota can become one of the great centers of culture and commerce, of education and opportunity, of sports and recreation, a Mecca where citizens from all backgrounds and all pursuits can live and work effectively together, a beacon of success and opportunity for the nation and the world” (Salisbury, B. 1984, January 11, p. A4).

The fourth value was that “policy was an edifice” (Executive branch official, interview, 1997, December 18). Close political associates equated Perpich’s public policy with the construction of a building. This was aptly summed up with one informant contending that for Perpich, “good things happened in places and spaces” (Executive branch official, interview, 1997, December 18). The evidence of this can be seen in high profile public building projects that Perpich advocated for during his tenure. These buildings included the Mall of America, the World Trade Center, the Center for Victims of Torture, and the Minnesota Center for Arts Education.

The fifth value was that an astute governor must work within a four-year time frame; consequently legislation must be passed quickly, and then fine-tuned after implementation. Perpich “understood one thing and that is you can do the years of reports and debate and the gathering of support and the building of coalitions. But, he knew he only had four years and that things can be passed quite quickly in the legislature. Legislators may moan and groan about ‘we don’t have enough information, we don’t have enough whatever,’ but [there must be] the commitment to do something, to write law, to put a little bit of money into something that will grow” (Executive branch official, interview, 1997, December 18).

The sixth value arose from growing up in rural Minnesota and Perpich’s observations of artistic children in public schools during his years on the Hibbing School Board. Perpich developed a concern and a sense of moral obligation for artistic students he said, were “tortured in the local schools” (Agency staff, interview, 1997, November 4). Other informants recalled additional descriptors that Perpich used including: “isolated,” “troubled” and “embarrassed in their own schools” (Legislator, interview, 1997, December 22; Agency staff, interview, 1997, December 17). One Perpich associate stated in an interview that Perpich believed, “The iron mining area wasn’t good for someone who wanted to read poetry or act in a play.”

Further he stated that Perpich believed that “rural Minnesota neglected its kids with artistic talent” and that Perpich saw the Arts High School as a “way to provide safety for kids from rural areas” (Perpich associate, interview, 1997, November 18). The question of who were these “tortured kids” and why did they need a safe environment was pursued by the investigator in follow-up probes. Two informants related a story that Perpich had shared during the Arts High School debate. They said Perpich himself, recalled beating up a boy, along with his brothers on a school bus, who was reading poetry on the way to school. One informant said, Perpich assumed (at that time) that a boy who would read poetry was gay (Perpich associate, interview, 1997, November 18). Another informant recalled the same story and said that Perpich, “had regret for the way he had acted” (Perpich associate, interview, 1997, December 26). This important issue is raised at this point, because Perpich confronted a common, but often unspoken assumption that artistic talent equated to being gay, during the debate about locating the Arts High School near Loring Park, in Minneapolis (Executive branch official, interview, 1997, December 18). It was the conclusion of this researcher that one of the meanings of “tortured kids” for Rudy Perpich was code language for “gay,” and that the Arts High School was viewed by Perpich as a potential safe school for gay kids, particularly from rural school districts around Minnesota. Perpich also repeatedly told the story of a boy in “pink tights,” who committed suicide in Hibbing, and this researcher judged that this story was a symbolic narrative about what happened to a gay student in rural Minnesota. When this conclusion was posed to informants in follow-up questions, they concurred that Perpich was aware that some of the conflict about the high school policy issue, was a fear by policy makers of publicly confronting the treatment of gay students in schools (Agency staff, interview, 1997, November 4, Perpich associate, interview, 1997, November 18). These informants viewed Perpich’s values and public stance as courageous for the times in which the Arts High School issue was debated.

Perpich served on the Hibbing School Board when Bob Dylan, the famous American folk singer, attended Hibbing High School. Perpich told a story to several of the informants that a single experience clearly stuck in his mind and helped make the case for an arts high school. According to a former Minnesota State Senator,

Perpich related that at one time Bob Dylan, as a high school student, was told by a teacher to stop “banging on the pianos like that at Hibbing High School, because you are not supposed to.” The senator recalled that this was a “pretty darn powerful statement about the need for a different educational environment when somebody, like Bob Dylan, is told to “stop banging on the pianos” (Legislator interview, 1997, December 12). Perpich used this specific anecdote to illustrate his point, that extraordinary artistic talent could be misunderstood in the average public school, and the state needed an arts high school to respond appropriately to highly talented, but misunderstood kids.

Conclusion

The origin of the arts high school developed in the context of many issues, including: multiple educational initiatives for educational reform beginning in 1976, the statewide and national gifted and talented movement from 1978 to 1984, the difficult fiscal climate in Minnesota from 1979-1982, interest group actors who initiated the idea of a Minnesota Arts High School as a policy response to articulated deficiencies in the state education system, and the personal life circumstances of Governor Rudy Perpich that made it likely for him to attach himself to the concept of an arts high school as a worthy policy goal in the public interest. Figure twelve summarizes in chronological order, the main events preceding the placement of the Arts High School on the official policy agenda in 1984, February. This chronology represents selected events from Appendix A, the Comprehensive Chronology of the Minnesota Center for Arts Education 1976-1989.

Figure 12: Major Events Leading to the MCAE 1976-1989

Phase One: Idea Initiation and Development 1973-1980

1973 The Minnesota Alliance for the Arts in Education was organized within the Minnesota Department of Education. The MAAE board of directors was comprised of educators, artists, and citizens who were interested in a “statewide effort to develop, coordinate, and implement a comprehensive arts education program.”

- 1976, Summer William L. Jones, Music Director of the Greater Twin Cities Youth Symphonies, presented the idea of an arts high school to the delegates of the Minnesota Alliance for the Arts in Education state conference.
- 1978, January Statewide Conference, *The Arts in Education "Coming to Our Senses"* renewed the idea of an arts high school.
- 1978, December Northwest Area Foundation grant (\$4,750) funded a feasibility study of a Minnesota School for the Arts. The grant was given to William L. Jones, of the Greater Twin Cities Youth Symphonies. The money was used to study four models of arts high schools throughout the nation.
- 1979, February A bill to establish a program of aid for gifted and talented students was introduced in the House. This bill was referenced by the Arts High School Planning Committee as a model for future funding.
- 1979, March Planning and Feasibility Conferences, sponsored by the Minnesota Alliance for the Arts in Education, were held around Minnesota.
- 1979, December The concept of a Minnesota Arts High School was presented at the Conference on Gifted Education
- 1980, February Conference to establish Minnesota School for the Arts held in Minneapolis
- 1980, March First article in local media about the concept of an arts school published in St. Paul Pioneer Press and Dispatch.
- 1980, April Northwest Area Foundation rejected the grant application for a second round of funding.
- 1980, April A formal plan to approach the State Legislature for funding was proposed by the Arts High School Planning Committee.
- 1980, May Arts High School planning committee developed a one year strategic plan for public and private funding sources.
- 1980, August Prospectus for the Minnesota School for the Arts, was printed and widely distributed around Minnesota. This document was the summary of the February 1980 Conference.

Phase Two: Idea Failed to Reach Official Policy Agenda 1981-1983

- 1981, February A budget and strategic planning document was developed for the Minnesota School for the Arts by the consulting firm of Arts Management Associates
- 1981, March Conference to plan for the arts high school structure, location, curriculum, financial support, hiring, and operational policies was held in Wayzata.
- 1981, Summer Minnesota Alliance for Arts in Education published an article, The Movement for a Minnesota School for the Arts in their statewide newsletter.
- 1981, July Minnesota Council for the Gifted and Talented reprinted the MAAE article in their statewide newsletter
- 1982 Statewide survey was conducted of arts teachers, seeking

- information on local arts programs. The published report was delivered to the State Legislature in 1983.
- 1982, November Rudy Perpich was elected Governor of Minnesota
- 1983, January Rudy Perpich was sworn in as Governor of Minnesota. He served from January 1983 to January 1991.
- 1983, May Ruth Randall was selected as the Commissioner of Education. This was the first time a Commissioner was selected by the Governor.
- 1983, April “A Nation At Risk: The Imperative for Educational Reform” was released by the United States Department of Education.
- 1983, June Governor Perpich met with Minnesota Department of Education Art Supervisor and influential arts advocates to establish arts education goals for the state. The concept of an arts high school was reintroduced at this meeting. Staff member Lani Kawamura was assigned to set up a Governor’s Commission on the Arts.
- 1983, August Informational meetings are held to resurface the idea of a Minnesota School for the Arts
- 1983, August Governor and Mrs. Perpich visited the Moscow School for the Arts.

CHAPTER 5

THE POLICY MAKING PROCESS THAT RESULTED IN THE MINNESOTA CENTER FOR ARTS EDUCATION

When Laura, a high school junior, packed up her cello and left Minnesota for the prestigious Interlochen Arts Academy in Michigan - developing an arts high school in Minnesota became a top priority for Greater Twin Cities Youth Symphonies' director, William L. Jones. When a young male ballet dancer in "pink tights" from the iron-range committed suicide, a high school where kids could study the arts in a safe environment became profoundly important for Governor Rudy Perpich (Perpich associate, interview, 1997, December 26). When State Senator, Randy Peterson, recalled a high school classmate whose childhood skill and love for painting was never fulfilled because of lack of visual arts teachers in rural Minnesota, an arts high school became personal and important for Minnesota Senator, Randy Peterson.

The story of a state-supported high school for the arts was not complicated in conception. People in positions to observe the quality and availability of fine arts education in Minnesota saw a need in the broad social environment (Easton, 1965) and proposed a statewide policy solution aimed at highly gifted artistic students. The youth symphony conductor saw talented musicians leaving Minnesota for superior musical training in other states and thought it would be possible to keep them in Minnesota with an arts high school. Governor Perpich personally knew about a high school student from his hometown who wanted to become a ballet dancer, but was taunted by others to the point that he killed himself. Perpich reflected, "If you came from where I come from, if you put on a pair of tights and start ballet, you won't be back in school next week" (Salisbury, B., 1985, April 9, p. D1). Senator Peterson remembered a classmate's life of artistic promise and talent that never reached its potential because of a lack of arts education in rural Minnesota schools.

Idea Initiation and Placement on the Official Policy Agenda 1976-1984

The 1970s were a time of ferment in society and change in education. A critical mass of highly competent people, who valued the fine arts and personally respected each other, gained key leadership positions in the Minnesota Department of Education, private arts organizations, foundations, and at the University of Minnesota (See Appendices G, L, and M). These educational and artistic leaders reflected a growing belief that arts education was basic to the cognitive and emotional development of children and they comprised the key interest group actors who worked toward the placement of the arts school on the official agenda as an “idealized” policy option (McDonnell in Fuhman et al., 2007, p. 30). During this same time, the Minnesota Alliance for the Arts in Education was started and developed into an umbrella arts organization with a stated goal to lobby the state legislature for fiscal resources for arts education in public schools.

The idea of an arts high school was first publicly articulated in 1976 by the chairperson of the Minnesota Alliance for Arts in Education, William L. Jones. During that first year, Jones played the role of a “policy entrepreneur” (Kingdon, 1984) and held a series of informational meetings around the state. The idea developed into a serious policy alternative over the next three years and was formalized in planning and feasibility meetings in 1979. The meetings were funded with a grant from the Northwest Area Foundation given to the Greater Twin Cities Youth Symphonies as the planning organization and non-profit fiscal agent (501c3 tax status). The idea however, failed to reach the official policy agenda of the legislature and went dormant in the budget retrenchment of the early 1980s. After Rudy Perpich was elected Governor in November, 1982, he was introduced to the idea of a state arts high school for the first time in an informational meeting in 1983, June with Minnesota Department of Education arts specialists and other arts high school advocates. The governor was reportedly moved by the idea and instructed his Special Assistant, Lani Kawamura, to investigate the concept. Later that summer, Perpich and his wife, Lola, flew to Moscow to visit the Moscow School for the Arts. In January of 1984, William L. Jones met privately with the Governor at the official

residence and personally shared the policy work of the previous eight years and presented the comprehensive document, Prospectus of the Minnesota School for the Arts to the governor. Unknown to any of the advocates, Perpich and his wife flew to New York on 1984, February 2 to visit the New York High School of Music and Art. The next morning, 1984, February 3 Perpich announced the development of a Minnesota School for the Arts as a high priority educational policy goal. The governor established a task force that toured the state to solicit public comments and develop a base of support for the policy initiative. Hearings were held in Bemidji, Duluth, Fergus Falls, Rochester, Marshall, Thief River Falls, Mankato, St. Paul, St. Cloud, and Virginia (Vaughan, P., 1984, May 27, p. A1). The funding mechanism was initially proposed to be a percentage of the profits from charitable gambling; which lead to the first public and media nickname for the Arts High School, “Bingo-High”.

The Governor’s Task Force adopted a mission statement that articulated the purpose of the school. The mission was to “provide expanded opportunities in the creative and interpretive arts for the gifted and talented youth of Minnesota, with a strong emphasis on artistic excellence and high academic standards, it will serve as a resource center for other Minnesota schools and arts institutions” (Vaughan, P., 1984, May 27, p. A1). The panel also raised the symbolic issue of national status and state pride and reported that there were a number of students from Minnesota attending the North Carolina School for the Arts and Interlochen Arts Academy in Michigan who should have the opportunity to attend an arts high school in their home state. The report ended with a list of significant issues to be addressed and predicted that the school would be open in the fall of 1986 for the first incoming students.

Governor Perpich, early on, was attracted to the image of the movie *Fame* with its portrayal of highly talented young performers and in January 1984 personally asked one of the arts advocates if the new school would be like the movie and television show, *Fame*. The advocate responded that “the reality would be different than the movie or show” (Arts advocate, interview, 1997). However, the label, “Fame,” caught on with proponents and opponents alike, and became both a convenient label and a conceptual metaphor for the school throughout the policy

debate. The St. Paul Pioneer Press and Dispatch article reporting on the press conference began with a reference to *Fame* in the first line, “Viewers of the television show *Fame*, about a high school for young artists in New York, have some idea of what Gov. Rudy Perpich has in mind for Minnesota (Salisbury, B., 1984, February 4, p. A1). The media continued using the image as a symbol for the school and implied that Minnesota students could match students from anywhere in the country if they practiced hard, studied with the best teachers, and worked together in a central location that promoted artistic excellence within a high school setting (Koelin, G. 1984, July 8, p. G4). In early 1984, following a positive reaction in statewide meetings, the goal of an arts high school seemed like it would be attainable with minimal work and would be accomplished in a short period of time. The chairperson of the Task Force, David Speer, stated, “We are not exploring whether there will be a school. We’re exploring what kind of school” (Koelin, G., 1984, July 8, p. G4).

The idea of a residential arts high school however, began to generate resistance from a variety of people and organizations. A populist vein of educational equality ran deep in Minnesota, and many people could not support a specialized school that would benefit a few students for an educational opportunity that they perceived as elitist (Faster, K., 1984, November 1 p. A1). Detractors labeled it “downright undemocratic” (Goodwin, A., 1985, March 27, p. A16) and some opponents focused on high expense to benefit a few students and the removal of outstanding students as role models from hometown schools (Brainerd Daily Dispatch, 1985, March 17, p. A4; Worthington Daily Globe, 1985, April 10, p.4). Other opponents decried the lack of money for arts education for all students and limited curricular opportunities in the arts in public schools around the state. Fine arts teachers were quick to point out that out-state schools would likely be affected in a negative way by drawing talented art students to a centrally located arts high school in Minneapolis or St. Paul (Faster, K., 1984, November 1, p. 1). The purposed Minneapolis site was also scrutinized because of the danger of being located near Hennepin Avenue, a gathering area for bar patrons and criminal activity, and the inherent liabilities of rural kids being thrust into urban life (Camp, J., 1985, January 4, p. D1). The opponents were visible and vocal in resisting the idea and most importantly, the Minnesota Education Association

(MEA) and the Minnesota Federation of Teachers (MFT), which both carried political power with DFL lawmakers, opposed the policy (Salisbury, B. 1985, April 9, p. A1). However, Governor Rudy Perpich viewed the Arts High School as an important component of his educational policy initiatives for the 1985 session and continued to work for the passage of the bill.

Early on, Lola Perpich, the Governor's wife, was attached to the initiative for an Arts High School. She was appointed by her husband to be the co-chair of the 15-person Task Force (the first time she served on a gubernatorial task force) and Perpich gave credit to his wife for her influence on the issue. He said of his wife's involvement, "So you know that, we [underlying not in original] will have a school for the arts before I leave" (Peddie, S., 1984, December 6, p. C3). The media began calling it a "favored project of Gov. Rudy Perpich and his wife, Lola" (Thomma, S., 1985, February 27, p. D4). Lola also assumed a visible public posture on the issue by appearing as a spectator at sub-committee meetings (Kohl, L., 1985, March 30, p. B1) as the issue reached the policy development stage. Several of the elements that would define the policy conflict emerged within the first year: elitism, funding equity across the state, the dangers of urban life for rural kids, a facile image of success in the arts (*Fame*), and the characterization of the school as a personal issue for Rudy and Lola Perpich.

Initial Authoritative Action 1984-1985

When a governor clearly places high priority on a program or a policy, legislators can sense it and two strategies can emerge. First, the "hands" of legislators, metaphorically go into the governor's pockets as proponents and opponents seek patronage in the form of influence, legislation, or capital expenditures in their district in return for a favorable vote (Jewell, 1969, p. 77). Secondly, the governor's favored legislation can be delayed as a "bargaining chip" until later in the session or until the Conference Committee convenes to draft the final legislative language for the House and Senate to vote on (Hanson, 1989, p. 123). Because Perpich made it known early that he placed a high priority on a Minnesota School for

the Arts, the school emerged as a political bargaining chip in the 1985 legislative session. The entanglements became intense enough, that Perpich finally stated, “I try to remove myself because . . . they are holding the art school hostage every time I talk to anyone” (St. Paul Pioneer Press and Dispatch, 1985, March 26, p. A7).

The first legislative action on the Arts High School initially appropriated \$148,000 in 1984 for fiscal year 1985 and directed the Department of Education to submit a report to the legislature about establishing a Minnesota High School for the Arts (Minnesota Arts Education Task Force, November, 1984; Laws of the State of Minnesota, Chapter 463, Article 7, Sections 41 and 55). The authoritative legislation appropriating money to establish an Arts High School was attached to the Omnibus Education bill on 1985, January 24. Perpich used the resource of the Governor’s position to speak publicly to the Citizens League in February about two educational bills, Open Enrollment Options and the Arts High School. The Citizens League was highly interested in the Open Enrollment Bill but neutral about the Arts High School. Back in the legislature, charitable gambling revenue was eliminated as a funding source in Senate and House action in February and already by 1985, February 19, legislators were suggesting that the Arts High School’s fate would be decided in the “Third House,” the Conference Committee (Hanson, 1989, p. 122). Perpich reacted angrily to the loss of charitable gambling revenue as a funding source and decided on the surface not to push for his “pet project,” suggesting through his aides that “there are bigger things to worry about this session” (Sturdevant, L., 1985, February 19, p. B10).

The Senate Education Aids Sub-committee took action on the arts school bill on 1985, March 14 and changed the funding mechanism from charitable gambling revenue to the state’s general fund. The committee also approved financing to improve arts education funding in school districts throughout the state. The change was meant to “side-step criticism that the arts school [was] an elitist proposal that would benefit only a lucky few” (Kahn, A., 1985, March 16, p. A11). Two weeks later the bill suffered a setback when the House Education Finance Committee (Sally Olsen, Chair) defeated the proposal on a tie vote. Olsen stated, “Simply we just haven’t got the money” (Kohl, L., 1985, March 30, p. B1). The Republican

controlled House was constrained by a campaign pledge made during the fall elections to cut taxes in the legislative session and adding an Arts High School could be viewed as increasing taxes and would be a politically sensitive issue (Kohl, L., 1985, March 30, p. B1).

The contentious nature of the legislative actions reached a head when Perpich blamed the two large teachers unions, Minnesota Education Association and Minnesota Federation of Teachers, for opposing the Arts High School and lobbying against the school. Perpich publicly stated, “The teacher unions’ opposition to his plan is completely contrary to the good of the state and of education” (Salisbury, B., 1985, April 9, p. D1). Perpich was incensed at the teachers’ organizations and publicly stated he would not seek or accept their endorsement when he sought re-election in 1986, a significant position for a DFL Governor to take. Perpich also said that if the legislature did not pass his proposal that he would make it a “major issue in each one of those legislative campaigns. That’s how strongly I feel about it,” (Salisbury, B., 1985, April 9, p. D1). The Governor’s passion for the arts school issue generated such media and public interest that it surfaced in the editorial cartoon pages of the St. Paul Pioneer Press and Dispatch. The cartoon pictured a matronly looking school teacher, labeled MEA and MFT on her sleeve, appearing shocked as a child labeled, “Rudy’s Art-Hi & Open Enrollment” hollers from the corner of the classroom. The caption reads, “By the way... my dad says you can take your endorsement and SHOVE IT” [emphasis in the original] (Fearing, S., 1985, April 10, p. A16).

The legislative maneuvering combined with the strident public responses of the Governor abated over the next two weeks and the Arts High School policy issue was secondary to another Perpich and Minnesota Business Partnership education initiative, open enrollment. Perpich took the time to travel to seventeen Minnesota cities to lobby for open enrollment (Thomma, S., 1985, April 25, p. A1). The Finance Committee in the DFL controlled Senate again took up the policy initiative in late April, and added the Arts High School proposal back into the education omnibus bill. The St. Paul Pioneer Press and Dispatch reported that the school was to be modeled after the school in the movie *Fame*, the fifth reference coupling the movie to the

proposed Arts High School in this paper in three months (Thomma, S., 1985, April 25, p. A1). The next public interest in the arts school was a letter to the editor of the St. Paul Pioneer Press and Dispatch from the Minnesota State Auditor, Arne H. Carlson. This prominent Republican politician (destined to be the next governor) labeled the Arts High School a “privilege for the few.” He questioned the entire premise and asked, “How can anyone justify creating a special school for the arts when a number of school districts cannot afford an adequate arts program” (St. Paul Pioneer Press and Dispatch, 1985, April 27, p. A12)?

The legislature was reaching the end of the regular session and the omnibus education bill was not ready for House and Senate action. On Friday, 1985, April 26, the House Appropriations Committee (IR controlled) passed and sent to the floor the funding bill for K-12 education. The \$2.61 billion school aid bill stripped both of Perpich’s initiatives, Open Enrollment, and the Arts High School from the bill. The next week, 1985, May 2, the Senate (DFL controlled) approved the education bill which included \$3.5 million for the Arts High School. The Arts High School was not the only contentious part of the bill but it was the one that kept resurfacing as the intractable issue. Rep. Sally Olsen, the IR co-chair of the School Aid Conference Committee, stated in early June that the House would not approve a school aid bill that included money for the Arts High School (Kohl, L., 1985, June 4, p. D1). Tom Nelson, Olsen’s counterpart, was the Senate co-chair of the Conference Committee and he continued to keep the Arts High School attached to the K-12 school aid bill on the Senate side. He scheduled a series of secret meetings to work in private toward a compromise position. This tactic did not go as planned when Representative Olsen invited the press to the closed meetings and Nelson denied the press admittance at the door. Legislative rules required one bill for the legislators to vote up or down to fund public education before they could adjourn. The particulars of what happened next are recalled differently by people on opposite sides of the conflict. However, the outcome was a compromise that included funding for both Post-Secondary Enrollment options for 11th and 12th graders which the House favored, and the Arts High School, which the Senate favored. The initial budget for the Arts High School

was \$2.7 million and \$2 million for arts education aid for teachers and school districts through the Resource Center for the Arts.

The route taken by the conferees to reach this compromise continued the highly contentious nature of this policy issue. The interviews that this researcher conducted with legislators and arts advocates related a story that had legislators talking about the unusual and some said, “Unique” circumstances. Representative Sally Olsen was a first time House Co-chair of the Conference Committee and refused to compromise and attach the Arts School to the House bill, based on personal values and party principles she articulated during the session (Legislator, interview, 1998, February 9; Executive branch, interview, 1997, November 11). One legislator related that the Speaker of the House, David Jennings, “kept sending one of his staffers down to watch our Conference Committee. ‘I think he was trying to get an assessment of whether Sally Olsen would make a deal so we can get out of here.’ And she would not make a deal” (Legislator, interview, 1997). Senator Tom Nelson, who represented Governor Perpich, consistently refused to strip the Arts High School from the legislation. Some time, late during the final night of negotiations, 1985, June 10, Senator Nelson called Representative Connie Levi, the Republican House Majority Leader, and asked her to take the unprecedented step of removing a sitting Chairperson and designate a replacement Chair to represent the House. He offered a compromise that would deliver a favorable vote from Senate Democrats on the Post-Secondary Enrollment legislation, which Connie Levi (and Governor Perpich) wanted enacted. In return, Levi would promise to deliver the Republican House votes to pass the Arts High School, which Governor Perpich and Senator Nelson wanted. Levi agreed to this request, the informants words were, “she took the bill away from Sally Olsen,” (Legislator, interview, 1997) and removed Olsen during the night and Levi assumed the duties of the Chair herself. She negotiated directly with Nelson in her office (Legislator, interview, 1997) and the two Chairs reached the compromise position in less than thirty minutes (Ibid). The next day, Levi reinstated Olsen as Chair of the House Committee for the presentation of the final Conference Committee report to the House. One informant emphasized that both the removal of Olsen as sitting Chair and the reinstatement of Olsen to make the Conference Committee

report had “never happened before” as far as he knew in legislative history (Executive branch official, 1997).

The Conference Committee reached the compromise late in the evening of 1985, June 10 and the Arts High School became an official state agency during the special session when the House and Senate both passed the Omnibus Education Aids Bill on 1985, June 21. The statute, 129C. 10, (Laws of the State of Minnesota, First Special Session, Chapter 12, Article 5, Sections 2,3,4,5,6,8,10), authorized a fifteen member board of directors to hire employees, establish a foundation to accept charitable gifts, develop curriculum, and locate a suitable site to rent for the school. The school was officially named the Minnesota School and Resource Center for the Arts.

Selection of Director, Site, Architect, and Site Acquisition 1986-1988

The Board of Directors selected James Undercofler as Director of the Minnesota School and Resource Center for the Arts in 1986, March. Undercofler was chosen out of 145 applicants because the board was impressed with his academic background, his administrative experience, and his knowledge of current trends in arts education (Martin, M., 1986, March 15, p. A14). Undercofler had previously served as the director of the Educational Center for the Arts in New Haven, Connecticut. He stated in a newspaper interview, that he was a “back-to-basics-in-the-arts kind of person” (Ibid). Undercofler moved to Minnesota in June and began working in July to familiarize himself with the vision of an arts high school as it had developed in Minnesota. He then set out to communicate that vision of the school to the legislature and the arts community around the state. The status of the new school was fragile enough however, that when Undercofler was met at the airport he recalled being advised by Senator Tom Nelson not to sell his home in Connecticut because the Arts High School was far from a certainty (Legislator, interview, 1997).

The new school faced three difficult issues in 1986: a state budget recession, the resignation, and replacement of the first board chairperson, and site selection. Because of a downturn in the economy and revision in the state budget forecast, the

school faced a budget recession in 1986, March. A House and Senate Education Finance Conference Committee recommended, and the legislature voted, to cut five percent (\$133,050) of the \$2.6 million that was appropriated in 1985 (Laws of the State of Minnesota, First Special Session, 1986, April 2, Chapter 1, Article 9, Section 35). The budget cut had only a minor effect on the new school because there was no teaching staff, no site indebtedness, and no curricular expenditures. The second issue was the resignation in May of the first Board Chair, Jon Wefald, to accept an academic position in Kansas. The Governor acted decisively and appointed the influential and politically powerful former Speaker of the House, Harry Sieben Jr., as the new Chair of the Board of Directors 1986, June. Sieben brought to the board chair position the quintessential insiders' knowledge of political maneuvering at the state legislature. Opponents who wanted to contest issues relating to the Minnesota School and Resource Center for the Arts now had to deal with a powerful personality and a politically astute board chair. Perpich extended executive cover and an implied protection for the new agency with Sieben Jr. as the second Chair of the Board of Directors.

The outreach arm of the Arts High School, the statewide Resource Center for the Arts, began planning program implementation in the summer of 1986 by selecting twenty-one communities around the state to participate in the first Resource Center arts programs during the summer of 1987. The MAX Program (Minnesota Arts Experience) was coordinated by David Zimmerman, and planned to sponsor classes in theater, music, literary arts, music production, dance, painting, printmaking, clay, and jazz. Zimmerman was well known in Minnesota and enjoyed a certain reflected fame in the arts community because he was the brother of folksinger, Bob Dylan, and grew up in Perpich's hometown of Hibbing, on the Minnesota iron-range. MAX classes were projected to serve 1,200 students in the first summer of operation (1987) and in addition there would be in-service classes for 300 fine arts teachers from around the state in chamber music, dance, arts curriculum development, and media arts (Resource Center Student – Teacher Participants in the Minnesota Center for Arts Education archives). All classes for students were strategically located throughout

the state to meet the legislature's requirement of arts opportunities in each legislative district.

The most contentious issue that surfaced in 1986 was the selection of a site for building the Minnesota School and Resource Center for the Arts campus. St. Paul proposed two sites and Minneapolis countered with the Loring Park and the Parade Stadium sites. The Loring Park site quickly became the favored location because it was near the Walker Art Center, the Guthrie Theatre, The Minneapolis Institute of Art, The Children's Theater, and Orchestra Hall (home of the Minnesota Orchestra). The decision regarding the final site selection belonged by statute to the Board of Directors. To that end, the Board began collecting information with a 1986, November deadline for action. The site selection was politically sensitive, according to Undercofler, because community prestige and construction contracts were involved (Tevlin, J., 1986, September 16, p. 6). Another informant confirmed this observation and said the perception was, "yet another building for the Twin Cities! Everything goes to the Twin Cities" (Arts advocate, interview, 1997, October 26). Zimmerman and Undercofler initially estimated that the site acquisition and construction of the building would cost \$15 million.

The site selection process brought the issue of civic pride to the fore, and both major newspapers increased coverage of the Arts High School in response to the possibility of a significant building project. One informant summed up the conflict between the cities, "pride, a state building, and the preference of the Governor." He continued that the "St. Paul site was beneath the Governor" (Agency staff, interview, 1997, December 2). The Minneapolis Star Tribune advocated for Minneapolis with articles such as, "Winning the arts school would be a coup for Minneapolis" (McGrath, D., 1986, October 3, p. A1). An editorial in the paper stated, "It would make sense to put it [the Arts High School] in Minneapolis, at the center of the state's most heavily populated region" (Minneapolis Star Tribune, 1986, October 8). At the Minneapolis City Council meeting, council members used phrases like, "regaining the arts initiative from St. Paul which has been active . . . in luring artists with city-subsidized work and housing projects." One council member, Brian Coyle, stated, "There is a brain drain to St. Paul." He continued, "Their [St. Paul's] culture is being

stimulated while we have lost over 30 arts organizations to them” (Jacobson, D., 1986, October 13, p. 3).

The St. Paul Planning and Economic Development Department responded with equal partisan fervor as reported in the St. Paul Pioneer Press and Dispatch. A Department spokesperson stated that the St. Paul site near the Civic Center would provide the “final link in the cultural corridor” that included the World Theater, Minnesota History Center, Ordway Music Theatre, and Rice Park (Hoffman, J., 1986, October 15, p. F1). St. Paul officials also promised that the \$3.1 million financing package could be “assembled immediately” (Porter, L., 1986, October 17, p. C5)

On 1986, November, 12, a subcommittee of the board of directors of the Minnesota School and Resource Center for the Arts selected the Loring Park site in Minneapolis, also known as the Fawkes Block, and forwarded the recommendation for action to the full Board. The Board Chairman, Harry Sieben, Jr. said, “I think it would be logical that the board would adopt the subcommittee’s recommendation. It is a logical site and the reason we appointed the subcommittee is that we wanted a recommendation from them as to the best possible site” (Martin, M., 1986, November 13, p. A1). The estimates for construction of the Arts High School rose substantially during this time from the initial \$15 million to \$20 - \$25 million.

The board of directors made the final decision on the location of the school in mid-November. The full board accepted the subcommittee’s recommendation and selected the Fawkes block in Minneapolis as the site for the new Arts High School. The site selection was called a “major coup for Minneapolis” (Renalls, C., 1986, November 18, p. 1). Another issue however, emerged in the public press that had been covert throughout the Arts High School debate (Perpich associate, interview, 1997, November 18; Legislator, interview, 1997, January 5). The issue of young students at the Arts High School being exposed to gays in Loring Park received its first written public attention from the Minneapolis Police Chief, Tony Bouza. He said in an interview that, “Loring Park has an unsavory image. I’m not talking about safety, but gays hanging out and meeting other gays” (Renalls, C., 1986, November 18, p. 1). Bouza was savvy public leader and his language guarded enough that on the surface it was not overtly a comment about the sexual orientation of kids in the

arts, but a comment about the safety of all of the students in that area of the city. However, the wording communicated underlying perceptions and implied what it didn't state outright; that an Arts High School would have gay students and the location was problematical. The chair of the site selection committee, Roland Amundson, a Minneapolis attorney, was quoted in the same article questioning that area of the city and stated obliquely, "Young men and women will be exposed to some of the darker sides of life. We can't hide it from them" (Ibid). The decision to locate the Arts High School in urban Minneapolis triggered a verbalization of concerns that people had suppressed until the site was announced, and it was an indication in retrospect, that the downtown Minneapolis site, with all it had to offer students in proximity to arts organizations, did not have solid support once the issue of safety was verbalized.

The 1987 session of the legislature was a bonding year. (Alternate years in the Minnesota legislature are devoted to bonding, followed by policy years.) The first publicity in 1987 concerning the Minnesota School and Resource Center for the Arts was the selection by the board of Arata Isozaki and Associates of Tokyo, Japan as architects for the proposed new school. The selection of an internationally known architect brought immediate attention to the project. Isozaki had previously designed the Museum of Contemporary Art in Los Angeles and the Tokyo University of Art and Design. He was chosen in 1986 as the lead architect for the \$100 million addition to the Brooklyn Museum of Art in New York (Martin, M., 1987, January 13, p. B1). Construction estimates for the Arts High School had also grown another \$5 million from \$25 million to an estimated \$29.8 million. This included \$19.8 million for construction, \$5.5 million to purchase and develop the site, \$2 million for furnishings, \$1 million for a parking ramp and \$1.5 million in architect's fees (Ibid).

The issue became overtly contentious in the legislature after 1987, March 1 when Senator Randy Peterson attached the bonding authority for the Minnesota School and Resource Center for the Arts to the state bonding bill. Between 1987, March 20 and the end of the session on 1987, May 18 there were twenty-five recorded votes on the school. The outcome of the voting changed often and indicated intense behind-the-scenes political maneuvering (See Appendix A, 1987). For

example, on April 22, the Senate Tax Committee voted and failed to remove the bonding authority for the school from Senate File 583. However, the House Appropriations Committee removed the Arts High School bonding authority from House File 753, and then voted to retain money for the Educational Resource Center portion of the school. Later the same day, the Senate Tax Committee voted to pass S. F. 583 and refer the Arts High School bonding to the Finance Committee. Five days after that vote, the Finance Committee voted to entirely eliminate the Arts High School from the bonding bill. The tension was heightened by statements, such as Senate Majority Leader, Roger Moe's, (DFL-Erskine) generally a Perpich supporter, who said the Perpich bonding bill was "the most massive building program since the Great Sphinx" (Coffman, J., 1987, March 29, p. A8). Another Democratic legislator complained, "I frankly haven't found much support for the arts school" (Ibid).

An unexpected reversal of opinion by a well-known Arts High School advocate jolted everyone on 1987, April 4. Gynthia Gehrig, executive director of the Jerome Foundation, and former chair of the advisory council on the Arts High School, resigned from the advisory council and issued a press release reversing her support for the school. She stated that, "the idea of an arts high school, at this time, is premature and ill-advised" (Kohl, L., 1987, April 5, p. A1). She detailed her concern that the Arts High School would drain the limited resources for arts instruction in school districts throughout the state. She cited research she had conducted at the University of Minnesota's Humphrey Institute of Public Affairs that documented that less than one-fourth of Minnesota school districts provided the minimum hours of art and music instruction required by state regulation. She also reported that only twenty-five percent of the state's school districts had a written art curriculum and only forty percent had a written music curriculum (Ibid). She concluded her press release by stating, "The governor is giving the needy arts education community something prominent, but not what it needs most. The Legislature will do a disservice to Minnesota citizens if it appropriates funding" (Ibid). The defection of a prominent supporter caused critics and legislative advocates alike to take another look at the strength of the proposal. Senate supporter, Gene Merriam, stated he was

“alarmed,” and the chief sponsor, Senator Randy Peterson, said he had “second thoughts” about the policy proposal (Ibid).

Perpich followed this defection of support with a statement on 1987, April 7 that said the Arts High School was his top priority and he intended to fight hard for it (Smith, D., 1987, April 8, p. A1). Out-state legislators were quick to restate the case against the school as metro-oriented, elitist and an extravagance during a “tight budget period” (Ibid). Senate Minority Leader, Duane Benson, said “Some of the districts I represent are having to choose between chemistry and physics class offerings and dancing and painting will be a little hard to market” (Ibid). The MEA and AFT (teachers unions) continued to lobby against the Arts High School and were quoted, in the same article saying that the \$5,000 to \$8,000 cost per student at the arts school was “inappropriate” when most school districts were educating their students with \$2,500 or less per student.

The news accounts raised the underlying political issue that the Arts High School was a pawn that legislators were using to gain favorable concessions from Perpich. These concessions were in the form of action on bills or projects for their districts. The perception that the Arts High School was a “pet project” of the governor, that he was “emotionally attached to it,” and that it was really “Lola’s school,” accompanied the news reporting. Perpich appeared to take the political maneuvering in stride and issued a statement to the effect, that efforts to require arts instruction in school districts had not worked. He also went on to renew the sports versus arts argument and said, “The fact is, and I’ve said it time and time again, when the jocks come up against the arts, the arts are out. We have a history of it” (Smith, D., 1987, April 8, p. A1). The new Board Chair, Harry Sieben Jr., who was a strong Perpich ally, reflected that there was transparent political posturing behind much of the public discussion.

The Governor started working intensely with (and on) individual legislators to guide the Arts High School bonding through the final month of the committee process. He brought pressure on the legislature by bringing wealthy arts patrons and DFL contributors together with selected legislators in his office. Senator Mike Freeman (DFL, Richfield) changed his vote after meeting with Perpich. Freeman was

quoted in the paper after the meeting as saying, “we had what the State Department would call a candid discussion” (Pinney, G., 1987, April 11, p. A16). A legislative staffer characterized the change in voting positions differently than Freeman, and reported to the researcher that, “A number of DFL contributors had to persuade Mike Freeman with large contributions” (Legislative staff, interview, 1997, January 13). Senator Roger Moe convinced Senator Larry Pogemiller to switch his vote by suggesting that the bill should not die in the first committee hearing. Pogemiller acquiesced, saying that Moe “wanted to keep the bill alive to show respect for the office of the governor” (Pinney, G., 1987, April 11, p. A16). The governor adroitly used personal persuasion, pressure from influential donors, and political patronage to influence the votes of important legislators at this crucial moment in the policy making process.

The prominent metropolitan paper, the Minneapolis Star Tribune, weighed in with a negative editorial on the Arts High School on the following Sunday. The editors recommended that Perpich, “withdraw the [arts] school proposal, to help the public focus on arts education” (Minneapolis Star Tribune, (Editorial), 1987, April 12, p. A34). The contentious political nature of the issue continued during the next week and Senator Gen Olson, IR-Minnetrista, called the bargaining, “political horse-trading of the worst kind” (Smith, D., 1987, April 14, p. B1). Lani Kawamura, the Governor’s chief lobbyist on the arts school, responded and said she hadn’t offered any political rewards, but simply communicated Perpich’s interest in the legislation (Ibid). Perpich gave mixed signals or at a minimum, created some perceptual distance from the conflict when he said, “If the school doesn’t go, it doesn’t go.” However, he also hosted two invitation only formal receptions for influential legislators at the governor’s residence during the week to discuss the Arts High School. The difference could be characterized as a public exit strategy versus private influence, with the Governor, behind the scenes, highly engaged in influencing key legislators.

The House Education Sub-committee on School Aid approved \$2.9 million in start-up funds for the Arts High School on 1987, April 13. The chair, Representative Ken Nelson, who favored the school, halted another amendment to kill the school

when he abruptly adjourned the meeting before a vote could be requested. The Subcommittee considered yet another attempt to “kill the school” (legislative diction used by informants; Agency staff, interview, 1997, November 4; Legislator, interview, 1997, December 12) later in the evening, but retained the funding on a 6-6 tie vote. A strategy of gaining tie votes in the legislature now developed as a deliberate strategy for the director, Jim Undercofler and his chief aid, Barb Martin. They understood that the Arts High School proponents did not need a majority on each vote to keep the Arts School in the bill. The arts school legislation would remain in the bonding bill on a tie vote because it had been attached to the original bill. The tie vote strategy, though not a consensus strategy going into the session, became a calculated legislative tactic of the Arts High School supporters, that was applied each time the issue came up for a vote during the remainder of the session (Agency staff, interview, 1997, November 4).

The House Education Committee voted on a motion on 1987, April 15 to limit enrollment for the Arts School to 11th and 12th grade students in an effort to address the persistent issue of elitism. The motion carried and eliminated 9th and 10th grade students. This change made the legislation more palatable and deflected some of the accusations that the proposal was “undemocratic,” according to Sen. Ken Nelson (Smith, D., 1987, April 16, p. B9). Younger students would be included in the art school concept, but only in three-week seminars. This compromise would reduce the length of time students would be away from home and open up the Arts High School experience to a greater number of older students. Newspapers throughout the state continued to question the safety of rural students on the loose near Loring Park. This issue became a powerful emotional bargaining chip for legislators as they sought concessions from Perpich down the legislative stretch, on the site of the school.

The Arts High School faced its most unusual challenge in early May. Senator Charles Berg, DFL-Chokio, proposed that the bonding authority for the school be used to purchase a trout hatchery. He requested that the Senate remove the Arts High School from the bill and instead buy the Peterson Trout Farm in Lanesboro, in Southern Minnesota. The issue was framed with the statement; “There really is an art involved in fishing. Fishing is a great deal more popular with kids in Chokio than

going to ballet school” (Coffman, J., 1987, May 13, p. C18). The motion failed on a 30-23 vote. The school was now in the Senate version of the bonding bill but was stripped from the House version going into the final days of the session. The compromise Senate position however, had been drastically scaled back from \$29 million for the entire project to \$4.2 million, to be used solely for site acquisition and site preparation (Whereatt, R., 1987, May 18, p. A1).

The Arts High School budget of \$4.2 million represented less than one percent of the \$470 million education-bonding bill, but continued to take up a disproportionate amount of the effort in the legislature (Ibid). Perpich met with the members of the House and Senate Conference Committee and spent the time discussing his commitment to the school. The House Majority Leader, Robert Vanasek, said it would be difficult to pass the bonding bill with the Arts High School included. “The biggest problem with the arts school is that there doesn’t seem to be a constituency for it,” according to Vanasek (Ibid). Representative Glenn Anderson responded by suggesting that Governor Perpich would veto any bill without the Arts High School money. Seemingly unrelated, Rep. David Bishop, IR-Rochester, chose this moment and proposed raising the speed limit on rural interstate highways to 65 miles per hour. Perpich had initially opposed this change, but was willing to negotiate the rural speed limit on Minnesota highways in exchange for votes for the Arts High School. He reportedly, picked up crucial rural support for the Arts High School in the final two days of the session by agreeing to increase the speed limit to 65 miles per hour on interstate highways in rural areas (Executive branch official, interview, 1997, December 18).

The Legislature passed the \$470 million bonding bill on Monday 1987, May 18. The bill included \$4.2 million bonding authority for the Minnesota High School and Resource Center for the Arts (the new official name). The bill passed the House with exactly eighty-one votes, the number required to authorize the state to borrow money. The Senate passed the bill on a vote of 46-17. The Governor had lobbied legislators throughout the afternoon and was jubilant when the bill passed. He was quoted in the Minneapolis Star Tribune as saying, “It’s unbelievable. Everyone had been telling

me, 'No, no, it can't be done.' It's just beautiful. We'll never see another one like that" (Whereat, R., 1987, May 19, p. A1).

The Governor used his executive staff, state agency staff, state commissioners, arts patrons, and the Board of Directors of the Arts High School to apply pressure on the day of the vote (Coffman, J., 1987, May 19, A1). The intense personal meaning of the policy option to both Rudy and Lola Perpich and the political passion was evident to all of the informants in this investigation. One Commissioner told this researcher that it was not a "big deal." "Perpich asked me to make phone calls and I did" (Executive branch official, interview, 1997, October 25). When asked in a follow-up probe what his agency had to do with the Arts High School, he stated, "Nothing, I did it for the Governor." Several informants noted that influential politicians stood outside the entrance to the legislative chambers "buttonholing" legislators on the way into the late night vote. These included Harry Sieben Jr., the Arts High School Board Chairman, and former Speaker of the House, Minneapolis Mayor, Donald Fraser, and Tom Kelm, a well-known lobbyist. Gerry Nelson, the Governor's Communications Director, said about the pressure on legislators, "I would characterize it pretty much as a full-court press" (Whereatt, R., 1984, May 19, p. A1). After the final positive vote, a pleased Governor Perpich was heard singing a song in his native Croatian. An aide said the song was a version of "My Girl," a reference to his wife Lola and her support for the Arts High School. The final bill however, was greatly scaled back from a high of \$29 million proposed during the session. The \$4.2 million was not sufficient for an architecturally designed school and was judged to be barely enough to acquire and prepare the Loring Park site for the school.

The location of the Minnesota High School and Resource Center for the Arts continued to be controversial throughout the summer of 1987. The Minneapolis City Council was slow in committing the \$3 million that they had been promised in 1986, November. In an attempt to force action, the Board of Directors of the Arts High School voted in September to set a 1987, October 9 deadline for the City Council. Harry Sieben Jr. stated publicly, "If the Minneapolis City Council does not want to go ahead with the project, then we have to make a decision about what we want to do" (Conner, N., 1987, September 24, p. A1). St. Paul quickly surfaced again as a viable

location and the Arts High School Director, Jim Undercofler, was authorized by the Board of Directors to begin negotiations to purchase the Cathedral Hill site, in St. Paul.

The Minneapolis City Council was slow to act because of the difference in monies allocated by the legislature in May and what they felt they needed. The initial request of \$29 million would have been sufficient to purchase the private land, prepare the site, design the buildings, and build the school. The scaled back amount of \$4.2 million was judged to be inadequate by the Minneapolis City Council to complete these items. The site location debate changed at this point, from being civil, to becoming the most verbally contentious incident in the history of the Arts High School. Informants were even hesitant to report the extent of the dispute ten years after the event, suggesting that only the Board of Directors and City Council participants should speak personally about it. The City Council faced a 1987, October 9 deadline imposed by the Arts High School Board of Directors to approve the project for Minneapolis or risk losing the school to St. Paul. The Governor applied pressure to the City Council by suggesting that he would link a positive vote for the school site with money in the next bonding bill for a Mississippi River parkway, Loring Park improvements, and a convention center plaza. Council member Steve Cramer urged his colleagues to vote for it by saying, “That’s the way it works. We shouldn’t be naïve about it” (Shaffer, D., 1987, October 6, p. B1).

The dispute reached a moment of great tension and personal acrimony between Arts High School Board Chair, Harry Sieben Jr., and Minneapolis City Council President, Alice Rainville. The Minneapolis Star Tribune reported that Sieben was “pointing a finger repeatedly at Rainville” (McGrath, D., 1987, October 10, p. A1). Other insiders who were close to the discussion remember loud voices, harsh language, and cursing (Agency staff, interview, 1997, November 4). The deciding vote came on 1987, October 9 as the City Council passed a “face-saving” resolution that committed \$3 million to the project. The resolution however, contained several amendments that the Arts High School Board of Directors contended were barriers to implementing the plan. In an emergency Board meeting, the Board of Directors voted unanimously to move the school from Minneapolis to St. Paul’s Cathedral Hill

site. The decision “infuriated” Minneapolis City officials. Arts High School board member, George Appleby, responded that he thought, “Minneapolis was attempting to give us an obstacle we couldn’t overcome when it asked to be reimbursed for lost taxes and interest” (McGrath, D., 1987, October 19, p. A1).

The vote to move the Arts High School to St. Paul did not alter the difficulty of getting the legislature to commit bonding money to build the school. There was a \$25 million dollar difference between the estimated cost of the school and the \$4.2 million that the 1987 legislature had allocated. Early in December, Perpich hinted that he would not seek the additional money for the school. Dan Loritz, the Governor’s chief lobbyist, stated that without working drawings and clear title to a site, the legislature would not be likely to respond favorably to a request. Perpich made several public pronouncements on the site selection process that indicated he was frustrated and losing interest in the prolonged political process. The Governor also stated in an interview with newspaper reporter, Bill Salisbury that, the prospect of building a state Arts High School “looks bleaker and bleaker each day” because the city has not provided a site and a building plan (Salisbury, B., 1987, December 19, p. A1).

Final Legislative and Executive Action 1989

The Minnesota School and Resource Center for the Arts had received authorization from the legislature to host fine arts experiences (MAX Program) around the state and begin admitting students for the first statewide public high school for the arts. By January of 1989, 244 high school sophomores had applied for admittance to the still non-existent school. Two temporary locations were under consideration until a new building could be built. One possibility was the Catholic Youth Center, which the school now owned in St. Paul. The other possibility was the Golden Valley Lutheran College just west of downtown Minneapolis. The Golden Valley Lutheran site surfaced as an option in 1989, January. This was the location that would ultimately house the school nine months later. Perpich continued to distance himself from the school by stating that there might be no operating funds for the Arts High School. He said, “It’s a very, very, very, very tight budget. I mean,

tight budget. Some of the favorites that I've been very supportive of – be it the arts, tourism – it's just not there this time” (Willmar – West Central Tribune, 1989, January 5, p. A3).

Governor Rudy Perpich presented his budget on 1989, January 26 and chose not to include money to open the Arts High School. He did however include \$7 million specifically designated for the Resource Center to continue the MAX arts educational outreach programs around the state. Some observers concluded that it was not an oversight on his part but a deliberate strategic decision to avoid turning the school into a bargaining chip for legislators (Wilson, B., 1989, January 28, p. B1). The school was now in the second year of the 1987 appropriation and without further resources would be forced to scale back operations at the end of the fiscal year. James Undercofler, the director, outlined in public speeches that the school was actively seeking students, looking for temporary quarters for the next two to three school years, and developing architectural designs for the new campus. Undercofler indicated that he was optimistic that the legislature would appropriate the entire amount needed, \$12.3 million, to operate the school.

The political posturing for the session had been minimal but the pace picked up in April as the session was down to the final two months. In the House of Representatives, School Aids Division, the committee voted down the residential portion of the Arts High School but voted to continue funding for the Resource Center on 1989, April 14. The school had not traditionally been included in the House side of the bill but had continually been included in the Senate version. This time, the Arts High School was not in the Senate bill, and unless it was added, it could not be included for deliberation in the Senate school aids division. Senator Randy Peterson had championed the bill for Perpich and was willing to include the bill but stated, “We have to come up with the cash. I haven't yet, but I'm still looking” (Pinney, G., 1989, April 4, p. B1). The bill was added back into the Senate version and approved on 1989, April 21 by the Senate Education Aids Subcommittee.

The Minneapolis Star Tribune surprised many observers when, on 1989, May 6 the paper unexpectedly changed from the previous editorial stance and printed an

editorial entitled, “Arts School Would Be Money Well Spent.” The editorial strongly supported the concept of an Arts High School. The editors cited the change in spending priorities from a new \$30 million dollar building, to developing innovative arts curriculum for teachers and students. The editorial also stated that the cost per pupil would be less than the current cost per pupil in many metropolitan districts. The editorial continued by countering the argument that the money should be spread around the state and stated that the proposed budget would translate to \$4,000 per school, and argued you “couldn’t do much for that kind of money” (Minneapolis Star Tribune, (Editorial. 1989, May 6, p. A20). Finally, the editors addressed the elitist label and suggested that the school was not elitist and was, in reality, egalitarian because as it stood now, only the children of affluent parents can afford a “top-flight” arts education. The editorial concluded that the Arts High School “would be a relatively inexpensive way to give Minnesota students more of the arts education they deserve” (Ibid).

The House voted on the school aids bill on Monday, 1989, May 8, and approved a \$7.2 billion proposal to fund public education. The House did not include any funding for the Minnesota School and Resource Center for the Arts in the bill. On the Senate floor, a motion to delete the Arts High School was defeated on 1989, May 9, by a vote of 25-33. The bill now headed to Conference Committee to reconcile the differences between the House version and the Senate version. The final negotiations took place until 6:00 a.m. on Sunday 1989, May 21. The resolution of the differences was made possible when Dan Loritz, representing the Governor, came up with \$6.5 million in new money to add to the bill for general per-pupil aid. The House conferees insisted that the money be “new money” and not money reallocated from another source. The actual source of the money created confusion in the legislature and even the State Finance Commissioner, Tom Triplett, was uncertain where Perpich meant to get the money (Pinney, G., 1989, May 22, p. A1). In follow-up probes about the source of this money, this researcher established for the first time that the money was borrowed, with the Governor’s consent, from unencumbered funds in the Unemployment Trust Fund (Interview, 1997). Not only was there a question as to where the money came from, but there also was disagreement as to where the money

would go. Representative Ken Nelson, co-chair of the Conference Committee on School Aids, said, “It went to the arts school – absolutely” (Pinney, G., 1989, May 23, p. A1). At a press conference following the legislative action, Governor Perpich was “equally adamant that the \$6.5 million did not go to the arts school” (Pinney, G., 1989, May 23, p. A1).

The statutory outcome however was clear, the Minnesota School and Resource Center for the Arts was funded with a legislative appropriation of \$11.5 million for two years on 1989, May 22 (Chapter 329, Article 12, Section 3). The legislation authorized the Arts High School to accept students, hire faculty, and begin instruction for the fall term, 1989. The board of directors rented classroom and dormitory space at the Golden Valley Lutheran College campus and took occupancy on 1989, July 1. On 1989, September 5 the Arts High School opened its doors to the first class of 135 juniors. The goal of a Minnesota residential Arts High School that had first been articulated in 1976 became a reality thirteen years later when the school opened in 1989. Rudy Perpich visited the unfinished campus over Labor Day weekend in 1989 (Agency staff, interview, 1997, November 4). He talked with workmen who were finishing the last minute remodeling details before school opened (Agency staff, interview, 1997, December 2). However, Perpich never visited the campus while students were in attendance. Following his death in 1995, the Arts High School was renamed the Lola and Rudy Perpich Center for Arts Education. The son of Croatian immigrants from Minnesota’s iron-range was memorialized with the state high school for the arts named after him. He had worked persistently for six years to bring the school into existence, after first hearing about it in the summer of 1983, until the final enabling legislation passed the Minnesota Legislature in 1989.

CHAPTER 6

FINDINGS ON THE POLITICAL PROCESS THAT LEAD TO THE MINNESOTA CENTER FOR ARTS EDUCATION

Actors in the Policy Issue

The findings on the political process that lead to the establishment of the Minnesota Center for Arts Education are presented using the Conceptual Framework for Political Analysis of Education Issue Conflicts (Mazzoni, 1992). Seven research questions guided the analysis of the political process: Who were the key actors and minor actors that influenced the establishment of the Minnesota Center for Arts Education, What goals, stated and implied did the actors seek to have accomplished, How motivated were the actors to use their resources in the political arena, What resources did the participants command that allowed them to exert influence, How did they mobilize their resources, including strategies and tactics, to exert influence on the policy outcomes, Where were the key arenas and what actions took place in those arenas, and What were the critical interactions that advanced the Arts High School policy in the political arena?

Interest group actors

The concept of a state supported arts high school in Minnesota was elevated from an arts interest group idea to an official policy goal by Governor Perpich in 1984. He initially alluded to this in his State of the State message on 1984, January 10, and specifically defined those general sentiments when he called his first news conference on the Arts High School on 1984, February 3. He announced that the school would be a top policy priority for the next legislative session and named a fifteen member Arts High School Task Force to make recommendations on a location, curriculum, and staffing. The Task Force was headed by David Speer, president of the Minneapolis public relations firm of Padilla and Speer, Inc. and the

Governor's wife, Lola, was named honorary co-chair (News Release, Office of the Governor, 1984, February 3, in the archives of the Minnesota Center for Arts Education). Perpich stated the school would be modeled after the New York City School of the Performing Arts, the North Carolina School of the Arts, and the Interlochen Arts Academy in Interlochen, Michigan. Governor Perpich outlined the policy goals when he stated, "[he would] seek funds for the commission's work in his budget for the 1984 legislative session, but any major proposal for establishment of the school will be made to the Legislature a year from now [1985]" (Ibid., 1984, February 3). This press conference was the moment informants agreed that the idea of an arts school moved from an interest group idea and was placed on the official policy agenda (Legislator, interview, 1997, December 12; Arts advocate, interview, 1997, October 26). The St. Paul Pioneer Press and Dispatch publicly endorsed the arts school idea in an editorial and listed both the possible benefits and the concerns, but concluded by stating: "Difficulties lie ahead, but the ultimate idea of greatly expanded opportunities for profoundly gifted young artists, remains infinitely worth exploring" (Editorial. St. Paul Pioneer Press and Dispatch 1984, February, 14, p. A6). The idea that had been moribund during the previous four years now had official agenda status, and major editorial support from a significant newspaper.

Key interest group actors who developed the concept of an arts high school were actively involved from 1976 to 1984. When the policy concept passed from an arts education interest group idea to the official policy agenda there was a significant change from interest group actors to a new cluster of key political actors. Arts education experts, arts organization members, foundation personnel, academics, and state agency actors who had initiated and developed the concept were replaced by the Governor, executive staff from the Governor's office, state legislators, legislative staff, state agency staff, and state agency board members. However, some members of the educational policy subsystem of "committee-based lawmakers, agency bureaucrats, and established group representatives" (Mazzoni, 1991, p. 117) perceived the proposed arts high school as a threat to the status quo and aligned their resources to oppose the arts high school in the policy arena. The media also changed from occasional reporting on the arts high school issue to following the policy

developments more closely with an increased number of stories. Editorial writers, opinion columnists, television commentators, and editorial cartoonists sought to shape the policy issue by articulating support and opposition.

The arts high school coalition, under the auspicious of the Minnesota Alliance for Arts in Education, strategically attempted to move the concept into the state education policy subsystem for the first time when the idea was presented to Gerald Kleve, Assistant Commissioner of Education and Donald Johansen, Supervisor of Secondary Education in the Minnesota Department of Education on 1979, November 26. Advocates anticipated that an informational meeting would be well received and would result in the support of the Minnesota Department of Education (Arts advocate, interview, 1997, October 26). However, the Department of Education surprised the advocates and formally signaled resistance to the arts high school policy four days later in a letter dated 1979, November 30 and sent to William L. Jones, in which the Department “questioned the need for an arts high school in Minnesota” (Letter in the archives, Greater Twin Cities Youth Symphonies). This written response was the first indication of the turmoil that would surround the policy issue as it moved across the boundary from interest group idea into the official policy arena and challenged traditional educational structure and instruction in the fine arts. Advocates responded to this initial resistance from the Department of Education, by personally inviting the Commissioner of Education, Howard Casmeay, to a Planning Conference, which was to be held three months later on 1980, February 29. Four officials from the Department of Education attended that Planning Conference; the Gifted Education Specialist, Art Education Specialist, Music Education Specialist, and Council on Quality Education representative. The Commissioner of Education, Howard Casmeay, did not attend the conference.

Advocates next sought to link the arts high school concept to gifted education as a potential source of state funding. The idea of an arts high school was presented at a statewide Conference on Gifted Education, sponsored by the Northwest Area Foundation on 1979, December 7. Two months later on 1980, February 8, the Gifted Education Specialist for the Minnesota Department of Education, Lorraine Hertz, sent a letter to William L. Jones and withdrew her personal and departmental support for

an arts high school (Letter in the archives, Greater Twin Cities Youth Symphonies). Her letter cited the perceived conflict of requesting fiscal resources for competing ideas (Gifted and Talented division and State Arts High School) from the same budget source, the state educational budget. This was the second indication of resistance to the arts high school concept by officials in the Minnesota Department of Education, and in this case, involved a policy actor who had supported the idea and had initially helped design and promote the proposal.

The third negative response to the arts high school concept came from a prominent arts organization in Minneapolis, The Children's Theater, in a letter dated, 1980, March 24. The Children's Theater had been an organizational supporter for the previous three years. John Clark Donahue, the Artistic Director of the Children's Theater, wrote to William L. Jones that he was going to "discontinue my involvement with [the plan] for a Minnesota School for the Arts." He stated that that to continue supporting the arts school would be at "cross-purposes with regard to raising funds and supporting my own activities" (Letter in the archives, Greater Twin Cities Youth Symphonies). Donahue hinted that the Children's Theater might be interested in developing an acting school at the theater that would potentially draw students from the same talent pool as an arts high school. He concluded his letter by writing, "I prefer that my name not be associated with this particular project" (Ibid).

During this time period, a rejection letter came from The Northwest Area Foundation, where they denied without comment, a second round of funding to the original planning committee to expand the study of a Minnesota Arts High School (Letter dated, 1980, March 25 in the archives, Greater Twin Cities Youth Symphonies). The initial proposal for an arts high school, the dissemination of the idea, and the information gathering stages had all proceeded with positive institutional support; however, beginning with the meeting at the Minnesota Department of Education on 1979, November 26, and continuing through the rejection of the second grant proposal, four months later on 1980, March 25, opposition developed at multiple levels of the state education policy system, a prominent arts organization and one previously supportive foundation. The arts high school advocates did not perceive this resistance as fatal, but assumed that more

information and personal contact over time, would garner the support of key policy actors within the Department of Education, the arts organizations, and the foundation community (Arts advocate interview, 1997, October 26). To that end, the arts high school proponents hosted a conference in late February, 1980, with two expressed goals: to establish an arts school and select a site for the school.

The results of this conference were two printed documents for public distribution. The first was a Report to the Planning Committee, dated 1980, April 22, which outlined funding sources and a nine-point plan for “gaining support from the State Legislature.” One member of the committee, Mary Honetschlager, Art Education Specialist, Minnesota Department of Education, also surveyed potential funding sources. She reported to the committee that there was “no hard cash” for this concept at the National Endowment for the Arts or other national arts education organizations. Linda Nyvall, from the Bush Foundation, informed the committee that no local or regional foundations were financially interested “in supporting a planning phase” for an arts high school (Report to the Planning Committee, in the archives of Greater Twin Cities Youth Symphonies).

The second document, Prospectus: Minnesota School for the Arts was issued in 1980, August. This thirteen page document outlined the “Educational Program, Funding Proposals, and Site Recommendations” for the Arts High School. The comprehensive nature of this prospectus provided a summary of the ideas from the initiation of the Arts High School concept, through the statewide information gathering meetings and funding proposals. Four committees were formed to continue the work of the conference (See Appendix L for committee membership). The Planning Committee had six key participants who had played critical roles from early on in the idea phase. The Program Committee consisted of twenty-one members who represented public schools, private arts education organizations, the University of Minnesota, the State Department of Education, and non-profit arts organizations. The Funding Committee had seven members who represented foundations, the State Department of Education, the Minnesota State Arts Board, and a regional arts council. The Site Committee had five individual members and one institutional member. The final page of the Prospectus listed the fifty participants in the 1979

Feasibility Conferences that had been held around Minnesota (See Appendix M for conference participants). This list of participants included key actors from public schools, the state colleges and university, private arts education organizations, foundations, arts education professional organizations, professional arts organizations, public school administrators associations, Minnesota State Department of Education representatives, media representatives, Minnesota State Arts Board, and Minnesota Public Radio.

The final action of 1980 was taken by William L. Jones who contacted Governor Al Quie and requested a personal meeting to present the policy idea of a Minnesota School for the Arts and deliver the comprehensive Prospectus for the Minnesota School for the Arts to the Governor. Jones met with Governor Quie and his wife at a breakfast meeting in the Governor's residence in 1980, December. Quie and his wife, Gretchen, were publicly supportive of the arts, but Minnesota was in a severe economic downturn and Governor Quie chose not to respond to the Arts High School proposal. Despite a proactive strategy of meetings with key policy players and a comprehensive document outlining the Arts High School program, funding mechanisms, and site possibilities; the idea of an Arts High School failed to reach the official policy agenda and went dormant. The concept did not surface again until the summer of 1983.

Rudy Perpich was elected Governor of Minnesota in 1982, November and began his term in 1983, January. On 1983, June 20, Governor Perpich met with Minnesota Department of Education arts supervisors and Arts High School advocates in a meeting at the Governor's residence and heard for the first time about the proposed Minnesota School for the Arts. The concept appealed to him, particularly in light of his recent arts and cultural experiences in Europe as a trade representative for Control Data Corporation. Lani Kawamura, a member of the Governor's staff, was assigned the task of setting up a Governor's Commission on the Arts that considered among other arts initiatives, a Minnesota High School for the Arts. In August, two months after the idea of an arts high school was first presented to the Governor, Perpich and his wife, Lola, traveled to Moscow and visited the internationally renowned, Moscow School for the Arts.

This trip confirmed for Perpich, that his observations of a more artistic culture in Europe could be transferred to Minnesota and would make a positive difference in the culture, the education, and the economy of the state. One executive branch informant stated that Perpich said, “Minnesota could not be world-class without high interest in the arts. The arts were a symbol, a civilizing factor and art is the thing you find at the foundation of every culture” (Executive branch official, interview, 1997, November 11). The combination of personal interest in the fine arts and arts education by the Governor and his wife, fortunate timing by the arts high school advocates in presenting a fully developed policy option, the Prospectus for the Minnesota School for the Arts, and a newly supportive Commissioner of Education (Ruth Randall) at the Department of Education, resulted in immediate and active policy interest by the Governor in a Minnesota High School for the Arts.

Key actors in the political arena

The first analytical category of Mazzoni’s Political Analysis of Education Issue Conflicts was key actors. The analysis of findings on key actors focused on the cluster of visible and prominent participants or policy elites (Kingdon, 1984) who guided the arts high school proposal through the political arena from 1984 to 1989. There were also key individuals and organizations that opposed the policy initiative in the political arena that used their positions and resources to delay and counter the efforts of the proponents. Informants did not readily identify these key opponents in the research survey questions but they were identified by the researcher to give coherence and understanding to the policy conflict. Three legislative sessions; 1985, 1987, and 1989 provide the chronological framework for analyzing the findings on key actors.

Identifying the key actors from the general category of participants, involved asking each informant to identify the key actors in response to the research question, “Who were the major policy actors in the initiation and development of the Arts High School?” The data were divided into two categories: key actors and minor actors over the length of the policy conflict. Informants identified fourteen significant

participants in the policy process, with William L. Jones being the sole actor from the policy initiation phase (1976-1983) whose influence extended into the official policy agenda phase (1984). One arts advocate confirmed the centrality of Jones' involvement by stating, "All I can say is that the key person was Bill Jones" (Interview, 1997, December 9). The political actors who entered the policy conflict following Governor Perpich's press conference in 1984, February were largely unaware of the policy initiation phase and did not identify participants from those years in the informant interviews. One informant summed up this perspective by saying, "I don't even know if Perpich knew about the earlier initiatives. So from my perspective, Perpich was the starting point" (Agency staff, interview, 1997, November 4). Key actors who entered the policy process, following the initial meeting at the Governor's residence in 1983 and the press conference in 1984, included: Governor Perpich and his wife Lola, two members of the Governor's staff, Lani Kawamura and Daniel Loritz, two state senators, Senator Tom Nelson and Senator Randy Peterson, one former legislator and influential leader in the Democratic Party, Harry Sieben Jr., and Minnesota Center for Arts Education staff members, Barbara Martin and James Undercofler. No opponents of the policy issue were identified as key actors by the informants. Even those legislators who strongly opposed the Arts High School, and were interviewed by the researcher as important oppositional players, did not self-identify as key actors or minor actors. One legislator reflected on the absence of identified opponents when he said, "It is interesting the number of people who opposed the Arts High School then who will not say so now. The opponents don't want to admit they were opponents anymore" (Legislator, interview, 1997, December 12).

The minor actors were identified by informants as people who played significant roles in the policy issue but the importance of their roles was either confined to a single incident i.e., Connie Levi, or was limited in duration i.e., David Speer. One participant, Ruth Randall, straddled the line of key actor and minor actor. Randall, the Commissioner of Education was judged to be a key actor by informants from the Minnesota Department of Education and executive branch officials because she was able to deliver the official support of the Department of Education for

Governor Perpich’s policy goal. However, informants from the state legislature and the Governor’s staff did not elevate Randall’s influence to the level of key actor. The findings by this researcher reflected the ambiguity of her role, and though she was identified as a minor actor by most informants, her influence was judged to be of greater importance by the researcher after analyzing the data.

The researcher requested that all informants fill out a *Timeline of Participant Involvement*. The timeline identified six categories of participants: Arts Leaders and Organizations, Foundations, Legislators and Legislative Committees, Governor and Staff, State Policy Agencies, and Minnesota Center for Arts Education Staff. Informants were instructed to fill in the cells across the rows to indicate those years that they judged the participants in those categories to be involved in the policy issue. The compilation of the informant’s judgments about key actors and minor actors from the research question and the responses to the *Timeline of Participant Involvement* are displayed by year and compiled in Figure 13.

Figure 13: Timeline of Participant Involvement for Key Actors and Minor Actors

KEY ACTORS	1976–1978	1979–1980	1981–1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989
Jones, William L.										
Perpich, Rudy										
Perpich, Lola										
Kawamura, Lani										
Nelson, Tom										
Martin, Barbara										
Loritz, Daniel										
Undercofler, James										
Sieben Jr., Harry										
Peterson, Randy										
MINOR ACTORS	1976–1978	1979–1980	1981	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989
Randall, Ruth										
Speer, David										
Zimmerman, David										
Levi, Connie										

Key actors: advocates

Governor Rudy Perpich

Governor Rudy Perpich was perceived by all informants to be the key actor in the Arts High School policy issue. One policy expert stated that Perpich was not “just involved, but passionately involved” (Policy expert, interview, 1998, February 19). Another informant confirmed the same level of intensity when he said, “Perpich had passion in his eyes” (Agency staff, interview, 1997, December 17). Perpich’s involvement in educational policy issues coincided with a major shift in policy making that moved educational issues from the federal government to the state government. Ravitch concluded that during the 1980s, “In a shift of major proportions the locus of educational policymaking moved from the federal government and local governments to the states.” (Ravitch, in Mazzone, 1991, p. 115) The two streams of involvement came together in the issue of the Arts High School for Governor Perpich: the passionate personal interest to arts education was combined with institutional opportunity because of the shift to state governments from the national government, in educational policy making.

The idea of an arts high school had not reached the official policy agenda in previous attempts by the supporters and one Perpich associate said, “There was no support originally for the arts school” (Perpich associate, interview, 1997, December 26). Perpich was faced with a policy proposal that involved relatively few constituents, little public support, and a bewildered sense among legislators as to why he would take on this issue. Perpich staked his personal status and official policy leadership reputation on an issue that was of little, to no interest, for most legislators. Yet the Democratic education subcommittee chairs and the Governor’s staff responded to party obligation and personal loyalty to Governor Perpich and drafted a bill that could stand on its own or be attached to the education omnibus bill to satisfy the policy goals of the Governor. Once Perpich chose the issue, he began working for a budget allocation from the 1984 legislature to study the issue, and then sought statutory authorization of the Arts High School in the 1985 legislative session. One

legislator stated “The 1985 session was when Perpich put the pedal to the metal” (Legislator, interview, 1997, November 11).

Perpich was the key actor over the three legislative sessions during which the policy conflict was debated in the state legislature. Perpich attempted to gain funds for planning and initial programming in the 1985 session. The 1987 session was devoted to site acquisition and design issues that required bonding authority for the school. The 1989 session sought funding for staff, curriculum development, and approval for an operating budget. Because the policy conflict extended over six years, it required a long-term view and forceful commitment from Perpich. This commitment was viewed metaphorically in terms of a marathon runner by one of the most vocal opponents. This legislator stated, “I think this issue had one marathoner; that was Governor Perpich...he carried it, he was committed” (Legislator, interview, 1997, November 24). Two other legislators who supported the bill corroborated the status of Perpich as the key actor in the policy issue. One Democratic leader said, “Without the forcefulness of the Governor, the Arts High School would not have passed” (Legislator, interview, 1997, November 25). Another legislator and important committee chair, who worked over two sessions to pass the legislation, stated that, “Perpich was the key player and in the end the credit goes to him” (Legislator, interview, 1997, November 11).

Lola Perpich

Lola Perpich, the Governor’s wife, was identified as a key actor by all informants. Though she was cast in a prominent role, it was an enigmatic role. Lola was not the “up-front speaker and the up-front person, but Governor Perpich kind of put her on the point on the School for the Arts High School” (Arts advocate, interview, 1997, October 26). Lola Perpich shared with policy makers what she and her husband had seen in Europe in state supported arts schools (Agency staff, interview, 1997, December 17). She lobbied legislators on the arts school to the extent that one former legislator stated that it was the “only time in memory a Governor’s spouse lobbied the chair of the tax committee” (Policy expert, interview,

1998, February 19). Another executive branch official remembered receiving phone calls from legislators on the days of significant votes regarding the Arts High School. He related that Lola Perpich called the legislators until 11:00 p.m. the night before, got them out of bed, and explained why they should vote for the Arts High School (Executive branch official, interview, 1997, December 18).

The perception around the state capitol was that the personal relationship between Rudy Perpich and Lola Perpich increased the commitment of the Governor to the policy issue. One informant contended that Lola was more committed to the Arts High School than the Governor and stated “I was under the impression that Lola was the big supporter of it and he was doing it because Lola supported it” (Legislator, interview, 1997, December 12). This heightened personal commitment was summed up by an executive branch informant when he stated, Perpich told him, “if he didn’t get the arts school passed when he wanted it, heads would roll, because if Lola was involved it was maximum effort” (Executive branch official, interview, 1997, December 18).

Perpich placed his wife in an unusually prominent policy position in state policy issues when he named her “honorary co-chair” of the fifteen member Task Force to “develop plans for a School for the Arts in Minnesota” (St. Paul Pioneer Press and Dispatch, 1984, February 4, p. A1). The Task Force was chaired by David Speer and the Governor asked the Task Force to “develop recommendations for a site, curriculum, staffing and budget” for the proposed Arts High School (Ibid). This was the first time the Governor’s wife had served on a gubernatorial panel, and the important mission of this Task Force and the commitment of the Governor and his wife to the concept were clear. Lola Perpich was involved behind the scenes beginning in 1983 and as a key actor from the time of her appointment to the Task Force in 1984 through to the final legislative action in 1989. One legislator recalled a Legislative Education Committee meeting that was convened at the Governor’s residence in 1987 and concluded that the “whole purpose of the meeting was to make a pitch for the Arts High School.” He continued, “It became very evident to me just by the way that Rudy was looking at Lola at various times, that it was a personal thing with the two of them. Then I thought, this is not just another thing, this is not

just another issue for the Governor, this is something that mattered on a personal basis” (Legislator, interview, 1997, December 12). It mattered to the Governor and it mattered to Lola. Though unlikely and unusual for a Governor’s wife to be a key actor in a policy issue, Lola was identified as a key actor in the Arts High School policy issue by all informants.

Key actors: the governor’s able staff

Lani Kawamura

Lani Kawamura was a member of the Governor’s staff or associated with an official state agency for the entire duration of the issue conflict. During that time, she served in three official roles. First, Kawamura was Special Assistant to the Governor in 1983, when she attended the June 20th meeting at the Governor’s residence where the idea of an arts high school was first introduced to Governor Perpich. Following that meeting, Perpich appointed Kawamura as chair of the Commission on the Arts, which was the initial action toward placement of the Arts High School on the official policy agenda. Subsequently, Kawamura held the positions of Deputy Director of the State Planning Agency (1985-1986) and Director of the State Planning Agency (1987-1990). All three of these official positions kept her in close contact with the Governor and involved as a key actor in the arts high school issue. Kawamura’s status as a key actor was confirmed by an informant when he stated, “Lani Kawamura was very, very important. I would deem her in the historical sense of the arts school the most knowledgeable, because she was first. She was a hard worker and she was passionate” (Executive branch official, interview, 1997, November 11). Kawamura was not only recognized as a key policy actor but also possessed a personal dedication to the Governor. A state agency staff member recalled Kawamura’s role as “a very hard worker and absolutely devoted to Governor Perpich (Agency staff, interview, 1997, November 4). Her savvy political nature was augmented by a personal commitment to enact the Governor’s policy agenda.

Daniel Loritz

Daniel Loritz was involved in the Arts High School policy issue from many different perspectives. He held seven different official positions during the time period the Arts High School was on the policy agenda. Loritz was: Assistant Commissioner, Department of Education; Director of Legislative Relations, Department of Education; Interim Director of the Minnesota School and Resource Center for the Arts, Assistant Director, State Planning Agency, Chief Lobbyist for the Governor, Deputy Chief of Operations for the Governor, and Chief of Staff for the Governor. A highly placed state agency staff member said that, “Dan Loritz was the key person, because he was more respected by the establishment people. He came up through the ranks of the Department of Education and was a strategic insider” (Agency staff, interview, 1997, November 4).

Loritz played a major role as a consummate insider who carried out negotiations, and enforced the Governor’s wishes. He was a key actor in conveying the ideas of the Governor to legislative members during periods of negotiation and relaying the demands of legislators back to the Governor. This was understood to be an important political role and the same state agency informant perceived Loritz as “a political animal, and about as good as they get” (Agency staff, interview, 1997, November 4). Loritz had the authority to negotiate for the Governor and when necessary “cut the deals” to bring pressure on legislators, and act with the Governor’s authority in passing out political patronage.

Key actors: state legislators

The Arts High School policy conflict was not a one-dimensional conflict played out exclusively on the executive level. Rather, it was a multi-dimensional issue that was played out at many levels; the executive level, the legislative level, and the state agency level. The key actors at the legislative level were two Democratic Senators who chaired influential education subcommittees where the Arts High School legislation was debated and voted upon numerous times.

Tom Nelson

Tom Nelson was the chairperson of the Senate K-12 Subcommittee on Education Aids from 1984 through 1986. He was a crucial supporter of the Arts High School legislation because of his long-term personal relationship with Governor Perpich and with Perpich's brother, Senator George Perpich. One Perpich associate said that, "The relationship with Tom Nelson and Governor Perpich was fundamental. Everybody else who supported Perpich was from the iron-range. There was no support south of the iron-range except Tom Nelson" (Perpich associate, interview, 1997, November 18). The division of Minnesota politics into "Rangers," those legislators who represented the iron-range in northern Minnesota and other legislators who represented the southern half of Minnesota, including the urban areas of Minneapolis and St. Paul, was a real and substantive distinction. Tom Nelson represented Austin, Minnesota, close to the southern border, but was able to bridge the "Ranger" gap because of his personal skill, his connections with the Perpich brothers, the location of his legislative district, and his important leadership position in the Senate.

Nelson was the primary sponsor of the Arts High School legislation in 1985 and involved in the crucial negotiations with Senator Connie Levi, House Majority Leader, which resulted in the first official allocation of resources to the Arts High School in June of 1985. Nelson also had personal characteristics that appealed to legislators who opposed the Arts High School, but respected Tom Nelson. One legislator who consistently voted against the arts school and represented the Republican caucus in the negotiations said, "Nelson was a cool cucumber; he played down the Governor's bombastic ways" (Legislator, interview, 1998, February 9). He was also perceived as a key actor because of his positional authority as chair of the important educational committee that had to approve all education bills before they went to the full Senate. A Department of Education insider said, "Tom Nelson held the most powerful position in the legislature for education" (Agency staff, interview, 1997, November 26).

Randy Peterson

Randy Peterson was the key actor for the Arts High School legislation, in the Senate, during the 1987 and 1989 sessions. He was chair of the Education Aids Subcommittee and highly respected for his knowledge of educational issues. Peterson also possessed an insider's knowledge of the formal rules and informal conventions of the legislature and was able to assist the Arts High School legislation by applying this expertise during complex negotiations. Barbara Martin, the Deputy Director for the Minnesota Center for Arts Education, called Peterson the "hero" who "included the legislation in all educational bills that came out of his committee" (Agency staff, interview, 1997).

Peterson's involvement in the policy issue contrasted to Tom Nelson's participation, in that Peterson's support of the Arts High School legislation was not predicated on a long-standing personal relationship with Governor Perpich. Rather, Peterson was perceived as an idea man who supported educational policies based on personal judgment of merit. "Randy Peterson was only persuaded on the merits of an idea. If he didn't think something was a good idea, he wouldn't carry it, no matter how politically expedient it was" (Agency staff, interview, 1997, November 4). Peterson deflected the informant's convictions that he was a key actor and said, "By the time the Arts High School got to the legislature in 1987, Jim Undercofler and Barbara Martin had put together a real good presentation. There might be a question of whether you supported the Arts High School or not, but it wasn't a big issue from the standpoint of understanding what was going on" (Legislator, interview, 1997).

Peterson entered the Arts High School policy arena during the 1987 session when the controversy about the location and design of the Arts High School dominated the legislative deliberations. Because the Democrats had regained control of both houses of the legislature in the previous election, Peterson was in a different position in relationship to the DFL controlled House, than Nelson had been in 1985 with a Republican controlled House. Peterson maintained a firm control on the Senate Education Aids Subcommittee, and as an important chairperson he was able to

reach out to the House and anticipate a more agreeable relationship in Conference Committee negotiations. Peterson however, was not able to accomplish two important issues from his position in the Senate in 1987. The first was to deliver to Perpich the full amount in the bonding bill related to the Arts High School. Perpich had requested \$31 million and in the end the legislature passed \$4.2 million for the arts school. Secondly, Perpich had to turn to another key actor to make progress in the discussions with the Minneapolis City Council about the site of the school. This discussion turned into a highly contentious issue because it involved significant capital investment in the site location. In the end, Perpich chose a well-connected insider with more personal, party, and political clout than Peterson. Perpich brought in Harry Sieben, Jr., the long-time (1971-1985) leader of the Democratic caucus and Speaker of the House, to negotiate with the Minneapolis City Council about the site of the Arts High School in Minneapolis.

Harry Sieben, Jr.

Harry Sieben, Jr. was the final actor at the state policy level in the Arts High School conflict and a long-time friend of the Perpich family who was unanimously identified as a key actor by all informants because he gave the arts school “political cover” (Legislator, interview, 1997, December 12). Perpich had a vision of the Arts High School located in a nascent cultural corridor in Minneapolis. Perpich envisioned the school near the south end of downtown Minneapolis, in Loring Park, which was within walking distance of the Guthrie Theater, the Minnesota Orchestra, Children’s Theater, Walker Art Gallery, and the Minneapolis Institute of Arts. This location, although advantageous in a cultural sense, had perceived dangers associated with the urban location. An undercurrent of resistance developed in the legislature and the general public that was strong enough to derail the proposed site without the intervention of a powerful, politically connected actor. Sieben was deemed to hold that political power by both advocates and opponents because he “had access all through the House” (Executive branch official, interview, 1997, November 11).

Perpich specifically selected Sieben to negotiate with the Minneapolis City Council about the financial commitments that the state would make and the mutual financial commitments the city would make to get the school placed in Minneapolis on the Loring Park site. Sieben had political power because he could speak for the Governor and residual positional power from his fourteen years as leader of the Democratic caucus and Speaker of the House. His political style was “hard ball” politics that carried the connotation, both positive and negative, of institutional authority and aggressive personal persuasion directed at policy opponents. One informant described his style as “really rough,” and “you didn’t cross that man and function effectively after that” (Agency staff, interview, 1997, November 4). Perpich’s strategy of appointing Harry Sieben Jr., a powerful political operative, to negotiate critical financial and location details, elevated him to a key actor in the judgment of all of the informants.

Sieben assumed an additional prominent role in the Arts High School conflict after the first Chair of the Board of Directors, Jon Wefald, resigned to become President of Kansas State University. Sieben initially declined Perpich’s offer to become board chair, but accepted after he was asked a second time. Sieben was judged to be a key actor in this role because at that time, “it was questionable whether the Arts High School would ever become a reality” (Legislator, interview, 1997, November 25). Sieben brought his determined personal characteristics to this position and in addition, he had important institutional access to influential legislators throughout the House of Representatives. Because of his negotiating skill and because of his ability to project a forceful, even intimidating personal presence with people, Sieben gave the Arts High School effective political cover in the early years. Put simply, Sieben was able to use position and power to protect the new arts school because people did not want to get into a personal or political conflict with him.

Key actors: state agency staff

Barbara Martin

Barbara Martin held two important official positions during the Arts High School policy issue. She was committee secretary for the Senate K-12 Subcommittee on Education Aids from 1983-1984. She worked directly for Senator Tom Nelson in this role, and it was from this position that she advanced to the Deputy Director for the Minnesota Center for Arts Education. Martin was judged to be a major actor from 1984, when she assumed the Deputy Director position until 1989 when the Arts High School opened. Martin said that she learned to think politically and strategically by watching Tom Nelson and Dan Loritz operate in the legislative arena. She cultivated legislative connections, developed an insider's view of the political process, and refined her knowledge of the formal and informal rules of the legislature so that she became an integral key actor inside the political arena.

When Governor Perpich appointed the Task Force to study the Arts High School, Tom Nelson requested, and Perpich agreed to place Martin on the Task Force. Nelson wanted to have a direct connection to the proceedings of the Task Force and reportedly told Martin, "I need you to keep an eye on all of those arts people for me" (Agency staff, interview, 1997). The official Task Force position added credibility and visibility to her committee secretary position and gave Martin both recognition among the legislators and personal access in the policy arena. An executive branch official stated, "Because Barbara Martin worked for Tom Nelson, everyone knew her in the Senate, her access was enormous" (Executive branch official, interview, 1997, November 11). Martin used her insider knowledge and her crucial connections to the chief legislative sponsor of the bill, Tom Nelson, to be an energetic and persuasive advocate for the Arts High School. More than any of the other key actors, she was in a position to offer political advice to the new director of the Arts High School, James Undercofler, from 1986 to 1989, and plan effective strategies for legislative appearances and lobbying that helped the fledgling school

align itself to the political realities (Salancik & Pfeffer, in Natemeyer & Gilberg, 1989) in the political arena.

James Undercofler

James Undercofler was selected by the Board of Directors to become the first Director of the Minnesota School and Resource Center for the Arts in March of 1986. Undercofler came to the position from a private community arts school in Connecticut. He was judged by the informants to be a major actor in the Arts High School issue from 1986 through 1989. As director of the new state agency, Undercofler developed the reputation of mastering relevant statistics, developing long-range strategies, and maintaining a positive relationship with state legislators. One senator stated, “There was never in my ten years in the legislature, a more thoughtful answer than I would get from Jim Undercofler” (Legislator, interview, 1997, December 12).

Undercofler was considered to be effective because he understood the give and take of the political arena including the importance of giving each legislator something tangible or symbolic to take home to his legislative district. This attribute lead to one of the crucial political compromises that required that the Arts High School Board “must plan for the enrollment of pupils on an equal basis from each congressional district” (State statute, 129C.10, subdivision 3h). This political compromise considered enrollment and acceptance in the school based on student representation from congressional districts rather than strictly upon artistic achievement.

Undercofler was viewed as a leader who did not make enemies over issues and according to the influential legislator quoted above, “Undercofler presented himself well, so I had confidence in him” (1997, December, 12). Another legislator who adamantly opposed the Arts High School acknowledged two qualities that made Undercofler an effective key actor. Undercofler “clearly was a good educator and artist, who really worked to make the school work” (Legislator, interview, 1998, February 9). This respect of Undercofler as an arts educator, and the recognition that

Undercofler was prepared and straightforward when he testified as a state agency head, made him a key actor because of positional and reputational authority (French & Raven, in Natemeyer, 1989). Finally, the personal and professional qualities of Undercofler and the insider knowledge of Martin made the two of them together an effective lobbying team of co-key actors for the Arts High School policy. One executive branch official summed up the effective nature of Undercofler and Martin working together when he said, “Strategy requires a team. That is what Perpich had in Undercofler and Martin, a team” (Executive branch official, interview, 1997, November 11). This same informant further expanded the team concept and summarized it: “Look at the players; you got Sieben, you got Tom Nelson, and you’ve got Barb Martin on the inside. The ‘people as they say,’ all know each other and their ability to get in and out of places was enormous” (Executive branch official, interview, 1997, November 11). Barb Martin worked for Tom Nelson. Tom Nelson and Harry Sieben, Jr. both had personal and political ties to Governor Rudy Perpich. Martin moved from a legislative staff position to the work with Jim Undercofler when the legislature first authorized the Arts High School. The “team” was highly qualified, politically astute, and experienced in the legislative arena to assist the Governor in advancing the Arts High School policy issue.

Minor actors: advocates

David Speer

David Speer was the President of Padilla and Speer, a Minneapolis based public relations firm. He was a personal friend of Rudy and Lola Perpich and was considered to be highly effective at working in politically sensitive situations (Arts advocate, interview, 1997, October 26). Speer was first appointed by Perpich to chair the Commission on Economic Vitality in the Arts (1984, January 24). Less than a month later, Speer was named by Perpich to chair the fifteen-member Task Force to develop a plan for a Minnesota School for the Arts. Speer was judged by the informants to have done an important job in moving the Arts High School initiative

from concept to official policy proposal. He astutely analyzed the situation and arranged personal meetings with authoritative consultants from Interlochen Arts Academy in Michigan and the New York City High School of Music and Art. Speer set up statewide hearings and was perceptive in allowing opponents to voice their opinions, both positive and negative, in public meetings (Salancik & Pfeffer in Natemeyer & Gilberg, 1989). He was also involved in the initial site selection process and lastly, submitted the Task Force report to Governor Perpich that included a comprehensive organizational model for the Arts High School that became the working document for writing the legislation in 1985. Speer's work was judged to be crucial but of limited duration. He was actively involved in the Arts High School policy issue for portions of two years; 1984-1985. Although his work on the Task Force produced important long-range results, the length of time he served placed him in the category of minor actor.

David Zimmerman

David Zimmerman was the first director of the Resource Center portion of the Arts High School. This center was a compromise position that developed in legislative negotiations to satisfy out-state legislators. Zimmerman was a Democratic supporter of some notoriety because of his iron-range roots and the fact that he was the brother of the famous folk singer, Bob Dylan (Arts advocate, interview, 1997, October 26). Zimmerman was able to use his connections in the arts community, his Democratic Party connections, and his personal commitment to arts education to move quickly to establish the Resource Center for the Arts as a visible and viable portion of the Arts High School, even before the residential campus portion had legislative approval. In reality, the first contact most arts teachers, students, and legislators had with the arts high school concept was the summer arts program, MAX (Minnesota Arts Experience), that Zimmerman designed in the summer of 1986 and instituted in the summer of 1987. The success of the MAX program and the importance of getting a "showcase program" up and running gave David Zimmerman

great visibility and all the informants judged him as an important actor, but a minor actor in the development of the arts school.

Actors with limited roles

Commissioner Ruth Randall and the Minnesota Department of Education

The Minnesota Department of Education, under the leadership of Commissioner Howard Casmev opposed the arts high school concept during the idea initiation years, 1976-1983. Casmev wrote William L. Jones a letter that stated, he “was not convinced that the state needed a separate school for the arts” (Letter in the archives of the Greater Twin Cities Youth Symphonies, 1980, July 24). This opposition was institutional but policy actors also viewed it as personal animosity directed toward Perpich. One informant stated that, “Howard Casmev hated Rudy Perpich” (Agency staff, interview, 1998, January 22). The Department of Education publicly altered its position when Perpich appointed Ruth Randall the Commissioner of Education. An executive branch informant concluded that when Perpich appointed Ruth Randall, she “enthusiastically favored the concept of an arts high school” (Executive branch official, interview, 1997, December 18). Another informant, however, framed Randall’s support as a *quid pro quo*, because she had been appointed by Perpich, and concluded that Randall “had to support the Arts High School” (Agency staff, interview, 1997, November 4).

Randall was judged to be an actor with a limited role over the entire spectrum of the Arts High School policy issue, but the official role that Randall occupied as leader of the Department of Education was important in delivering the public support of a Department that had previously worked against the Arts High School. One informant from the Department of Education summarized Randall’s importance, “If Rudy Perpich hadn’t appointed Randall the Minnesota Arts High School wouldn’t have gone through” (Agency staff, interview, 1998, January 22). However, a highly placed agency staffer was convinced that though Randall “had to support” the arts school,

the Department of Education still, “in reality, she hated the idea of an arts school” (Agency staff, interview, 1997, November 4).

These mixed perceptions by informants about Commissioner Randall and the Department suggest three possible roles vis-à-vis the art school during the length of the policy conflict: first, supportive of the arts school, second, opposed to the arts school, and finally, ostensible support, but covertly opposed to the arts school. Trying to accurately judge Randall’s position was very difficult and the triangulation of contradictory perceptions from multiple informants, media reports, and documents did not clarify her position for the researcher. In the end, this researcher concluded that the support from Commissioner Randall and the Department of Education was less secure than the public pronouncements. The inherent institutional complexity was important to the case study because the Department of Education controlled such a broad range of the political landscape in the educational subsystem. What can be deduced from the informants is that Ruth Randall, as Commissioner, publicly supported the Arts High School, but there was a persistent sense that the Department of Education did not go out of its way to support the Arts High School in the legislative arena. One prominent Senator summed this up when he said, “I don’t remember any involvement by the Department of Education. This issue struck me as one that we dealt directly with the Governor’s office on at all times” (Legislator, interview, 1997, December 12). The conclusion of this researcher was that the Department of Education was important to the Arts High School because after the concept passed into law, the Department offered curriculum specialists, arts education specialists, and access to acknowledged expert teachers, who could assist in developing curriculum and staff the school. But from informant’s statements, Ruth Randall was an actor with a limited and ambiguous role within the political arena during the 1985, 1987, and 1989 legislative sessions.

Connie Levi

Connie Levi was the Republican House Majority Leader during the 1985 legislative session. Because of this institutional position, she was able to insert

herself into the final Conference Committee negotiations at the end of the 1985 session and broker a deal that ended the stalemate that had developed between Senator Tom Nelson and Senator Sally Olsen, Chair of the House Education Finance Division Committee. The entire story will be related in detail in the critical interactions portion of this research, but at this point it is important to understand that all informants identified the role that Levi played at that moment as one of the most important moments in the history of the Arts High School. One policy analyst reflected that, Connie Levi was a major policy actor, who had “ideas and was flexible.” He further described this important incident and Levi’s role when he said, “she transcended herself” (Policy expert, interview, 1998, February 19). The legislation for the statutory authority for the Arts High School had reached the Conference Committee in May 1985 and IR Senator, Sally Olsen, refused to compromise with Senator Tom Nelson and allow the House members of the committee to vote on the Arts High School. Olsen assumed an ideological position based on personal and political values and the campaign promise of no new expensive programs and no new taxes. Because she controlled the House votes in the Conference Committee, Olsen was in a position to block the legislation and this placed her in a position of power that had to be reckoned with by Senator Tom Nelson. The negotiations went into the early morning hours with no progress. At the request of Senator Nelson, House Majority Leader, Connie Levi acted in an unusual way and removed Sally Olsen as the lead House negotiator late in the night and replaced Olsen with herself. Levi took over direct negotiations with Senator Tom Nelson and fifteen to thirty minutes later, according to one insider, (Executive branch official, interview, 1997, November 11) Connie Levi had obtained Democratic support for legislation she wanted, Post-Secondary Enrollment Options, and Tom Nelson had commitments from the House leadership to support the Arts High School legislation.

The compromise late in the night of May, 1985 was vital to the Arts High School and some think the most critical moment in the passage of the initial legislation. However, Levi was publicly reserved about her position in resolving the conflict and did not emerge again in issues concerning the Arts High School. Her

ability to “transcend” the partisan positions, broker a deal that allowed both sides to win something, and her personal skills in deftly handling a difficult situation with a colleague, earned her the respect of the informants who judged her to be a vital, but minor actor based on time engaged with the policy issue.

Key actors: opponents

The power to define the goals of a group or coalition presupposes the ability to represent the ideas and speak with unity for the group (Salancik & Pfeffer, in Natemeyer & Gilberg, 1989). There were no unified groups or coalitions that could speak for the opponents with the same unity as the advocates, until the issue reached the legislative arena where opposition coalesced around the Independent Republican Party. There were no foundation grants to individuals or organizations to develop reasons to oppose the Arts High School concept. There were no conferences to develop and disseminate documents detailing the reasons to oppose the Arts High School. Effective opposition was difficult to sustain without the support structure of an official organization. In the end however, there were three clusters of opposition that developed from 1984 to 1989 after the policy reached the legislative arena: the educational subsystem, the Independent Republican Party, and selected members of the media.

Umstot discussed salient reasons people resist change and oppose new ideas. He stated, “The overriding cause of resistance is fear; fear of the unknown and fear that our needs will not be met” (Umstot, 1988, p. 451). Of the seven reasons he delineated, three have implications for resistance by opponents to the Arts High School conflict and revolve around the fear of the unknown: the challenge to vested interests, the stability of the status quo, and ideological objections. Resistance arose because the Arts High School was considered a threat to vested interests, that is, the local school systems and a challenge to the perception that schools were adequately educating artistically talented students. Secondly, institutional opposition was intense when the Arts High School was viewed as a change in the structure (status quo) of educational services and competition for limited state educational funds. Finally,

ideological opposition involved a fear that removing a class of students, artistically gifted students, from the schools would destroy communities and segregate the most talented art students in the state from the general student population. Though Unstot's categories have discrete boundaries, the opposition in reality, was not framed on theoretical frameworks, so the analysis weaves the actors and their reasons to oppose the school together.

Educational subsystem

The educational subsystem of “committee-based lawmakers, agency bureaucrats, and established group representatives” (Mazzoni, 1991, p. 117) generally perceived the proposed Arts High School as a threat to the public schools and aligned their resources to oppose the Arts High School in the political arena. One legislator, who opposed the Arts High School, recognized the strength of the subsystem by his word choice and level of diction when he labeled it the “educational cartel” and stated, “Education policy is largely driven by the cartel. The cartel is the unions, the School Board Association, and others” (Legislator, interview, 1997, November 24). Another legislator, a key supporter of the Arts High School, corroborated subsystem opposition when he said, “The education community did not want the Arts High School” (Legislator, interview, 1997, November 11). A key state agency official stated to the researcher, “They [members of the educational subsystem] were all against the Arts High School,” (Agency staff, interview, 1997, November 4). Finally, a senator who sat on the education committee said, “I think the teachers unions and the School Board Association, the principle actors that hang around the education committee, I think a lot of them were opposed to it just because of this general sense about what is proper public education and what isn't” (Legislator, interview, 1997, December 12).]

Opposition from the educational subsystem emerged publicly in 1984 when the Governor's Task Force held hearings around the state and sought public comment about the proposed Arts High School. Individuals and representatives of the educational subsystem spoke at the public hearings, and communicated through

letters to public officials and letters to the editor, their position on the proposed Arts High School. Representatives of the subsystem decried the potential loss of artistic students to their home communities and unfair educational benefits for a few select students. Lloyd Ultan, Director of the University of Minnesota, School of Music, summarized this in a letter to David Speer, “It [Arts High School] would take the most talented youth out of their respective communities damaging the quality level of arts activities in those communities” (Letter to David Speer dated 1984, August 15, in the archives of Greater Twin Cities Youth Symphonies). The Mountain Lakes Area Arts Council wrote a letter to Governor Perpich that maintained, “such a thrust would tend to pull the gifted students in out-state districts out of their local environments where their talents are most needed” (Letter to Governor Perpich dated 1984, May 29, in the archives of the Minnesota Center for Arts Education). C. William Douglas, a music teacher from North Junior High School in Hopkins School District, wrote a letter to David Speer that summarized his belief that removing the “top musicians, the top artists from the various communities may produce a showcase high school, but it will lower standards and expectations for the arts across the state. The leadership, motivation, and help provided by these exceptional students will be lost to their classmates” (Letter dated, 1984, May 21, in the archives of the Minnesota Center for Arts Education). In a letter to the editor in the St. Paul Pioneer Press and Dispatch, less than one month after Perpich announced his interest in an Arts High School, the writer from Southwest State University, Marshall Minnesota, stated, “that by pulling out students in the area schools, it [Arts High School] would have a detrimental impact on some of the programs that do exist” (Letter to the editor, 1984, February 27, Arts high school would isolate students, St. Paul Pioneer Press and Dispatch, p. A6). These examples illustrated the fear that the arts high school proposal engendered: fear that students would be “pulled” out of their home communities, fear that local school arts programs would suffer, fear that the loss of high achieving students would change the leadership dynamic in local schools, and fear that local schools would suffer in comparison to a showcase state arts school.

Arts education professional associations (established group representatives, Mazzoni, 1991) were perceived to oppose the arts school but there was ambiguity

between perception and written positions. One senator observed that visual arts educators opposed the Arts High School. He categorically stated to the researcher, “Arts educators didn’t want the Arts High School” (Legislator, interview, 1997, November 11). The visual arts specialist at the Minnesota Department of Education believed that, “For arts teachers it was selfish, it won’t help me” (Agency staff, interview, 1997). This perception at the legislature and the Department of Education was contradicted, however in a letter to David Speer from Roger McGaughey, the president of Art Educators of Minnesota, in which he stated, “Art Educators of Minnesota...recognize the value of a high school model for excellence in art education...and therefore, supports such a school at this time” (Letter to David Speer, 1984, December 31, in the archives of Minnesota Center for Arts Education).

The Minnesota Music Educators Association, the other strong arts educators professional association in the state, was perceived to oppose the policy, but for a tangential reason, “The president did not want to get the Minnesota Music Educators Association into politics, they had just lost a lawsuit and non-action was their action, and the arts high school issue would go away” (Agency staff, interview, 1998, January 22). Though the MMEA opposed the residential portion of the Arts High School they favored the Resource Center which would provide music education resources for teachers throughout the state (Agency staff, interview, 1997, November 4). Arts education academics at the University of Minnesota (agency bureaucrats, Mazzoni, 1991) were judged to oppose the Arts High School. “Margaret DiBlasio, (University of Minnesota, art education professor) was pretty cool on it” (Executive branch official, interview, 1997, December 18). Furthermore, DiBlasio was perceived to have influenced the music education faculty at the University of Minnesota. “Margaret DiBlasio convinced Steve Schultz (music education professor) to come out against the Arts High School” (Agency staff, interview, 1998, January 22). The perception by the informants was that arts teachers, arts education associations, and arts education academics opposed the Arts High School policy. But, an alternative explanation was considered because of the hesitancy and ambiguity of responses, in which the opponents took a more politically nuanced position. Arts teachers and their professional associations could be judged to have

chosen a “no-action” position because they had seen many educational reforms come and go in the past. They could simply wait for the political process to play itself out and go with the winning side in the end. The advocates of an Arts High School were convinced that the arts education community was opposed to the Arts High School, but the evidence was not entirely persuasive that the arts community was aligned against the concept.

The one education organization (established group representative, Mazzoni, 1991) that unequivocally opposed the Arts High School was the Minnesota Education Association. “The Minnesota Education Association [teachers union] opposed it, which really got them in trouble with Perpich” (Agency staff, interview, 1997, December 2,). The St. Paul Pioneer Press reported that not only was Perpich upset that the union had opposed the Arts High School but he also felt they had influenced legislators to vote against the school. “Minnesota House & Senate committees last week voted down Perpich’s proposal to allocate \$4.5 million for an arts high school similar to the one featured in the movie and television show “Fame.” He [Perpich] said lobbying by the teacher union influenced the legislator’s decisions (1985, April 9, No teacher help wanted says Perpich, St. Paul Pioneer Press and Dispatch, p. D1). The MEA had voted to oppose the Arts High School on the grounds that it was an inequitable distribution of resources at a time of fiscal restraint and indicated they might support the concept in the future if they decided that public school arts education programs in the state received adequate funding. The competing teacher’s union, the Minnesota Federation of Teachers seemingly did not support the Arts High School, but did not take a formal vote and considered it a small issue that was not a priority either way.

The School Boards Association and the School Administrators Association were also judged to be against the Arts High School. One legislator concluded that opposition was based on the fact that money that was allocated for a new program would not be available to fund existing programs. “Any money that gets spent on one thing can’t be spent on their [SBA and SAA] proposals, so they opposed it” (Legislator, interview, 1997, December 12). Another confidant of Governor Perpich said, “School districts thought it would subtract money from ‘my’ school district”

(Perpich associate, interview, 1997, November 18). Fiscal constraint, the role of proper public education, loss of gifted students to their home communities, and philosophical opposition all were issues raised by subsystem opponents to the proposed Arts High School. In the final analysis, one informant summarized it by suggesting that the change from the status quo was really fear of a new idea, “I think it was a fear that the establishment was going to be somehow changed or jeopardized: the usual way of doing things was going to be altered” (Agency staff, interview, 1997, November 4). These informant’s words echo Umstot’s assertion that, “the overriding cause of resistance is fear” (Umstot, 1988, p. 451). The educational subsystem was more comfortable with incremental change (Mazzoni, 1991) and the Arts High School could be viewed as a structural change that generated resistance based on fear of the unknown.

Independent Republicans

The Independent Republican Party was the key legislative group opposed to the Arts High School. Republican Party opposition was based on conservative principles and traditional family values. One policy expert, who was in the state legislature at the time the Arts High School was debated, stated that the Republicans were, “dominated by the class of 1978. Their political leaders were guided by a very conservative, even rigid sense of what government was supposed to do” (Policy expert, interview, 1998, February 19). The fact that the Republicans controlled the House of Representatives for the first time in many years during the 1985 session, created an atmosphere of partisan confrontation. The Arts High School was an ideal issue for Independent Republicans to coalesce around, because it was perceived to be an unnecessary government program that would create a new state agency, require a new budget line, change the allocation of educational values (Easton, 1965), and undermine traditional family values.

The Republicans did not favor the Arts High School for reasons that were aligned with conservative philosophy. One Republican informant stated the position in a straightforward manner and simply said, “The Republicans were not supportive

of the idea of an Arts High School” (Legislator, interview, 1997, November 24). The most obvious reason was fiscal conservatism. An articulate Republican informant said, “There were many people that felt very strongly that that was a waste of money and an inappropriate direction for the state to be going” (Legislator, interview, 1998, January 5). Fiscal restraint on government spending emerged early in the debate and was often the dominant reason to oppose the school. The clarity of the position was reinforced by another legislator, “I opposed it because it would take K-12 money” (Legislator, interview, 1997, January 7).

The values issue emerged next because the proposed Arts High School was a residential model and would take high school students from their homes and local school systems and house them in the perceived, dangerous, large city environment of Minneapolis or St. Paul. The Republican legislative leader quoted above said, “I did battle on this to make it possible for more young people to participate in the arts in an in-depth way but to be able to stay at home” (Legislator, interview, 1998, January 5). The politically emotive phrase, “home school district,” got intertwined with the complex problem of state run dormitories for young students. Members of the Appropriations Committee-Education Division were against the residential aspect of the Arts High School based on their experience “with the residency halls at colleges and universities. [They were] very in tune, if you will, with the issues that you encounter when you are supervising students on a campus seven days a week, twenty-four hours a day” (Legislator, interview, 1997, December 22). One Republican legislator also recalled the vivid personal story of fellow legislator, LeRoy Stumpf, who lived away from his family during his teen years, while he attended Nazareth Hall, a Catholic Seminary. Stumpf shared with his fellow legislators during the arts school debate, that this was a “vulnerable age,” and a tough time in a child’s life to be separated from family and community, (Legislator, interview, 1998, January 5). This personal narrative, by a fellow legislator, reinforced the “family values” stance of the Republican legislators and furthered their opposition to the Arts High School because it would take students away from their families and place them in state-run residential facility at a “vulnerable age.” One of the most vocal Republican legislators summed

up the residential issue with these words, “The Arts High School [as a] residential school was a huge problem” (Legislator, interview, 1998, February 9).

The Arts High School policy issue emerged on the policy agenda in February 1984, with Governor Perpich placing it among his top legislative priorities. The partisan opposition to the policy proposal developed within one month and gained strength over the course of the Task Force hearings in the summer of 1984, and during the first legislative session. This gradual accumulation of perspective (Kingdon, 1984) generated a list of compelling reasons to oppose the Arts High School. The researcher concluded, after interviewing four Republican legislators, that the opposition was sincere and wavered little from the fiscal arguments, the family values position, and the danger for students in an urban setting, for the three legislative sessions the Arts High School was debated.

Media

The final cluster of opposition centered on select members of the media and their ability to shape the perception of the Arts High School policy issue. One executive branch official reflected on the Arts High School and said, “The media was more of a player than the arts community” (Executive branch official, interview, 1997, December 18). The media, particularly print media, appeared to sustain its own version of the Arts High School, which helped to shape the policy issue. Sixteen writers wrote stories in the St. Paul Pioneer Press and Dispatch over the relevant years. But only one writer wrote five or more stories on the Arts High School. The same was true in the Minneapolis Star Tribune. Twelve writers wrote stories about the policy issue but only one writer wrote more than five stories over the six-year period (1984-1989). Many writers were involved in reporting the story of the Arts High School, but it was not a story that stayed with one writer who developed extensive expertise about the issue. One media expert concluded that the over-all newspaper coverage shaped the story in a negative way, when he said to the researcher, “I think the newspaper coverage probably did the arts school more harm than good” (Media expert, interview, 1998, February 16).

The media shaped the coverage in three ways. First, it was an easy story to report and elevate the negative perspective to a central position in the story. The newspapers reported about “elitism,” and the small number of students served. This position was a straightforward position but the repeated use of the word “elitist” perpetuated a negative image. One reporter said, “There was a negative factor at work because it was so easy to report. As a reporter you have to report both sides...the positive side didn’t get reported” (Media expert, interview, 1998, February 16). When the researcher asked the reporter how he prepared to write a story about the arts school he said that he “skimmed” the last one or two stories about the arts school and then wrote the new story. When asked why he prepared that way, he stated that you are always under a deadline and only have time to try and be consistent with the most recent news story, so it was not possible to develop the story as an expert, over the length of the policy conflict (Media expert, interview, 1998, February 16).

Secondly, the arts school was slanted toward the negative because it was paired in the media with the Republican charge that Governor Perpich advocated for “goofy ideas”. This created a social and political context (Salancik & Pfeffer in Natemeyer & Gilberg, 1989) where perception was created by using the catchy sobriquet, “Governor Goofy,” in place of Governor Perpich. The media perpetuated this and the slant that was communicated was one of levity; if Perpich was goofy, then the idea of an arts high school was by implication, goofy. One legislator who made the most of this, stated to the researcher, “You have to remember my career in politics really was based on Perpich. It was my job to make it fun and I did” (Legislator, interview, 1997, November 24). This perception was not confined to the readership of the two major papers in the Twin Cities market because the Associated Press picked up the stories and the same stories were printed in local newspapers all over the state the day after they appeared in the large city newspapers (Media expert, interview, 1998, February 16).

The shaping of the public perception was also based on the sincere media attempts to pick important subjects to elevate to a public interest level. “The media is trying to find stories that are important, that mean something to the course of history,

the essence of civilization, and write them in a way that captures some turning points, some conflicts, and some resolution” (Media expert, interview, 1998, February 16). The school was judged to be important, so it received media coverage, but it was also judged to be controversial so it was easier to frame in a negative way. The slant of the media did not go unnoticed by the Perpich administration, “The media picks things that are controversial” (Perpich associate, interview, 1997, December 26). Nowhere was the controversy more unusual than the recurring inclusion of the Governor’s wife, Lola, in the media coverage. Perhaps it was because the Governor placed her in an honorary position on the initial committee (1984, February), or because she spoke with legislators about her personal desire for an arts high school. Whatever the reason, the school quickly was labeled “Lola’s-school.” The researcher judged that this label was pejorative; gently making fun of the efforts of the Governor’s wife and casting doubt on the validity of the school as an educational policy with covert implied questions such as: “How could Lola know what was good state policy,” or “How could the Governor’s wife be well-versed in educational options?” No informant could fully account for the media’s interest in the Governor’s wife. One informant who was involved in both the idea initiation phase and the official agenda phase stated, “The media got fixated on Lola Perpich. I don’t know where they got this fixation” (Agency staff, interview, 1997, December 17). The shaping of educational issues by the media was important in this case study because the policy issue was sidetracked by focusing on Lola Perpich as a story line.

The last method the media used to influence the public perception was to persistently couple the words, arts high school with a label, creating a new, hyphenated grammatical reality. “Reporters always try to get some kind of label that they can throw into a story, it jazzes up their writing” (Media expert, interview, 1998, February 16). The media picked up on labels from the beginning. It was first called “bingo-high school” because of the proposed funding from state-controlled charitable gaming revenue. The metaphor carried a chance or gambling sense with the words “bingo-high.” Though the reference in a denotative sense was to the funding source, it carried more complex metaphorical connotations. For example; the state might be taking a “chance” on an untested idea, the school might be more fun than regular

school, like a game of bingo, or the school might be confined to a lucky few winners. Next the school was labeled, “Fame-High School,” based on the movie, *Fame*, and television series that was popular at the time. “Fame-high” communicated the possibility that any student from Minnesota might strike it big in the entertainment world – preferably in New York City. *Fame* also subtly elevated the perception out of an educational option into the world of movie-star money and recognition. Finally, the school was called the “Lazarus-school” for the arts. The reference was to the number of times the school appeared to be dead but was resurrected. The sense was both obliquely mocking, that is, it should stay dead, but also the words communicated a sense of the miraculous, because of the way it emerged from the “tomb” of legislative death time after time. The media shaped the policy issue by matching the policy proposal with a label that “jazzed” up the story and substituted a rhetorically charged or metaphorically complex label for straight policy reporting.

Summary

The key actors and minor actors who supported the policy proposal in the political arena were identified by informants from among many possible policy actors. Starting with Governor Perpich as the major actor and moving through minor actors who played brief but critical roles, the policy advocates developed the arts high school idea into a legislative proposal and brought it through three legislative sessions. The arts high school policy proposal faced determined opposition in the legislative arena by the educational subsystem, the Independent Republican Party, and select members of the media. This opposition was based on principles of how education “should be”, party ideology, and public labels that accompanied, even substituted for policy debate, and reporting. There were other participants that will arise in the analysis but the key actors and minor actors on both sides of the policy have been identified from the informant interviews, and archival documents.

Goals of the Participants

The second question in the analysis of the data was: what goals and motivations guided the participants in the policy arena? This research combined two distinct streams of inquiry; the “goals” of the participants and the “motivations” of the participants into one question based on Mazzoni’s Framework for Political Analysis of Education Issue Conflicts (1992). The goals of the participants were framed by the question: what did the participants seek to have accomplished in the policy arena? The motivations of the participants were framed by the question: what explained the participants will to exert their influence in the policy conflict? Goals were further analyzed on two levels for the advocates: what were the stated goals and what were the inferred goals for advocates in the policy arena? The data revealed that the stated goals were clear and directed toward passing the arts high school legislation by the advocates and blocking the arts school legislation by the opponents. The inferred goals of the advocates dealt with the difference between the clarity of stated goals and the ambiguity of underlying goals.

The motivations of the participants were analyzed by examining the data for explanations that would induce the participants to strive toward the identified goals in the policy arena. It is helpful to remember in a historical case study that the participants did not know how the issue would turn out as the Arts High School moved from the idea phase onto the official policy agenda and persisted through the three legislative sessions. Nobody knew what compromises would be made to move the policy forward in committee or on the floor of the legislature. Nobody possessed the foresight to know what political deals would be cut or what patronage would be negotiated to deliver crucial votes at critical moments. Nobody knew what formal rules or informal conventions of the legislature would be invoked to resurrect a seemingly dead policy proposal. Nobody knew what alliances, likely or unlikely, would be formed that would shape the outcome of the issue. One of the senate informants concluded, “No one really knew for sure how this was going to evolve” (Legislator, interview, 1997, November 11). The motivation to exert influence on the policy process ultimately dealt with a key assumption of this thesis: that human

behavior had an impact on policy making. Both advocates and opponents chose one value over other values, over the course of the policy conflict, and those choices induced them to make decisions and exert their influence in the political arena toward specific outcomes.

Stated goals of advocates and opponents

The stated goal of the advocates in this policy issue was to enact legislation that would establish and fund a residential Arts High School in Minnesota. The advocates sought to build on policy success from one legislative session to the next and the goal of the opponents was to deny the enactment of the enabling legislation for an Arts High School in each session of the legislature. Easton's Political System Model would predict that the inputs that penetrated the political system in the form of demands and supports would then go through the conversion system and emerge as decisions and actions (legislation) and those outputs would in turn become the new inputs for the next legislative session. This prediction was confirmed in this case study. The overall goal of the advocates in the 1985 session was to pass a law that authorized a new state agency to be formed, the Minnesota Arts High School. The goals in 1985 further included a budget allocation from the state, the statutory authority to hire staff, and the authorization to appoint a board of directors with the legal authority to oversee the new state agency and accept grants and gifts made to the school. These goals were achieved in the 1985 session.

There were three significant policy goals for the advocates in 1987 session that developed from the policy making outputs of the 1985 session (Easton, 1965). The first goal was to secure operating funds for a compromise portion of the Arts High School legislation, the Resource Center for the Arts. This was an agency that was co-equal with the Arts High School. The goal of the Resource Center was to bring arts experiences to students around the state. In addition, the Resource Center would host teachers from schools around the state and present classes and workshops on curriculum and instruction with the stated goal of improving arts education for all students by imparting ideas to teachers and honing their teaching skills. The second

goal was to obtain funds in the 1987 session for site acquisition. The third goal was to authorize funds to hire an architect to design the residential campus for the Arts High School and let construction bids to build the school. Governor Perpich was enamored with the idea of a significant architectural building. An informant close to the Governor on this issue said, “The Governor wanted to have a fabulous facility designed by a world class architect” (Agency staff, interview, 1997, November 4). The legislature authorized money for the Resource Center and site acquisition for the residential portion of the Arts High School. But the opponents were successful in their stated goal of blocking budgetary authorization for hiring an architect to design and construct a new building. One legislator said that, “a building budget is the ‘nose of a camel in the tent” (Legislator, interview, 1998, February 9). By voting to block the budget for an architecturally designed building the opponents denied Governor Perpich one of his stated goals, but did not block the allocation of money for the site acquisition process, nor funding for the Resource Center.

The outputs of the 1987 session became the inputs for the 1989 session which sought authorization of operating funds for the residential portion of the Arts High School and a budget to rent existing buildings that could be renovated to accommodate the residential Arts High School and the Resource Center on the same campus. The advocates were successful in passing legislation that authorized hiring a staff, developing a curriculum, and allocating money for the rental and renovation of the former Golden Valley Lutheran College campus, just west of downtown Minneapolis. Once the advocates achieved these stated legislative goals the Minnesota Center for Arts Education (residential Arts High School and Resource Center combined) became a viable state agency with a continuing budget that opened in the fall of 1989.

Inferred goals

The analysis of the inferred goals attempted to account for the difference between the clarity of the stated goals and the underlying sense that there other; perhaps more “real” goals were in play (Mazzoni, 1992). The intensity of the policy

conflict could only partially be explained by analyzing the stated goals. The analysis of inferred goals offered a more comprehensive explication, with the understanding, that “inferred” implied researcher selectivity in analyzing the data and placing some imprecise goals in the category of inferred goals. It was more difficult to separate the inferred goals of the opponents into categories because the opponents’ goals were viewed as reactions to the advocates, not inherently separate goals. This section will present the inferred data from the perspective of the advocates and consider the underlying explanations of the opponents in the section on motivations.

The analysis of the first inferred goal revealed underlying philosophical differences on the appropriate objectives of educational policy for Minnesota public schools. The advocates believed that the public schools did not adequately serve the needs of artistic students and that the delivery model of education should be changed. One long-time legislative staff informant was convinced that Perpich “saw it [Arts High School] as a way of changing education. As a way to try out new ideas” (Legislative staff, interview, 1997, December 15). This insider didn’t think that Perpich started off thinking this way but that as the “discussion went on the Governor saw this as a place to try things and be creative. You take what is naturally a creative area and try out new educational ideas” (Ibid). Another informant believed that Senator Randy Peterson became a supporter “mostly based on the concept of the arts high school being a model school for some of the reforms he [Peterson] cared about” (Agency staff, interview, 1997, December 2,). An influential legislator agreed with this inferred goal and stated, “The big thing that happened in 1987 and 1988 was that people started thinking about the notion that there can be varied forms of delivery of instruction for students. This depends on the needs of the students which is a real fundamental difference from the concept that there is the same public education process that kids just go through” (Legislator, interview, 1997, December 12). The same legislator summarized this inferred goal for the advocates and said, “I think that the general notion that one size fits all does not work for education. I think that it took root and the Arts High School is really just an example of this philosophy” (Ibid). Arts education in a specialty school was the stated goal, but there was more than that under the surface. The participants either believed at the beginning, or grew

to believe that an Arts High School could be an experiment, a place to develop the concept that public education as it was currently structured was not capable of meeting the specific needs of all students, and this school could test the validity of an appropriate education tailored to specific needs and students.

It was further inferred that arts education was worthy of public policy debate as a stand-alone issue at the highest levels of policy making. The opponents believed the contrary, that arts education did not deserve an elevated level of attention in the policy arena. There were deeply held beliefs that such attention focused on an arts high school “wasn’t appropriate public policy” (Legislator, interview, 1997, December 12). By considering a residential high school for talented artistic students in the state, the opponents judged that a new model of public education was being advocated that separated out a single discipline from the traditional model of public school education as a unified whole. Advocates viewed this model as appropriate and believed that the arts deserved this kind of singular attention. They believed it was “symbolically important to have an arts school because it challenged a lot of icons; it recognized artistic talent” (Agency staff, interview, 1997, December 2,). On this level of inferred goals, the public policy issues were viewed from mutually exclusive positions. The state legislature could choose to support the new model of a single discipline residential school or they could choose to continue the status quo that adhered to the idea that arts education did not deserve a new structure for the delivery of instruction.

The analysis of the third inferred goal dealt with the question of the fairness of removing artistic students from public schools and the impact that would have on the students that remained in the local public schools. Jerry Schaefer, from the Southwest Minnesota Arts and Humanities Council, stated at one of the Task Force hearings that an “arts school would pull the cream of the arts students and would have a detrimental impact; schools will suffer considerable damage” (Wathen, M. 1984, May 17). An editorial on WCCO-TV stated that “thousands of gifted students will be left out” (Editorial. 1984, August, 5-6, WCCO Television, written transcript in the Perpich archives in the Minnesota History Center). Opponents developed their position in the legislative and public arenas by appealing to the inferred goal of

fairness to the local public schools and communities. Advocates worked toward their inferred goal of elevating the discussion of the recognition of the special needs of artistically talented students compared to the artistic needs of the general student population. They viewed the arts high school issue as an opportunity to “educate the politicians on the different needs that students in the arts have compared to the needs of students in general education. They [advocates] argued that if we are genuinely concerned about the quality of education for all our students then we need to be thinking of what we can do to reach that goal” (Arts advocate, interview, 1997, October 26). The inferred goals of the advocates and opponents again reflected a dichotomous position about meeting the needs of a sub-group of students. Advocates believed that an arts high school would be the best solution. Opponents believed that keeping students in their home school systems would be best for the students and the local school systems.

The final inferred goal in this analysis was that an arts high school would be beneficial in a more substantial way than merely providing career training. The concept of the synthesis of skills from an interdisciplinary education was an inferred goal of the advocates. One agency staff informant said that during the committee meetings “we were much more into the interdisciplinary things where you could teach more than one thing at the same time in a really thought-out way.” This informant continued that in planning the curriculum of the Arts High School “we had to find the connections among the disciplines. We had to find out how we could relate this thing to experiences or themes for kids” (Agency staff, interview, 1997, December 17). This effort to connect the Arts High School with educational reform, not career training was perceived to have “loosened up the stranglehold of the education system.” It also helped the legislature to realize that in education “there is room for other things” (Agency staff, interview, 1997, November 4).

Motivations of the Participants

The analysis of motivations was the second part of the combined streams of inquiry (goals and motivations) from Mazzoni’s Framework for Analysis of

Education Issue Conflicts. The analysis of the motivations in the Arts High School policy issue attempted to account for the “passionate commitment of Governor Perpich” (Policy expert, interview, 1998, February 9) and the incentives of the coalition who sought to enact the Arts High School legislation. The analysis also sought to investigate and explain the motivations of the opponents to resist the Arts High School over the duration of the policy issue in the political arena.

Motivations are choices that are connected to personal values or perceived benefits and “they are clearly understood by policy makers to motivate those who seek public resources for policy services” (Wirt & Grove, in Gray, Jacob, & Albritton, 1990, p. 467). In Easton’s framework, motivations are the will to get what you want as a policy output and deny your opponent from achieving his/her goal. Salancik and Pfeffer (in Natemeyer & Gilberg, 1989) argued that it is not sufficient to explain a conflict in terms of politics. Rather the motivation to participate in a conflict and stay engaged over the length of the policy conflict involves beliefs, ideas, and values. Mazzoni (1992) placed this in the crucial domain of human agency, that is, human beliefs and behaviors have an impact on policy making. Understanding what motivated the participants was an attempt to look past stated and inferred goals and view the conflict from the internal dimension of motivation. The research question was: why and how were the key actors motivated to act on the policy issue?

Motivations for Governor Perpich

According to one executive branch official, “the Arts High School defined Perpich” (1997, December 18). It was an unexpectedly strong assertion that of all the issues the Governor faced during his time in office, the values choices represented in the Arts High School issue “defined” him. But it was not only a close executive branch associate who believed that, a respected state senator went further and told this researcher, “that without Perpich the Arts High School wouldn’t have happened” (Legislator, interview, 1997, November 25). Both informants illuminated a central theme that emerged in this investigation: Perpich connected on a visceral level with the educational possibilities of an arts high school and linked his personal values with

all the resources of the Governor's office to exert influence and bring about a state arts high school for gifted artistic students.

Perpich had many choices in the Arts High School debate. He could have chosen to listen to the presentation by the advocates and ignore the policy proposal presented to him in the summer of 1983. The state was after all, emerging from a difficult fiscal crisis and a new program to serve a few selected artistic students might not have engaged the Governor as a worthy policy option at that moment. An arts high school had never truly been viable in the previous attempts by interest group actors to get it on the official policy agenda and there was little reason to think that the advocates could successfully resurrect the idea in a single presentation to the Governor. But Perpich chose not to ignore the arts high school information. One senator said that "Perpich sought out good ideas" (Legislator, interview, 1997, December 12). Perpich was intrigued by this idea even though it was not his idea, (Legislative staff, interview, 1997, December 15) and embraced the potential for talented students. He imagined a high school "for the kid from small town Minnesota who wanted to write poetry" (Perpich associate, interview, 1997, November 18). The timing of the presentation of the policy proposal to Perpich intersected with his recent personal awareness of the integration of the fine arts in European social fabric and was fortunate timing for the advocates. In one opportune meeting, a previously well-developed policy initiative, and Perpich's personal interest came together to create a series of powerful political motivations (McDonnell in Furhman et al., 2007, p. 31).

Perpich was so enamored with the new idea that he scheduled a trip within two months of hearing about the school, with his wife, to visit a state-supported arts high school, the Moscow School for the Arts. He established a high-level Task Force to travel around Minnesota seeking expert opinion about curriculum and structure, and citizen input about the need for a specialty school. This energetic response demonstrated that he was captured by the concept and he deliberately attached himself to one political value over another. He chose the new policy alternative of a single arts high school for selected students over the stable and traditional model of providing arts education for all students in their local public schools. The motivation to use his personal and positional resources and engage multiple actors to bring the

arts school through the political arena demonstrated that a sincere choice at one moment in time, changed the outcome of this policy initiative.

The data revealed eight motivations that induced Governor Perpich to exert his influence on the policy issue.

Figure 14: Perpich's Motivations to Exert Influence on the Policy Issue

1. Perpich was motivated to project a national reputation for educational leadership
2. Perpich was motivated to transform Minnesota into a more artistic culture because of his personal experience with the arts in Europe
3. Perpich believed that Minnesota could not face the challenges of globalization without high interest in the arts
4. Perpich's personal values induced him to seek out and attach himself to new policy ideas
5. Perpich embraced a "personalization" of state educational policy that motivated him in the arts high school issue
6. Perpich believed that edifice was policy and that edifice equated to good government
7. Perpich wanted to leave a legacy in the fine arts that burnished his "iron-range" roots
8. Perpich mistrusted the educational bureaucracy's ability to serve artistic students

National educational leadership

Perpich was motivated to project a national reputation for educational leadership and this was important to him both on a policy and a symbolic level (Mazzoni, 1989, p. 86). His motivation revolved around three elements: a new standard of excellence in education (policy), increased choice (policy), and a state-sponsored Arts High School (symbolic and policy). During the time of the Arts High School issue, Perpich also advocated for other policy options, including Post-Secondary Enrollment, whereby high school students could choose to attend college during their high school years and have the tuition paid by the state. This policy combined both support for excellence and choice by Perpich. In the same policy vein, he advocated for Open Enrollment, where students could choose to attend a school in neighboring school systems rather than to attend a school based on

attendance boundaries. Perpich believed that this policy would enhance both achievement and choice by allowing students to opt out of one school system and attend a different school system that the parents and student believed offered a better education. In this mix of policy ideas, the Arts High School became for Perpich a symbolic demonstration of educational change.

Perpich was aware of the calls for educational reform on a national basis and the concept that the United States was a “nation at risk” in educational achievement. One Perpich associate stated that the Arts High School was a part of the response to this crisis and the new policy option was “simply persistence that Minnesota was going to be a leader in the nation in education” (Perpich associate, interview, 1997, December 26). Perpich’s understanding of leadership involved both a conceptual base and a new instructional model. An agency staff member who was involved in the curriculum planning and teacher in-service development for the Arts High School stated that, “Perpich planned to use the arts school as a demonstration site for alternative kinds of teaching. This included an interdisciplinary approach, personal learning plan, thematic teaching, and open enrollment.” In addition he stated that Perpich believed “you cannot expect to just run every kid through the same system” (Agency staff, interview, 1997, December 17).

There was insight in this informant’s analysis that portrayed a knowledgeable Governor who deliberately looked for a variety of ways to improve educational practice. The pedagogical ideas presaged some of the reforms of the late 20th century: interdisciplinary education, individualized learning plans, thematic approaches to teaching that developed context with content, the option to enroll in a school of your choice, and educational instruction that was differentiated from one child to another (Agency staff, interview, 1997, December 17). Perpich grew to believe that educators must develop a system other than the “one size fits all” approach. The educational diction use by the informant seemed more detailed and academic than what a Governor would use, but Perpich began his political career as a school board member in Hibbing and those close to him contended that even though the Arts High School seemed like an unlikely educational option to others, Perpich talked about it as the ideal policy reform to demonstrate change in the educational system. One highly

involved actor believed that the Arts High School became a “central part of his [Perpich] desire to be the education governor in the nation” (Agency staff, interview, 1998, January 22).

Personal experience with the arts in Europe

One of the intriguing questions in the investigation was; when or where did Perpich develop his passion for the arts and arts education? The advocates considered it fortunate that Perpich responded favorably to the arts high school information in 1983, but it seemed an unlikely conclusion that a single informational meeting would immediately have caused such a positive personal and policy response to a novel ideal. One informant, when asked about this by the researcher, was convinced that the idea began while Perpich was in Europe. It was clear to this informant that Perpich was planning to return from Austria and run for Governor, and planned to elevate the discussion of the fine arts and arts education in the public arena if he was reelected. The informant had corresponded with Perpich in Europe and quoted to the researcher from a letter Perpich had written, “When I get back to Minnesota and am Governor again, I will help the arts” (Agency staff, interview, 1998, January 22). The motivation to project a national reputation in educational leadership joined with the motivation to transform Minnesota to a more artistic culture because of his personal experience with the arts as a humanizing element in Europe. His leadership in arts education did not spring solely from a single encounter with arts advocates. It was a motivation that evolved over the time he was in Europe, by viewing Minnesota and the United States from the perspective of a different continent and different culture. He resolved during that time to return and use the resources available to the Governor, to enact policy changes that he believed could transform Minnesota.

One policy expert who had served with Perpich in the legislature, but was in a detached role at a policy institution when interviewed by the researcher, reflected that, “Perpich was very different when he came back from Europe. He was more worldly and more artistic” (1998, February 19). The experience of being a trade

representative for Control Data Corporation, and living in Austria gave Perpich an expanded sense of what existed in the world and what might be possible when he returned to Minnesota. He traveled around Europe in his business position and “developed a vision of what Minnesota could become” (Agency staff, interview, 1998, January 22). Rudy Perpich had grown up in the insular and rugged world of the iron mining area of northern Minnesota. He served on the school board in Hibbing and his life experiences were largely confined to the iron-range and St. Paul, even after he was elected to the state legislature (Arts advocate, interview, 1997, October 26). His worldview was limited until his European experience, and that changed him, so that he evaluated what Minnesota students achieved against what he saw in Europe. “Anybody who had an ounce of brains could see the passion in his eyes when he talked about what these kids were doing in Europe” (Agency staff, interview, 1997, December 17). Perpich experienced a different culture in Europe, and he was motivated to bring that artistic culture back to Minnesota when he returned.

Informants did not believe that Perpich had knowledge about the arts high school initiative before he went to Europe. The researcher searched archival boxes that contained files from Perpich’s office that were housed at the Minnesota History Center and located one file folder from his desk that was labeled “Minnesota High School for the Arts.” The documents and notes in the folder dated from his meeting in 1983 with the arts school advocates, although one informant stated that Perpich was given the summary proposal, A Prospectus for the Minnesota School for the Arts, at an unspecified earlier date (Arts advocate, interview, 1997, October 26). The conclusion this researcher made from the informants and the archival data, was that the motivation to advocate for the Arts High School followed his European experience and his meeting with the advocates in 1983. He saw the arts as a “civilizing factor” in European culture (Executive branch, interview, 1997, November 11). He saw the arts as a symbol of achieving “world-class” status (Ibid). He developed a vision of “what Minnesota could become” by supporting a more artistic milieu (Agency staff, interview, 1998, January 22). The motivation to support the Arts High School sprang from his personal experiences in Europe and he attached

himself to a well-formed policy idea when it was presented to him in 1983. Perpich was not shy in his goals; he sincerely saw this policy option as an opportunity to transform Minnesota into the State with a global perspective in education.

Globalization

Perpich was motivated to act on the Arts High School because of his belief that the challenge of globalization was a systemic challenge to the American educational system. One informant recalled that Perpich talked about “what the United States was up against in a global society” (Arts advocate, interview, 1997, October 26). Another informant stated that, “Perpich really brought back a world perspective for the State. Perpich would say, ‘We are just getting eaten alive on the international scene. Minnesota needs to lead there’ (Legislator, interview, 1997, November 11). Kingdon contended that ideas are advocated by policy actors who are willing to invest time, energy, money, and reputation for a policy of which they approve (Kingdon, 1984, p. 129). Perpich’s belief that “we were getting eaten alive” by globalization, and that the Arts High School was a part of an appropriate response that would help Minnesota compete around the world, was a powerful pairing of beliefs that motivated him to invest time, personal energy, state resources, and gubernatorial reputation into this policy issue. None of the initial arts high school advocates communicated in the interviews that they placed the concept of an arts high school in such an elevated position, that was, a state educational response to the challenges of globalization. Advocates of an arts high school sought to offer gifted artistic students a higher quality arts education so they wouldn’t leave the state. They did not have the temerity to frame the arts high school as a response to global competition.

Informant responses however, clearly communicated that Perpich saw the arts school in this context and coupled that with a policy vision for Minnesota that he championed in the public and legislative arenas. One legislator who consistently opposed the school pulled these two strands of thinking together and made this convincing observation, “I think that when Perpich had that hiatus and then he came

back, he became very visionary, very worldly. He thought on a much larger scale and the art school fit into it. I don't think he would have even thought about it in his early term" (Legislator, interview, 1997, November 24). The experiences that Perpich had in global commerce and the more visibly artistic European culture were persuasively communicated to his closest advisors. One executive branch official stated it in the most candid way, "Perpich didn't think we could be a world-class state without high interest in the arts" (Executive branch official, interview, 1997, November 11). Perpich saw both a need and an opportunity to step onto the world stage, and his business and artistic experiences in Europe opened him up to possibilities for Minnesota that he had not envisioned before. The idea of "world-class" had one additional, subtle allure for Perpich, it was the symbolic allure of artistic refinement. The arts, Perpich said, could "make Minnesota the 'Paris and Vienna' of the United States" (Executive branch official, interview, 1997, December 18). This compelling metaphor communicated the audacity of his vision and the distance he had traveled from small-town Minnesota to global businessman. He verbalized this vision privately and publicly. He worked for it when he returned from Europe, and was motivated to develop the arts high school as a policy option for gifted Minnesota students that would give them an advantage in working in a new global reality and help the state achieve global standing.

The search for new policy ideas

Governor Perpich's values induced him to seek out and attach himself to new policy ideas. Informants described a progression with the Arts High School in which Perpich was initially introduced to the idea on 1983, June 20. He actively sought to explore the policy concept by assigning staff member, Lani Kawamura, to oversee a Governor's Commission on the Arts. Two months later, in August of 1983, many of the participants from the idea initiation phase gathered with Kawamura to discuss the history of the concept and the proposals for state funding, location, and curriculum. During that same month, Perpich traveled with his wife to study the Moscow School for the Arts. William L. Jones then had breakfast with the Governor and his wife at

the Governor's residence in January and on 1984, February 3, Perpich surprised the arts school supporters, his staff, and legislative leaders by announcing that he would make the Arts High School a "central part" of his policy goals. In one moment, with a press release, that was less than a single page in length, Perpich publicly attached himself to the policy goal of an Arts High School, and elevated the idea, by executive fiat, to the official policy agenda (Original press release, dated 1984, February 3, in the archives of the Minnesota History Center).

An educational staffer who observed Perpich over many years confirmed that this scenario was not unusual for Perpich. The informant said, "Probably most of Perpich's ideas were not his original ideas, but somebody else came up with an idea and he would be intrigued by it and pursue it" (Legislative staff, interview, 1997, December 15). The idea for the Arts High School was an archetype of policy generation, in that Perpich sought out the idea, developed it through statewide task force hearings, and presented a policy proposal for debate and action in the legislature. On a theoretical level, this motivational strand was congruent with what Kiser and Ostrom (1982) labeled an "actor-based perspective." A former legislator confirmed this "actor-based perspective" of executive action when he said to the researcher, "I saw this happen with Governor Perpich more than other governors, where he would listen to something and something would strike him and he would adopt it as his own" (Legislator, interview, 1997, November 25). Perpich was the key actor in the Arts High School issue and once he embraced the "perspective," he used his institutional position and executive power to bypass the common policy filtering systems. He bypassed the educational subsystem of teacher's unions, professional associations, and academics. He bypassed the legislature as a whole, and strategically concentrated on the favorably disposed Educational Subcommittee in the Senate. He bypassed the opposition in the Republican Party, and some members of the Democratic Party and concentrated on the unwavering support of his power base from the iron-range. Because he selected the issue, he was highly motivated to act on it in the political arena. "Perpich wanted the Arts High School. There was no doubt about it" (Legislator, interview, 1997, November 24). The Arts High School was a melding

of personal values with an adopted policy idea that motivated the Governor in the executive leadership arena.

Personalization of state educational policy

The arts high school policy issue motivated Rudy Perpich to act with intense commitment in the political arena because of a “personalization” of state educational policy. This unusual personalization of the arts high school policy issue manifested itself in a motivation so compelling that even the Governor’s supporters had difficulty accounting for it. One legislator said, “It was just crazy that the Governor invested so much time and energy in the Arts High School. For whatever reason, it was extremely important to him” (Legislator, interview, 1997, November 11). Another informant believed that “love” of Minnesota provided a partial explanation, “Perpich loved the state, he loved the people, and wanted good things for Minnesota” (Agency staff, interview, 1997, November 4) Other informants however, consistently identified one unusual private reason that helped explain the “personalization” of the arts high school issue beyond traditional public policy explanations.

The “personalization of public policy” revolved around a policy proposal that was intertwined with the Governor Perpich’s wife’s profound interest in the Arts High School. Lola Perpich was present at the earliest meeting in the Governor’s residence, in 1983, June. Lola was named honorary co-chair of the Arts High School Task Force at the 1984, February 3 press conference. Lola acted as a lobbyist for the Arts High School over the length of the policy debate. Lola sat in on the legislative hearings and followed the legislation through the political process. No informant, whether legislator or member of the Governor’s staff, could personally recall that level of interest and commitment by any Governor’s wife on any previous policy issues in Minnesota. This policy proposal was different and more personal than any other policy issue for Governor Perpich because of his wife’s extraordinary commitment to the Arts High School.

The uniformity of responses demonstrated how strongly the informants believed that Lola’s interest in the Arts High School was one of the significant motivations

behind the personalization of public policy. One legislator stated succinctly, “Rudy wanted the arts school for Lola” (Legislator, interview, 1998, April 13). Another legislator expanded on that and observed, “Lola wanted the arts school, so Rudy wanted it. He adored her. Lola was like a god to him” (Legislator, interview, 1998, January 7). Lola’s commitment to the Arts School extended to unprecedented involvement in the policy arena over the duration of the policy debate. A state agency staffer recalled Lola’s contributions early in the process, “Lola was very attentive in coming to task force meetings, in participating, and listening to the discussions and actually telling us in-depth what they saw in Europe” (Agency staff, interview, 1997, December 17). Lola did not approach any other state policy issues with the same personal commitment. An executive branch official remembered that, “The arts school was Lola’s big issue. This was a highly charged and very political issue. I don’t recall that she ever took on anything like this” (Executive branch official, interview, 1997, December 18). Finally, one of the policy opponents noted the same sentiment, “I don’t recall Lola being involved in other issues than the Arts High School” (Legislator, interview, 1998, January 5). The commitment of Lola Perpich to the Arts High School and the Governor’s love and dedication to his wife worked in this state policy issue to provide an unprecedented personal motivation to both the policy idea and the protracted political process. This researcher concluded that this was a powerful motivation for Perpich and could be rightfully labeled a “personalization of state education policy.” One of Perpich’s closest advisors confirmed the unusual nature of this “personalization” when he recalled the six years of political effort, “It was off with my head if we failed for Lola” (Executive branch official, interview, 1997, November 11). Finally, a legislative opponent concluded that “Lola was a big part of the administration as was the entire Perpich family” (Legislator, interview, 1997, November 24). Lola’s commitment to the Arts High School motivated the Governor in a way that no legislator had ever seen on any other issue. It motivated Perpich’s commitment to a policy alternative to such a degree that this researcher concluded it was a “personalization” of public policy.

Edifice as policy

Perpich was motivated by an understanding of edifice as policy. One of Perpich's executive staff observed, "For Perpich, good things happened in places and spaces" (Executive branch official, interview, 1997, December 18). Buildings were places where the government can provide "good things" for the citizens and Perpich wanted to build an arts school so that good things could happen in that building. Livesey framed this belief about buildings as both literal places and human spaces, and concluded, "Architecture can be understood as works of human making... architecture shapes spaces in which human actions unfold" (Livesey in Joy, ed. 1997, p. 25). There is striking congruity between the colloquial observation of one of Perpich's staffers; "good things in places and spaces," and the comparable conclusion of the architect, Livesey, "spaces in which human actions unfold." Perpich's motivation was personal and political when he wished for a new building that could house a new Arts High School: "This was politics and policy for him. He wanted a building where he could define what happened" (Executive branch official, interview, 1997, December 18). But there was also the distinct sense that buildings carried a deeper meaning, a metaphorical sense of the "good things" government can provide. Buildings and policies "weren't an abstraction, Perpich could help kids like himself" (Policy expert, 1998, February 19). Buildings were more than incidental locations. They were physical spaces where a broad sense of community might be cultivated and where people came together.

There was a metaphorical component of governmental buildings for Perpich and that was that things that happened at that location would further the sense of community. Perpich believed that "good things" would happen in an Arts High School (Executive staff, interview, 1997, December 18). The school would be a campus that would bring together the best high school artistic talent in the state with the best teachers, and from this a positive community would develop that would benefit the students, the state, and the nation. Cohen identified the metaphorical sense of community as the "achievement of intimacy" (Cohen in Sacks, ed., 1978, p.

6). Buildings as edifice were policy and politics; buildings as metaphor were community and intimacy.

Edifice moved public policy in yet one more direction for Perpich. One agency staff informant observed that Perpich was motivated to build more than a utilitarian building, “The Governor loved new construction and he loved grand construction” (Agency staff, interview, 1997, November 4). This desire to make a statement with the building was not trivial. Two informants close to the Governor used such phrases as, “the building was absolutely critical;” “he wanted that building very, very badly;” “at all costs he wanted a building,” and “buildings impact how people feel and how they are attracted to programs” (Executive branch official, interview, 1997, December 18; Agency staff, interview, 1997, November 4). The view that edifice was policy caused much of the intense political turmoil of the 1987 session. Perpich requested a large budgetary allocation (\$31 million) for an Arts High School that would be designed by an internationally known architect. This turmoil will be analyzed later in this chapter under settings and arena, but as has already been reported, the resolution of the turmoil was one of the major defeats for Perpich in the 1987 session because the budget request was greatly reduced (\$4.1 million allocated) by legislative action.

The final aspect of edifice as motivation was more subtle and could be viewed in both human and symbolic terms. Buildings are physical but they become symbolic, a part of a legacy, when a name gets attached to the building. One of the senators close to Perpich recognized the significance of edifice and symbolism when he stated, “If you are lucky the building passes and the symbolism become much bigger, it becomes a place that has your name on it” (Legislator, interview, 1997, November 11).⁹ Buildings provide governmental services but they become more, they become symbolic by virtue of location and naming. Perpich did not talk about it openly, but those close to him believed the Arts High School defined the many layers of his commitment to edifice as policy and further motivated him to passionately pursue this policy option for the hope of his name on the building.

⁹ Though it was beyond the scope of this investigation, after Perpich died, the Minnesota Center for Arts Education was renamed the Lola and Rudy Perpich Center for the Arts

Leaving a legacy

Perpich was motivated to leave a legacy in the fine arts that burnished his iron-range roots. This was a tricky route to navigate. Clearly, it is not an unknown motivation for leaders to be recognized and remembered by having their name placed on a building or a monument. But for Perpich, there was the irony of a leaving a legacy in the fine arts when he was raised without a strong background in the fine arts and in great poverty in the iron mining region of Minnesota. This irony was evident to one informant in this investigation who captured the apparent contradiction with this observation, “The Perpichs’ hate me for saying this, that Rudy, having come from Hibbing, [iron-range] wanted something prominent with his name on it in the cultural district of Minneapolis” (Agency staff, interview, 1997, December 2.). Two important issues are implied in this informant’s observation: the private goal that a leader wants a building (or monument) with his name on it after he leaves office and the tacit acknowledgment of Perpich’s non-artistic, iron-range roots as a motivation for recognition from the artistic elite. This was a two level game played out over the issue of legacy. One legislator identified the first level as simply, “Perpich wanted a monument” (Legislator, interview, 1998, January 7). Another informant agreed and said that, “Perpich was very concerned about his legacy” (Agency staff, interview, 1998, January 22). But the game had a second level of intrigue that could not be stated publicly. That level had to do with personal identity and a covert implication that a Governor from a poor economic background and less cultured part of the state, needed to be accepted by the rich, cultural elite who lived in the western suburbs of Minneapolis, such as Edina and Wayzata. When asked about this motivation for the Arts High School, a close Perpich confidant said, “Perpich never thought he would be acceptable to the Edina people” (Perpich associate, interview, 1997, November 18). He followed that up by ascribing simplicity of motivation to Perpich that was not entirely shared by other observers. He stated, “Perpich wanted the arts school so some kid from the iron-range could go to the arts school, not a legacy for himself” (Ibid., 1997, November 18). That opinion was not shared by the other informant

observations in this investigation and this researcher concluded that it was stated in order to perpetuate a particular narrative of purity of motivation.

The legislators and arts advocates that worked on the arts school legislation for Perpich understood the legacy motivation and were not deterred by it. An arts advocate summarized it this way, “The art school was one of the things that Perpich wanted established as part of his legacy to the state” (Arts advocate, interview, 1997, October 26). That he was motivated by a sense of legacy was clear from the data. Why that motivated him, was alluded to by a key legislator when he said, “Perpich had a huge ego and a huge need to have great accomplishments” (Legislator, interview, 1997, November 11). The Arts High School captured Perpich’s policy imagination when it was presented to him, but the motivation to continue working on it through three legislative terms was fueled by his desire for a kid from the iron-range to be remembered in Minnesota and nationally as an arts education advocate.

Mistrust of the education bureaucracy

Perpich was motivated to establish an Arts High School because he mistrusted the educational bureaucracy’s ability to serve artistic students within the established structure. Chubb and Moe (2001) reported that the educational bureaucracy resists change and does not allow significant change to take root in the educational system. Perpich seemed to have both a personal and historical understanding of this academic finding, that the educational bureaucracy resisted change. He proposed several new ideas during his administration that he envisioned would transform the educational system. The arts high school issue motivated him because he was convinced by the advocates in 1983 that the educational needs of artistic students were not being met in the traditional system. One agency staff member stated that the compelling motivation for the Arts High School was the needs of kids, “They felt misunderstood. Nobody heard them. Nobody paid attention to them and most of them existed outside their school systems” (Agency staff, interview, 1997, December 17). Another agency staff member directly connected Perpich to this perception and said, “Perpich saw how difficult it was for kids from the iron-range to get good arts education, how they

seemed to be punished by the fact that they were interested in art, or in music, or in dance” (Agency staff, interview, 1997, November 4).

The concept of a residential Arts High School that existed outside the boundaries of the educational substructure motivated Perpich because it created a new option in educational choice and put the school beyond the reach of local school boards who would make budgetary judgments about the need for arts education during difficult fiscal times. Perpich proposed many changes in the educational system during his tenure (Mazzoni, 1993) and one of the major actors believed that the arts school was important as a harbinger of what would come “The Arts High School triggered choice, which triggered charter schools” (Executive branch official, interview, 1997, December 18). The arts school was a significant change from the status quo and it fostered turmoil because it proposed a single campus, residential school that focused on one discipline (fine arts). This model existed in Europe but was not common in the United States. The one example of a state supported high school for the arts was the North Carolina School for the Arts and the advocates made sure this information was given to Perpich (Arts advocate, interview, 1997, October 26).

Advocates further believed that Perpich was “a big proponent of the notion that we needed to have a variety of education options and that the educational system does not meet the needs of a lot of kids” (Legislator, interview, 1997, December 12). The same legislator continued, “I think that the general notion that one size fits all does not work for education. I think that philosophy took root in the Arts High School” (Legislator, interview, 1997, December 12). The arts school provided an educational Petri dish for a new idea, yet the experiment was small enough that it had a chance to pass the legislature and sneak past the educational subsystem. Perpich was able to open the door to educational options by suggesting that some school districts could not meet the needs of their artistic kids and that the proposed Arts High School was more student-centered because it could help kids reach their potential in the arts (Legislator, interview, 1997, November 25).

One other option existed within the arts school discussion that was pursued by legislators who opposed the school. This option was to take the same amount of

money that was budgeted for an Arts High School and spread it across the state in a designated allocation for arts education in each school. One of Perpich's associates was aware of this challenge to the initiative when he said to the researcher, "Sure we can give money to school districts, but in the next recession, the next Governor is going to take the money away." (Perpich associate, interview, 1997, December 26). One executive branch official summed it up in a succinct quotation that Perpich used on more than one occasion, "Football never has to stand in line for money, the arts always do" (Interview, 1997, November 11). Perpich believed that spreading the money around the state would be insignificant as a per-pupil allocation and that even a small amount of money would be in danger of being unallotted when budget difficulties arose. Perpich mistrusted the educational bureaucracy and the arts high school concept motivated him to try and serve artistic students within a new state structure.

Conclusion

Perpich was highly motivated to work for the Arts High School. There were eight factors involved in the arts high school issue that motivated Perpich to work over three legislative terms to enact the legislation. The motivation to work for the Arts High School had a significant impact on his commitment to the policy process. Perpich envisioned benefits to Minnesota's reputation and believed that implementing the Arts High School legislation would visibly enhance the quality of life in Minnesota for the selected students and the state. He worked for the Arts High School because he believed deeply that globalization was occurring and leadership in education would benefit Minnesota students.

Motivations for opponents

The opponents to the Arts High School were motivated to engage in the policy conflict over the length of the issue because of core values and political leverage. The support of policy positions is generally connected to core values and is

communicated through rhetoric and image (McDonnell in Furhman et al., 2007, p. 30). The data show that the opponents to the Arts High School were consistently motivated by four core values and they communicated those values in the legislative and public arenas.

Opponents motivations to engage in policy issue

1. Opponents were motivated by the value that an arts high school would be elitist
2. Opponents were motivated by the value that an arts high school was an attack on public schools
3. Opponents were motivated by the value that Minnesota should not operate a residential school for adolescents
4. Opponents were motivated by the value that an arts high school would undermine family values and involve students in an emerging complex social issue.

Some advocates of the policy believed that political posturing and holding the Arts High School hostage for political leverage and patronage also motivated the opponents. They suggested that the amount of money for the Arts High School was small but the Governor's commitment was so overwhelming that it was an issue ripe for politics. One legislator stated to the researcher that the Arts High School was an issue that legislators could use as "political leverage to get what we wanted" (Legislator, interview, 1998, April 13). Though this viewpoint could be viewed as a motivation it will be analyzed later in this chapter under political patronage in the legislative arena.

Opposition to the policy idea framed as elitist

Opponents of the Arts High School held the value that it would be elitist to select and educate students in a specialty school at public expense. This value was expressed early in the debate and remained a dominant issue through each of the three legislative sessions. A legislator who was closely involved with the arts school legislation in 1984 and 1985 said, "The idea surfaced in 1984 for a school for the arts.

It was immediately attacked. The people who worked in the schools asked why do we want our best and brightest stars taking off to some elitist school” (Legislator, interview, 1997, November 11)? An articulate and respected legislative opponent reinforced this view with the straightforward conclusion, “The arts school was elitist” (Legislator, interview, 1998, January 5). There was no question that from the time the issue reached the public agenda, opposition to the arts school was based on this as a deeply held value. A long-time legislative analyst affirmed this and observed, “Those legislators who opposed the Arts High School based their opposition on principle” (Legislative staff, interview, 1997, December 15).

The argument against an elitist school was not confined to legislative deliberations but surfaced in public discussions and the educational subsystem. One of the arts leaders who chaired some of the 1984 Task Force hearings around the state said, “I met with 300 people and the president of the Minnesota Education Association and they were ready to kill me. There was hatred in their eyes. They reeled off their litany; we were robbing the school districts of their best and brightest, it was a special school for only the elite” (Agency staff, interview, 1997, December 17). The concept of “elitism” was a legitimate value choice, but the word also carried connotations that furthered the opponent’s claims by rhetoric and negative images. The word “elite” shifted in public lexical use from the denotative meaning, “the best or distinguished,” to the pejorative sense of “unreasonably privileged.” The most vocal legislative opponent acknowledged that “elitism and all these terms were demagoguery” (Legislator, interview, 1997, November 24). The continual pairing of the word “elitist” with arts high school, created a public image and perception that a few students would be selected for a privileged education not open to all students, but paid for by taxpayers. The use of the word “elitism” carried the concealed message that educational opportunity in Minnesota should not favor the few at the expense of the majority. A prominent legislator recognized the pairing of privilege and money when he said, “As far as I can recall the only real dispute about the Arts High School was this elitist thing. If anybody gets something that everybody else doesn’t get, there is somehow injustice in it” (Legislator, interview, 1997, December 12).

Slanacik and Pfeffer (in Natemeyer & Gilberg, 1989) observed that a subgroup’s

power is never absolute and derives ultimately from the context of the situation. The context of the debate about the Arts High School was effectively framed by the opponents with the word, “elitist.” It was valid to conclude that it was a deeply held belief by many who used the word, but it was equally valid to conclude that it was an effective word choice within the context of the debate because of the negative connotations. Even as late as six years into the policy conflict, the Minneapolis Star Tribune referenced the context of elitism and the Arts High School in the same sentence. Gregor Pinney, writing in 1989 said, “The school, promoted by Gov. Perpich and First Lady Lola Perpich since 1984, long has suffered an image of elitism...” (Pinney, April, 15, 1989, p. 1B). The choice of egalitarian values over elitism was a principled choice. The pejorative pairing of the word elitism with the Arts High School policy was effective public demagoguery.

An attack on public schools: students and money

The opponents were motivated by the core value that an Arts High School was an attack on public schools and would take students and money away from local school systems. The development of an Arts High School was perceived as an attack on Minnesota school systems for three reasons. The first reason was an Arts High School would take students away from local schools and concentrate them in a specialty school. This was considered a valid argument both by the advocates and opponents. A legislator who worked to pass the Arts High School bill reported that he understood the opponent’s position, “Theater teachers were saying, ‘You are going to take our best and brightest students and take them someplace else? We want them here.’ It was a legitimate controversy” (Legislator, interview, 1997, November 25). The finest students were seen as a scarce resource to be distributed between the local school system and a new specialty school. It was a core value that there were a limited number of outstanding artistic students and their contributions in their home districts would be lost if they transferred to a publicly funded arts high school. This argument differed from the elitist argument in that it was not a labeling of the Arts

High School, but a belief that a specialty school would have a negative impact on students' home schools by taking the best students.

The second reason it was perceived as an attack on public schools was the protection of "turf." One advocate of the Arts High School was convinced that the Minneapolis Public Schools opposed the Arts High School because, "If the Arts High School was successful, it would show up the Minneapolis Public Schools" (Agency staff, interview, 1997, November 4). This view moved the argument from a clear values discussion to a sense of a public comparison and the loss of perceived status framed as "turf." One advocate observed this "turf" issue early in the policy debate and said, "I am sure that the school boards, school districts and music teachers were opposed to it. And that is protecting your turf" (Arts advocate, interview, 1997, December 9). The word "turf" emerged again in the data with another informant suggesting that the policy opponents were concerned that, "someone's invading my turf" (Agency staff, interview, 1997, November 4). Turf was viewed metaphorically as statewide public recognition for student achievement that legitimately belonged to the local school system. The turmoil was intense when teachers and communities perceived that the proposed Arts High School would "invade their turf," take their students and gain broader recognition and public approbation on a statewide, even national level.

Third, the Arts High School was viewed as an attack on public schools because money that would have gone to the public schools would be diverted and spent disproportionately on selected arts students. Put simply, "the public schools figured the arts school was taking money away from them" (Legislator, 1997, November 25). This viewpoint represented a legitimate value at a time when public schools were emerging from difficult decision brought on by deep state budget cuts. A new statewide program that would alter the allocation of money was not just a perceived threat, it was a real threat. The advocates in general, considered the amount of money trivial and summarized it this way, "The arts school idea was a huge threat to the system as it was currently structured. Even though it was this tiny, tiny little bit of money" (Agency staff, interview, 1997, November 4). But the opponents did not consider the cost trivial, and the discussion moved out of the philosophical domain

and real cost comparisons circulated in the public arena. The Minneapolis Star Tribune reported, “Opponents of the school argue that too much money would be spent on too few students. It would cost about \$7,500 a year to board and educate an outstate student, compared with the \$3,200-a-year average cost of educating a student at a regular state high school” (Smith, D. 1987, April 23. p. 1B). The total dollar amount was considered small by educational analysts (Legislative staff, interview, 1997, December 15), and one senator summed it up, “I don’t think the total amount of money could have got very many people very excited, because the amount was just our rounding error in putting our funding for the education bill together. It was an inconsequential amount” (Legislator, interview, 1997, December 12). But the amount of money was real and illuminated the actual and symbolic importance for the opponents who viewed the Arts High School as a threat.

Minnesota should not operate residential schools

Opponents were motivated by the core value that the State of Minnesota should not be running a residential high school for artistic students. The Legislature delegated to the Board of Directors the task of determining “the location for the Minnesota school of the arts and resource center” in the enabling legislation passed in 1985 (Subdivision 3 – Powers and Duties of the Board, M.S. 129C.10). This statutory authority followed the 1985, January Report to the Legislature by the Minnesota Arts Education Task Force that officially stated for the first time, “Student housing needs will be met through free housing in a dormitory setting” (Summary of the 1985 Report to the Legislature, p. 5, in the archives of the Minnesota Center for Arts Education). The reality of selecting a site for the school and the fact that it would be a state-run residential school for high school age students produced immediate and unwavering resistance to the policy as the legislature debated the site selection process in 1987.

The most intense opposition arose based on the separation of students from families. One Senator recalled a breakfast hosted by the Governor for a Senate subcommittee where the subject of “pulling young people away from families at

vulnerable ages” was discussed with Perpich (Legislator, interview, 1998, January 5). Legislators heard from constituents who specifically objected to the residential aspect. Senator Ember Reichgott received a letter that contained 15 reasons why the Arts High School was a “bad idea.” The writer objected to the residential aspect of the proposal and wrote, “I have very strong feelings against taking high-school-age people and placing them away from home to live and learn in a government institution” (Attachment to letter addressed to Barbara Martin from Senator Ember Reichgott, 1987, February 9 in the archives Minnesota Center for Arts Education). Public school educators entered the debate and attempted to enlist the support of the Minnesota Education Association to “take whatever action possible on this issue in its lobbying efforts.” This memo from the Eden Prairie Education Association included a “Rationale for Arts High School Resolution” that listed five reasons to oppose the school. The fourth reason was, “A residential school located in Minneapolis would create extended separations between students and their families during the adolescent years. The Board has not described how these young people will be supervised in a residential school setting” (Memo to Bob Astrup, 1987, February 6, in the archives Minnesota Center for Arts Education). A St. Paul Pioneer Press and Dispatch article on 1987, April 5 quoted Senator Jerome Hughes, DFL-Maplewood, as saying, “He opposed the idea of removing students from their homes and communities at high school age to attend a residential arts school” (Kohl, L. 1987, April, 5 p. 1A).

The rationale to oppose a residential school made sense to one educational legislative staffer when he stated to the researcher, “One of the major things that made the arts high school issue stand out was that we didn’t have residential schools for K-12 students other than academies for hearing and vision impaired students. So for the most part, the State was not in the business of running a residential school and particularly not in a subject area” (Legislative staff, interview, 1997, December 15). But for opponents this issue was not open to dispassionate analysis. One legislator who opposed the school starkly summarized the position for the researcher, “The state should not be running residence halls for teens” (Legislator, interview, 1997, December 22).

The connotations of the words used by the opponents reflected a belief about government and the Arts High School that revealed a profound mistrust of the process and a profound mistrust of the government. The opponents spoke of: “pulling people away,” “removing students from their homes,” “students at a vulnerable age,” “placing in government institutions,” and “very strong feelings against.” The conclusion of this researcher was that this issue tapped into a deep fear that could be framed as government intrusion into citizen’s lives and homes, coupled with the understanding that it would be costly, and Minnesota did not have the experience as a State of supervising young students in a residential setting (Legislator, interview, 1997, December 22).

Advocates and opponents alike were unable to access data on comparable specialty arts schools that were also state-sponsored residential schools. Interlochen Arts Academy in Michigan was both a residential school and a commuter school, but it was not state-sponsored. All of the city-sponsored arts high schools that were studied were confined to single school system boundaries and had no residential component. The only model that had some of the characteristics of the proposed Minnesota Arts High School was the North Carolina School for the Arts. However, there were significant differences that people on both sides of the policy debate noted: it was a career training school limited to music and dance, not a school that combined a broad study of the fine arts with the other components of a high school education. It was partially funded by public and state money but students were also charged tuition, which implied family consent and commitment to attend the school. Finally, it was physically located within the University of North Carolina system that had experience running residential halls. The proposed Arts High School in Minnesota was unprecedented in the nation and that structure gave opponents a powerful argument against the residential aspect of the school. When James Undercofler was hired as the director he told one respected legislator that the most difficult aspect of the Arts High School to sell to the legislature was the residential aspect (Legislator, interview, 1998, January 5). The positions of the advocates and opponents were mutually exclusive: either it would include a residential component or it would not.

The tension and turmoil remained a portion of the policy and public debate until the legislature authorized money to rent the first campus location in 1989.

Family values and an emerging complex social issue

Opponents were motivated to oppose the policy of a residential Arts High School based on the deeply held value that such a school would undermine families and communities. One related and unforeseen social issue arose that will be addressed completely under the category of family values. The issue of gay students added a layer of concealed difficulty in the policy debate that was hinted at but not openly discussed until the site location conflict. American society was dealing with a new understanding and openness about issues of being gay during the time period covered by this investigation. The proposed location of the school near Loring Park allowed participants to raise concerns about student's safety in a large city. Underneath the explicit concerns for student safety there were implications about gay students in the Arts High School and the reputation of Loring Park as a gay neighborhood in Minneapolis.

The belief that an Arts High School would harm families and communities was present throughout the arts school policy debate. Given the fact that boarding schools did not have a history in Minnesota, part of the concern was that both the students who attended the school and the communities they left behind would be harmed by a state run, residential Arts High School. The use of emotionally charged language reflected an intense belief that the state was monolithic and somehow could reach into families and communities around Minnesota and remove kids and force them to attend the arts school. One informant recalled the depth of this feeling after listening to opponents of the policy issue speak in a public forum where they contended that the Arts High School would, "destroy communities, it would destroy churches, it would break up families" (Agency staff, interview, 1997, November 4). This was a different issue than harming school arts programs. This response was a visceral issue that raised fears and played into the social agenda of ideological politicians. Some opponents raised the issue as a legitimate concern and were motivated to oppose the

Arts High School based on their concerns, other opponents overstated the case, and the advocates viewed this as an ideological ploy to obfuscate the debate (Ibid., interview, 1997, November 4).

The opposition based on family values seeped into the complex societal stereotype that artistic talent could sometimes be equated with being gay. Informants had the benefit of hindsight when talking about this issue with the researcher, but these informants indicated that though the language was coded, the meaning was clear during the policy debate: if the state supported an Arts High School it could be interpreted as supporting a school that would attract artistic gay students from around the state (Perpich associate, interview, 1997, November 18; Agency staff, interview, 1997, December 2; Agency staff, interview, 1997, November 4). The pairing of artistic talent and sexual orientation arose initially in this investigation when an associate of Governor Perpich voluntarily and unexpectedly said to the researcher, “I don’t want to get into the gay issue, but on the iron-range, in 10th or 11th grade if you were gay, you would be told to move to Minneapolis or St. Paul and live there” (Perpich associate, interview, 1997, November 18). This informant believed that rural Minnesota was a difficult place for gay kids to live and revealed a mechanism whereby rural townspeople and businessmen would quietly collect money to give to gay kids to get them started in Minneapolis and then, “Told them to leave town” (Ibid). This was a startling narrative in the context of the Arts High School policy debate and prompted the researcher to directly ask other informants to corroborate or deny this assertion. One informant confirmed this account and continued that there was “an undertone of doing something for those ‘other people’ [gay kids] with this policy.” The informant recalled that the issue of gay kids arose with a legislator who recounted a different scenario in the rural district he represented. He said bluntly, “In Chokio we get them out of town” (Agency staff, interview, 1997, December 2.).

The issue of gay students at the Arts High School might have remained covert if Perpich had not sought to place the school on Loring Park near downtown Minneapolis. The site was ideal in Perpich’s mind because of the proximity to many cultural institutions. But Tony Bouza, the Minneapolis Police Chief, raised the issue in an interview with the urban newspaper, Skyway News. Bouza stated in an

interview that Loring Park was a location for “gays to hang out and meet other gays” (Renalls, November 18, 1986). The police chief was adamant that the arts school should not be placed there. Language that paired the Arts High School issue with an urban location that had a reputation for gay activity was now elevated to the level of public discussion by the police chief’s remarks. A legislator who opposed the Arts High School, verified this for the researcher and said, “I remember Jim Undercofler [director of the Arts High School] being rather open about his concern for placement at the Loring Park site. He thought there would be no arts school if the Governor kept pushing for the residential campus at that location” (Legislator, interview, 1998, January 5). A key actor from a state agency reported to the researcher that, “We didn’t want the Loring Park site and fought the gay image all the way through” (Agency staff, interview, 1997).

The key actors were aware that the issue of gay students was both persistent and complex. However, the data did not support the issue as a motivation only for opponents. Some of the informant’s recollections placed certain participants and legislators in a poor light because it motivated them to oppose the Arts High School and to oppose it with a sense of bigotry. However, a rival interpretation emerged from the data and that was that some participants recognized that the Arts School might provide a school and location that would not only recognize artistic talent but provide a safer environment than home school districts for gay kids (Perpich associate, interview, 1997, November 18). This researcher concluded that this viewpoint could not be stated publicly but represented a sympathetic underlying motivation for certain key actors and more surprisingly, some opponents. It was a delicate issue for all participants to find the correct words to speak about in public, but informant interviews that were conducted after the school opened, lead this researcher to the unexpected interpretation that in some tangible ways this issue was a positive motivation to move the Arts High School policy forward because participants understood that growing up in rural Minnesota often was a harsh reality for gay kids.

Summary of goals and motivations of the participants

The analysis of the data showed clear policy goals for the advocates and opponents. The analysis concluded that the goals of Arts High School proponents were directed toward specific legislative outcomes that would implement the policy option of a Minnesota Arts High School over three legislative sessions. The stated goals were achieved in the 1985 and 1989 legislative sessions with enabling fiscal resources to implement the legislation. The stated goals of the advocates were only partially achieved in the 1987 session. The opponents were able to block the legislation authorizing an architecturally designed high school, change the location of the school from Minneapolis to an alternate site, and significantly reduce the final budget allocation. The data were analyzed within the Systems Framework of Easton and confirmed expectation from the theory that the goal of an arts high school emerged, with interest group support, in the environment that surrounded the political system, than penetrated the political system through the decision of Governor Perpich to place the Arts High School on the official policy agenda in 1984. Had Perpich not embraced the policy goal and advocated for the Arts High School it is unknown whether the advocates could have achieved the policy goals within the political arena of the state legislature. The support and action of one policy champion, Governor Perpich, at a crucial time in the policy process, enabled the Arts High School policy issue to move within a short span of time from arts interest group idea to a legislative proposal, with the resources of the Governor, his able staff, the Commissioner of Education, and key legislators backing the stated goals with words and actions.

The analysis of inferred goals revealed a set of goals behind the stated goals that provided an understanding of underlying goals. These inferred goals dealt with the necessity to serve a particular class of artistic students whose needs were not met within the public schools and the belief that the policy issue of fine arts education was a worthy public policy discussion. The proponents further advocated for the inferred goal that a new educational model was necessary because the traditional, “one size fits all” educational philosophy was inadequate to meet the special needs of artistic students in public school. By advocating for this belief the proponents advanced a

new model of education that had wider implications than the Arts High School policy issue. The advocates ultimately had the advantage in the political arena because of the considerable resources and positional power of the Governor compared to the less concentrated power of the opponents. The understanding of the stated goals and the inferred goals provided a means to proceed with an analysis of the resources and strategies brought to bear on the conflict in the political arena in the next section of this chapter.

The motivation to engage in the policy debate was based on the assumption that the participants believed in certain ideals and values and these ideals and values explained the passion and commitment to act to promote the Arts High School or oppose the Arts High School. The analysis centered on the motivations that caused Governor Perpich to give highest priority to a policy proposal that had not emerged on the policy radar until he raised it at a press conference. The motivations for a relatively small policy issue were large in scope and included a desire for a national reputation in educational leadership, personal experience of the arts as a humanizing force in Europe, an understanding that globalization was emerging as an economic and educational issue, a personalization of state educational policy that involved his wife in an unprecedented fashion in a policy issue, and a desire to leave a legacy in the arts that would be symbolically visible in a public building. The opponents were equally passionate about the Arts High School because of core values that cast the Arts High School as an attack on public schools, rural communities, and most importantly that government should not be entrusted with running a residential school for adolescents. The participants initially lacked the will to talk openly about gay kids and the Arts High School policy initiative, but changed when the Minneapolis Chief of Police raised the issue in conjunction with the proposed site of the school on Loring Park. With that opening, the issue of gay kids and the arts school emerged as a motivation for supporters and opponents of the school.

Advocates and opponents were highly motivated to engage in this policy debate. The researcher concluded that the long-term motivations of the participants outstripped the original policy impetus of the arts interest group that proposed the idea. No one could have foreseen in 1976 that the artistic milieu of Europe would

motivate the Governor in 1983. No one could have predicted that Lola Perpich would stay engaged in the policy issue for six years in a way that no legislator had seen on any other policy issue. The motivations moved into the symbolic realm of personal meaning and group belief that elevated national recognition for the Governor against the mistrust of government institutions by opponents. The benefit of a targeted arts education for gifted young artists seemed positive to the advocates but was framed as elitist by the opponents. Lastly, what opponents viewed as too much money for a few kids was seen as a “tiny, tiny” bit of money out of the state educational budget for artistic students, whom advocates believed were underserved in their home school districts.

The will to exert influence on the policy process ultimately dealt with profound human motivations in this case study. Stated in stark terms - the deeply held values that emerged around the arts school issue exceeded the policy boundaries and statutory reality of the school. The values that emerged were: home, family, community, children’s safety, gender identity, national reputation, and global leadership. The allegiance to values as expressed through rhetoric and images in this case study did not allow for compromise. It was a policy issue that was framed as winner-take-all in the political arena.

Resources

The third research question in the analysis of the data was divided into two parts: What resources did the participants command that allowed them to exert influence on the policy outcomes, and what strategies did the participants’ control that could influence the political process? Resources and strategies were static in that they represented possible powers, assets, contracts, strengths, weaknesses, strategies, and tactics that could be employed to influence the policy outcome. The actual implementation of resources and strategies took place in a variety of settings and will be discussed later in this chapter under arenas.

Governor Rudy Perpich was recognized as the key actor in this investigation and the informants identified the Governor as commanding three categories of resources: positional resources, leadership resources, and typological resources. One senator who was closely associated with this policy issue observed that, “Governors are powerful people and if they are willing to commit the resources of their office they are going to get something” (Legislator, interview, 1997, November 11). Another senator stated it from the legislative perspective, “Legislative interest in policy change is predicated on a powerful advocate, not just good ideas” (Legislator, interview, 1997, December 12). The Governor’s power derived from constitutional power inherent in the executive position within state government that made it probable that he could carry out his own will despite resistance from legislators (Weber, 1947). In addition to the three categories of resources identified above, there were two resources identified by this researcher that were crucial resources but independent from deliberate institutional control by the Governor: the resource of economic climate, and the resource of time.

Six positional resources available to Governor Perpich

The literature review identified power as the “raw ability to mobilize resources to accomplish some end” (Luthans, 1995, p. 321). This definition characterized the positional resources that the Governor commanded. Informants identified multiple positional resources that Governor Perpich controlled that could be used to influence the policy issue and the researcher narrowed the range of positional resources to the six most significant positional resources available exclusively to the Governor.

Six positional resources available to Governor Perpich

1. Power to elevate the Arts High School initiative to the official policy agenda
2. Power to control the budget
3. Power to appoint a statewide task force
4. Power to influence state agency actors
5. Power to influence legislators through patronage and sanctions
6. Power to access the executive and state agency staff

Power to elevate the arts high school initiative to the official policy agenda

Sabatier (1991) considered it a “severe problem” to get ideas onto the official policy agenda and into the political arena. This investigation discovered that the advocates developed the concept of an arts high school beginning in 1976, gained initial funding from a foundation grant in 1978, then preceded to statewide hearings, and followed with a comprehensive written proposal that was submitted to official policy actors. Four attempts were made to enlist the support of the Minnesota Department of Education for the arts high school concept, and all four attempts were rejected. There followed one more attempt to interest the sitting Governor, but economic realities made it impossible for Governor Quie to act on the policy issue. The participants were unable to access the official policy agenda through the educational subsystem or the Governor. Four years of concentrated policy development by the arts school advocates reached a dead end and there was no evidence in the data to suggest that the arts school initiative would ever have surfaced again without the active interest in 1983 by Governor Perpich. One legislator confirmed this when he observed, “If the idea had not come from the Governor, it wouldn’t have been noticed,” and “Without Perpich it wouldn’t have happened” (Legislator, interview, 1997, November 25). Another key actor summarized the importance of a governor in moving policy initiatives from the arena of ideas to the official policy agenda, “There is this whole emergence from idea to policy initiative, and I don’t know how you transcend that. I don’t know why, except to say, that when a governor says, ‘I want it,’ it becomes a good idea” (Executive branch official, interview, 1997, December 18).

Governor Perpich had the power to place the arts high school issue on the official policy agenda and he accomplished that in two ways. First, Perpich used the media to access the public and the policy community. He called a press conference to make the public announcement that an Arts High School would become a central legislative effort for 1984-1985. The press corps was present at the capitol and

received written copies of the Governor's statement. Newspapers articles ran the next day in the two major Twin Cities newspapers and around the state through the Associated Press service. The 1984, February 4 St. Paul Pioneer Press and Dispatch prominently placed the story on the first page of the metro edition. The article began, by referencing the *Fame* television show and went on to communicate the substance of Perpich's announcement, that a 15-member Task Force would "develop plans for a Minnesota School for the Arts in the Twin Cities" (Salisbury, B., 1984, February 4, p. A1). The article outlined the Governor's remarks at the press conference regarding the proposed budget, the concept of an Arts High School, and concluded by printing the names of the Task Force members. Perpich was quoted as saying, "We have appointed many commissions and task forces, but this one I find especially exciting" (Ibid). The appointment of Lola Perpich as an "honorary member of the panel" (Ibid) was reported and Perpich's passionate commitment was communicated.

The arts school concept was initially developed by the advocates but rejected by the Department of Education and there were no other pathways to get to official policy consideration. When Perpich attached himself to the concept and called the press conference, he accessed the resource of the Governor's position to command media attention and demonstrated public opinion leadership on a policy issue he deemed important. The policy initiative gained extraordinary status when the Governor announced that his wife, Lola, would be "honorary co-chair" of the statewide Task Force. Perpich also aligned the resources of the Governor's office with his political party affiliation and publicly placed the Democratic Party behind the Arts High School. This ability to speak with a "single voice" (Jewell, 1969, p. 69) was a resource available only to the Governor, because of his positional authority.

Power to control the budget

Power to control the budget was a significant resource in the protracted policy dispute and Governor Perpich used this power to request fiscal resources to study the concept in 1984 and to implement the arts school in the 1985 session. He also attached a budget request to the bonding bill in 1987. There was some dispute about

the 1989 session, but the record supports the fact that, Senator Randy Peterson attached the budget request to the 1989 bill, after Perpich had submitted the bill for legislative authorization only, with no budget request. Informants believed that Perpich deliberately chose not to attach a budget to this bill to “keep from being held hostage” by legislators seeking patronage before they would commit to voting for the final authorization of the Arts High School (Agency staff, interview, 1997, November 4).

Power to control the budget included more than the power to attach budget requests to a bill. Governor Perpich controlled an executive budget that allowed him to assign staff to work on the policy issue and pay for their time. Dan Loritz and Lani Kawamura were major actors on the Arts High School policy, and for much of the issue conflict were on the Governor’s executive staff or employed by a state agency under the Governor’s control. The Governor was able to access information as a resource from the State Planning Commission, the Commissioner of Finance, and the Commissioner of the Department of Education, all of which he controlled by the power of the purse or the power of appointment. The Governor also controlled a potential resource in that he could influence the budget estimates and revenue projections for the state and access the budget reserve. These gubernatorial resources were controversial, but important in this case study. These resources will be analyzed in detail in the arena section of this chapter. No other individual in state government controlled the state budget to the degree the Governor did or had the ability to access money through budget requests in legislation, with the institutional authority that went with the Governor’s office. An insider stated succinctly, “In the end, the Governor has the money, so ultimately he is always going to control” (Agency staff, interview, 1997, November 4).

Power to appoint a statewide task force

Governor Perpich had the authority to appoint an official statewide task force to study the Arts High School policy issue and submit a report to the Governor’s office. The Governor used this resource in 1984 when he created the Arts High School Task

Force, which then held hearings around the state, and generated an official report that listed policy alternatives. However, in the end, a task force appointed by the Governor (See Appendix O), and guided by the Governor's stated goals, was not likely to return a report contrary to the Governor's wishes. Rather, this research discovered that the use of the task force represented a more subtle resource. The task force could not create policy but had license to buttress the Governor's position with citizen ideas and policy information. The task force was informational and authoritative in this case study, but not policy neutral. McDonnell (in Furhman et al., 2007) explained in the literature, the value of this type of task force, "One mechanism for moving policy ideas into the macro arena that a number of states, including Minnesota, have used is the appointed commission where a broad array of interests are represented, and decision making is more consensual than in the legislative subsystem characterized by bargaining" (p. 22).

Perpich was savvy in his use of the policy task force and a Perpich associate observed, "The task force was a common method for Perpich. He wanted ideas but he also wanted to develop support for the ideas. The task force was the perfect way because you had a built-in constituency for the ideas" (Perpich associate, interview, 1997, December 26). Another informant used a descriptive term, "the stature of ideas," that this researcher judged captured both the generative nature of ideas and the policy support (stature) the Governor sought. This informant said, "Perpich put together what we called, Blue Ribbon Commissions that pulled everybody together.... Perpich used the power of the Governor to enhance the stature of the ideas" (Executive branch official, interview, 1997, December 18). The "stature of ideas" resource allowed the Governor to publicly accept the report and then add the power of his office to give the task force report increased prominence when it was presented to the legislature. The 1984 Task Force traveled across the state and one informant, who chaired many of the meetings, estimated that the Task Force listened to as "high as 600 people" in public hearings (Agency staff, interview, 1997, December 17). The number of people and the number of locations generated ideas, but more importantly, this researcher concluded, it generated public attention, and a perception of broad public support for the Arts High School policy. This research

found that the policy proposal that went forward in the bill submitted to the 1985 legislature was not significantly influenced by the task force hearings, but the task force was important to buttress the policy position of the Governor.

Power to influence state agency actors

The power to influence state agency actors was used by Governor Perpich in two ways. The first use of this power was to appoint an important state agency commissioner who would support the Governor's position on the Arts High School. This resource was available to the Governor in the 1984 legislative session because he had sought and gained the power to appoint the Commissioner of Education for the first time. As was detailed in Chapter 5, the Commissioner of Education had not been historically appointed by a Governor. After Perpich gained the power and appointed Ruth Randall, informants judged that the department, that had been hostile to the Arts High School policy issue, changed and supported the policy. Randall became the "agent of the Governor," and altered the position of the Department of Education. The power to influence state agency actors did not stop with the Department of Education.

Perpich utilized the power to influence state agency actors when he asked other commissioners to lobby state legislators at the end of the 1985 legislative session. This resource paired a commissioner's positional influence with selected legislators and implied subtle political advantages if they voted for the Arts High School. The clearest example of this was the Commissioner of Corrections meeting with legislators during the 1985 special session and matching up the power of his position with unspecified implications for reward or sanction based on the legislator's vote on the Arts High School. Clearly, the Department of Corrections did not have any overt policy relationship with the Arts High School issue, but Commissioner Orville Pung, was visibly lobbying legislators on the final night of the 1985 session. His loyalty to Governor Perpich placed him in the position of responding favorably, when the Governor asked him to show up at the capitol and lobby legislators. Perpich more than likely, understood that a commissioner, who controlled facilities and jobs within

a legislator's home district, was a resource that could influence a key legislator's vote.

The power to influence legislators through patronage and sanction

The power to influence legislators through patronage resided in the use of rewards and sanctions and was a resource available primarily to the Governor. Jewell (1969) stated, "[Patronage] is a variety of favors that a governor can make available to legislators and their constituents" (p. 77). The favors are understood by the participants to mean that the governor will give something and the legislator will get something. Sanctions are understood to mean that the governor will withhold support, dismiss someone from a job, veto legislation, or in some fashion exercise "negative authority" (Jewell, 1969) over the legislator and or his/her interests. This section will analyze the resource of patronage that was available to the Governor Perpich. The specific application of this resource to influence the Arts High School policy in the political arena will be explicated later in this chapter. The resource of patronage straddled a narrow line between corruption and legitimate influence and was sometimes difficult to distinguish, both in popular understanding and academic analysis. One legislator personally involved in the arts school issue defined the difference as, "Corruption would be if there was money passing under the table for personal benefit" (Legislator, interview, 1998, January 5). The media informant corroborated the legislator's viewpoint and stated that, "[Patronage] is not viewed as corruption until it benefits an individual" (Media expert, interview, 1998, February 16). The scholarly definition substantiated the legislator's understanding, "There is an important distinction between the legislator who supports the administration to win roads for his county or a judgeship for his political ally and another whose support is given simply to line his own pockets" (Jewell, 1969, p. 80).

Legislators on both sides of the aisle confirmed that the Arts High School process was influenced by patronage that was deftly used by Perpich. One Democratic legislator characterized this resource as benign, "Perpich would make deals with people, but I never saw a vindictive side to him. Politics works that way

for good politicians” (Legislator, interview, 1997, November 11). A Republican legislator portrayed patronage metaphorically, as horse-trading, and said, “I think Perpich horse-traded a lot on this [Arts High School]. I don’t know if we will ever know to what magnitude, but he was good at horse-trading” (Legislator, interview, 1997, November 24). The researcher was interested about the money for various projects that informants mentioned when speaking of patronage and asked this informant a follow-up probe regarding the total dollar amount. The legislator candidly replied, “There is a normal restriction, it is an unwritten agreement of about 3% of the total state budget for patronage” (Ibid). This informant continued by stating, that if the budget was \$10 to \$12 billion dollars, the senators would work off of a figure of \$360 million dollars to be divided up for patronage among the legislative districts (Ibid). This dollar amount represented a significant resource available primarily to the Governor, to influence legislator’s votes, and the informants’ responses indicated important implicit and explicit characteristics. The implicit characteristic was the shared knowledge of an implied norm between the executive and legislative branches. Both sides had an expectation that patronage was “normal,” that “politics works that way,” and that favors would be traded, but that personal gain was not permissible in the “moralistic climate” of Minnesota. The second characteristic was that patronage was “an unwritten agreement,” that involved fiscal resources available for “horse-trading” and that that amount was “about 3% of the total state budget.” The researcher sought to verify the information gained from the partisan informants, and directly asked two insiders about the resource of patronage directed toward a legislator’s district in exchange for voting with the Governor on a bill. One agency actor was asked about the apocryphal claim the researcher heard many times, that the Arts High School cost Perpich more in patronage than was contained in the 1985 budget for the school. The informant answered, “That is probably true, I wouldn’t doubt it for a moment” (Agency staff, interview, 1997, November 4). The other insider was asked about a dollar amount and answered that, “Perpich told him, ‘This school is going to cost me \$50 million in patronage, in addition to the school’” (Perpich associate, interview, 1997, December 26).

Patronage, though readily acknowledged by insiders, was difficult to do and more difficult to trace after the deal was done. However, this researcher found a Senate roll call sheet, dated 1985, May 16 in the archives of the Minnesota History Center that “called the question” on the adoption of the amendment, HF 694, for the “removal of the arts school.” The tally indicated that 25 senators voted yea, and 40 senators voted nay, keeping the Arts High School alive. The tally sheet was in a folder that came from the Governor’s desk and contained a handwritten statement on the bottom of the sheet. The researcher judged that the handwritten note confirmed that the Governor was knowledgeable about, and a participant in the patronage process. The note stated, “It’s time we started keeping track of our friends & opponents on this issue & make sure our friends are rewarded” (Roll call, dated 1985, May 16 in the archives of the Minnesota History Center). The note was clearly addressed to the Governor, but was not written by the Governor. The researcher shared a copy of the document with an executive branch official who was active in the 1985 session. This informant affirmed the authenticity of the roll call sheet and went on to state in the interview that a document like this should have been destroyed before it became a part of the public archives (Executive branch official, interview, 1997, November 11) because the notation clearly confirmed what some participants tried to conceal, that the Governor traded patronage for votes.

This investigation discovered five categories of patronage or sanctions that informants identified were available to be used by Perpich in the Arts High School political process:

1. Pair legislative support with resources for infrastructure in the legislator’s district
2. Pair legislative support with appointed positions, committee assignments, leadership posts within the party, and judgeships
3. Pair legislative support of the arts high with the governor’s support for a legislator’s favored legislation
4. Pair legislative support with the governor’s political support of the legislator
5. Deny support for a legislator as a sanction for failing to support the governor

Infrastructure was an important component of patronage, and Jewell believed that, “in fact governors are usually able to win legislative support by distributing

some of these [infrastructure projects] as a form of patronage” (Jewell, 1969, p. 78). One legislator crystallized the issue of infrastructure and patronage from the public’s perspective; “I know if you go back to your own district they call it economic development and they like you because you do economic development. Yet, if somebody else does it, they call it pork” (Legislator, interview, 1997, November 24). The same Senator described the skillful process that Perpich used to ferret out what legislators wanted in exchange for supporting the legislation, “Perpich would say, ‘I need your vote on this. But I know you need something.’ The legislator was a damned fool if he said he needed a gravel shed. ‘Give me a big one, whatever it is” (Ibid). The process was initiated by the Governor and directly connected a favorable vote by the legislator to infrastructure in the legislator’s home district. An informant from the executive branch substantiated the legislator’s statement about patronage and one type of infrastructure, “We [the executive branch] liked rest-stops, it wasn’t hard to give those away. They were about \$120,000, not very much money” (Executive branch official, 1997, December 18).

“Dispensing jobs, offers the governor one of his best opportunities to influence legislators” (Jewell, 1969, p. 77). Legislators were not immune to the opportunity to use their current position as a springboard to a job with more status, more pay, or greater job security. An agency staffer stated that the full range of committee assignments, party positions, leadership posts in the legislature, state agency positions, and judgeships were available as patronage in the Arts High School political negotiations (Agency staff, interview, 1997, November 4). Only the Governor was in a position to activate the resource of jobs offered to legislators who supported his position on the Arts High School. Even though the Arts High School was a small budget item, it will be shown later that a number of important jobs were offered to influence votes on the Arts High School policy legislation.

The third type of patronage paired a legislator’s support for the Arts High School bill with the Governor’s reciprocal support for the legislator’s favored legislation. Though politicians may be partisan or ideological opponents on any given bill, they are open to negotiate on other bills. Politicians, particularly experienced politicians, understand that if you are not willing to negotiate at all,

“don’t show up at the table,” (Executive branch official, interview, 1997, December 11). Legislators understand that this type of patronage was essential to get a variety of legislation passed they favored, and that the give and take of bargaining was essential to getting some of “what there is to get” (Lasswell, 1950). However, and this was an important issue in this case study, when legislators sensed complete and extraordinary commitment by the Governor to the Arts High School legislation, they could “hold the bill hostage,” or as one opponent said, “Had Perpich not had a lot of passion for this, they [legislators] would have given it to him a long time ago. But they knew they could strip this cow dry” (Legislator, interview, 1997, November 24). Legislators who participated in this form of patronage saw this resource of support for favored legislation as a win – win; they could bargain to gain the Governor’s support for their legislation by voting with the Governor on the Arts High School (Executive branch official, interview, 1997, November 11).

The final resource of reward was pairing legislative support with the Governor’s political support of the legislator in variety of political settings. Most of the legislature’s work is not controversial. The bills to do the business of government are technical and do not offer opportunity for patronage because little is at stake politically. Bills that could be “milked,” “held-up for patronage,” or “stripped dry,” presented the Governor with the opportunity to extend his political support, and the implied support of the Democratic Party apparatus to the legislator, in exchange for a vote in favor of the Arts High School. An executive staffer described the process this way; “If a deal was, ‘Would you come to my fund-raiser’ or ‘Can you support this \$50,000 whatever,’ I would get them in to see Perpich and he could say yes or no to that” (Executive branch official, interview, 1997, December 18). Appearing at a political fund-raiser in a legislator’s home district was part of the Governor’s resource of patronage to get supportive legislators re-elected. Withholding patronage raised the positional resource of sanctions.

The resource to sanction a legislator was a negative authority the Governor could bring to bear on a non-cooperative participant. Sanctions placed the positional prestige and authority of the Governor against the resistance of a legislator. The spectrum of gubernatorial responses ran from listing compelling reasons to support

the school, to stating directly that the Arts High School was a high priority and “do it for me,” to the power to threaten or actually veto legislation, to dismissing someone from a party position or state agency job, and finally, to withholding enabling resources from a project or bill. Whether Perpich used all of these powers was unclear, but one informant made it clear that the Governor understood the power, “He’s got the ability to call people into his office and say, ‘I won’t veto, or I will veto your project if you don’t vote for my project.’ Legislators cannot do that” (Agency staff, interview, 1997, November 4). When the researcher sought to clarify whether that power had been used, the informant evaded a direct response, but alluded to collateral use of budgetary resource and connected the power of the Governor to control of the Department of Finance and the revenue forecast, “The Governor’s got the ability to negotiate the big deals because he’s got veto power, and he controls the Department of Finance. They are the people who issue the revenue forecast; they are the people who know how to crunch the numbers. He’s got the people with power on his side and he is the ultimate deal cutter” (Ibid). In the end the resource of the veto got connected with the power to control revenue forecasts. Initially the connection might be considered tenuous, but a closer look implied the connection of both veto and enabling budget. The Governor had the negative resource to sanction a legislator who might vote against the Arts High School by threatening to veto legislation or by threatening not attach money to implement the legislation favored by the legislator.

Power to access the state agency and executive staff

The Governor had the positional power to access the Arts High School state agency staff, Jim Undercofler and Barbara Martin, to spread his influence in crucial political arenas. This resource enabled these actors to act as agents of the Governor, relay information back and forth between legislators and the Governor, and bargain on behalf of the Governor. Though state agency staff acted as agents of the Governor they acknowledged they did not have the power to “make the deals.” One agency staffer said, “The [agency] staff has no power to trade; we only provided the information for the Governor or the other powerful people to use in the trades”

(Agency staff, interview, 1997). The information relayed to the Governor by the staff included patronage requests, vote counting projections, and vote tallies that indicated which legislators supported or failed to support the Arts High School in the legislative arena. However, at least one state agency staffer believed they were empowered to verbally consent to patronage on behalf of the Governor. This key actor stated, “I was told, not by the Governor himself, but by his staff in the 1987 session, that I had the Governor’s credit card” (Agency staff, interview, 1997). The difficulty for this actor arose when the Governor didn’t honor these promises, “The problem was the Governor didn’t honor those commitments. I would go back to the Governor’s office at the end of the day and deliver the information and notes. If Perpich believed in it, he would do it, but if he didn’t, he didn’t” (Ibid). The state agency staff was a crucial resource of the Governor because they provided information about what was happening in the committee hearings, the halls, and the legislative chambers; although they acknowledged they could not always deliver on the commitments made to legislators.

The executive staff, Dan Loritz and Lani Kawamura, could act as agents of the Governor and bargain on his behalf. Bargaining involved the unspecified “making of deals” with key legislators and passing out patronage. The executive branch official most candid about this said, “My job was to cut the political deals behind the scenes” (Executive branch official, interview, 1997). Other participants corroborated this participant’s assessment and indicated he served the Governor well in this position of power (Agency staff, interview, 1997, November 4). “Cutting deals” implied negotiations carried out on behalf of the Governor, but this executive branch staffer was explicit about the power that Perpich entrusted to him in carrying out the Governor’s wishes. This informant stated, “While the arts school was grand theater it didn’t have cutthroat nastiness. The opponents just picked it up because they knew that Perpich’s soft spot was Lola. Rudy understood that, and he instructed me, ‘Don’t make enemies over this. They will want some stuff and I’ll give it to them” (Executive branch official, interview, 1997). The ability for the Governor to access competent executive staff, allowed Perpich to empower them to act as agents on his behalf. These able staffers identified what was needed to bargain for a vote or

hammer out a deal; then they conveyed that back to the Governor, and ultimately communicated the resolution back to the legislator. This resource of the Governor extended his influence beyond the personal, to the institutional power of the position and the office.

Leadership resources available to Governor Perpich

The resource of leadership connected the personal values and actions (DePree, 1992) of Governor Perpich to the context of the policy and politics surrounding the Arts High School initiative. Because Perpich died before this investigation began, it was not possible to interview him and assess which values and actions he purposefully articulated and deliberately brought into the policy arena, but informants identified from their perspective, important personal leadership resources available to Perpich, as a policy champion, that were not inherent in the position of Governor. These resources were personality traits and qualities that included an ability to envision something new that existed nowhere else in the country, a tenacious sense of action once he attached himself to a goal, and insight into the shifting alliances of allies and opponents.

Terry (1993) defined leadership as authentic action that encompassed vision, power, structure, and resources. Perpich's leadership style was characterized by one legislator as a "stream of consciousness Governor who led with his heart" (Legislator, interview, 1998, April 13). This description encapsulated "authentic action" and the resource of vision that initially intrigued Perpich about the Arts High School initiative and extended through his power to entrust the implementation of the vision to a policy task force, state agency staff, arts advocates, his able executive staff, and effective legislative leaders.

Perpich was intrigued by the well-formed policy vision presented to him in 1983, by the Arts High School advocates to develop a state-sponsored Arts High School for underserved fine arts students in Minnesota. He fleshed-out the policy details with a metaphorical image, when he turned to one of the arts interest group actors, and asked if the school would be like the movie *Fame*. The arts advocate was gratified that the extensive policy work of the previous seven years had suddenly

resonated with a governor, but disappointed with the Perpich's quick pairing of a movie with a serious policy proposal. This informant however, acknowledged that it was the vision the Governor embraced for the arts school that was important to its success, "The Arts High School was a concept...and vision is probably the most important thing that we have" (Arts advocate, interview, 1997, October 26). A difficulty for this policy proposal was that it was unprecedented. No state supported arts high school existed anywhere in the country and it took a leader who was interested in a novel idea, to elevate it to the official policy agenda of the state. One executive branch informant combined this personal attribute of vision with policy commitment and stated, "Perpich had vision and he worked hard, that is why he got as much done as he did" (Executive branch official, interview, 1997, December 18). Terry believed that leadership, on specific issues, is often unexpected and the result of something "grasping" the leader (Terry, 1993). Perpich made a provisional judgment on the efficacy of the arts high school almost as soon as it was presented to him in 1983. The concept "grasped" him, and it is the conclusion of this investigator, from the interviews, that this represented a pattern of behavior for the Governor. He attached himself to policy ideas that intrigued him and followed-up with personal commitment and the resources of his office. A legislator confirmed this pattern when he said that Perpich stated to him, "Tell me what I need to do to make it happen" (Legislator, 1997, December 12). This informant indicated initial personal and positional commitment, but also an ability to turn to others for advice on how to "make it happen."

Perpich was viewed as a "big vision" Governor in the context of the Arts High School (Chapter 5). But vision needed implementation in the leadership arena and Perpich possessed two personal qualities that were important to implementation. Perpich had a personal tenacity that generated admiration but also caused resistance, and he cultivated an ability to work with the shifting alliances of allies and opponents. Admiration of Perpich's tenacity was evident to the researcher from the informant interviews who viewed the quality of tenacity as integral to the success of the proposal. Two informants shared insight regarding this, "Once Perpich made up his mind, he was tenacious about things" (Arts advocate, interview, 1997, October 26).

The other informant pushed the perception further, “In order to get it [Arts High School] done, you had to provide leadership and for Perpich it was kind of petulant. It was, ‘I want this, so you have to give it to me’” (Executive branch official, interview, 1997, December 18). The positional resources of the Governor were combined with tenacity, even petulance that helped the Arts High School initiative, but at other times caused rivals to resist and push back against some of Perpich’s ideas that were considered “goofy,” or excessive. The label of “goofy” was one political response that effectively carried broader images for opponents and was applied early and continually to the Arts High School (Legislator, interview, 1997, November 11, Legislator, interview, 1997, November 23).

Perpich developed a leadership response that deflected some of this labeling within the political arena. He entrusted his policy vision to selected key participants to carry forward, then he remained in the background until political considerations compelled him to step into the conflict. A respected state legislator recognized this and said, “It really was up to Jim Undercofler and those people to take the vision and make it a school” (Legislator, interview, 1998, April 13). Perpich utilized this personal leadership characteristic of empowering key actors to work on his behalf and retained it as a resource in the Arts High School issue. This also expanded to developing personal relationships outside the policy issue so that he could lean on people who were friends or allies and extract policy support based on friendship. One close observer of Perpich’s methods said, “When you have these personal relationship, Perpich could say, “Can you get this thing through” (Executive branch official, interview, 1997, November 11). Perpich’s power however, was not absolute, and the success of the Arts High School in the policy arena can only partially be explained from the use of personal leadership resources applied in the specific context of the political debate (Salancik & Pfeffer in Natemeyer & Gilberg, 1989).

Perpich understood one additional crucial leadership skill, the ability to work on many issues, viewing allies and opponents as shifting, so that he did not make enemies on one issue, then doom the success of another, equally important issue in the future. A governor is pressured from all sides on contentious policy issues, particularly when deeply held values are at stake. One legislator alluded to this

problem and said, “There is an old saying, a statesman is someone who stands upright because of the pressure from all directions” (Legislator, 1997, December 12). The issues a state governor faces come from many things: among them are political party initiatives, interest group advocates, subsystem politics, and unforeseen crises. The pressure is intense from all points of the political compass and the governor, as chief executive of the state, must find political and personal responses that create a way forward in the face of competing interests. An important finding emerged again at this point of the case study: it was not entirely patronage or favors that resolved the legislative turmoil; rather, it was the Governor’s personal responses that diffused the ideological differences. The Governor portrayed the young fine arts students as underserved, at risk, and outcasts in rural Minnesota by invoking both images of possibility, i.e., *Fame*, and images of terrible failure, i.e., teen suicide. Opponents did not accept this symbolic representation as accurate and vigorously contested the proposed policy solution in the arena of public opinion, in the committee structure of the legislature, and through the vested interests of the educational subsystem. The intense turmoil about values could have subsumed the Governor and the policy issue, but this researcher judged that the personal quality of not making enemies over one issue was central to the ultimate success. The quality was summed up by one insider with these words, “In politics you have to realize that no matter how vocal the opposition is, you have to be careful because they are probably going to be your friends after three or four years” (Perpich associate, interview, 1997, December 26). This leadership quality, combined with the positional resources of the office, allowed Perpich to incorporate political expediency and deliberate lack of animosity to diffuse the strength of the resistance.

Typological resources

Typological resources included four classifications of resources available to key actors on both sides of the policy debate that fell outside the operant political dimensions of power and leadership (Mazzoni, 1992). Typological resources were relative in strength and specific to the context of the time and place they were

employed. This researcher identified the following typological resources that influenced the outcome of the policy issue:

1. The typological resource of antecedent legislative norms
2. The typological resource of legislative maneuvering
3. The typological resources of time, timelines, and timing
4. The typological resources of rhetoric and narrative

The typological resource of antecedent legislative norms

Antecedent legislative norms were the unwritten rules that guided and structured legislator's interactions that made the legislature operate effectively and were passed on informally to incoming legislators by veteran members (Jewell, 1969).¹⁰ Legislative norms though unwritten and informal, exerted a binding influence on the legislative procedures in the Arts High School policy debate. The first unwritten norm required that legislators keep their word. An agency staff informant recognized this as an antecedent norm between legislators, and among legislators and lobbyists and said, "Honor and respect are very powerful stuff" (Agency staff, interview, 1997, November 4). In a political culture that valued and elevated the personal ability and positional power to "make a deal," it was significant that underlying the deal making was a norm that required participants to keep his/her word as a matter of honor. This norm was paired with the norm of mutual respect that required that policy disagreements did not extend to personal animosity and carry-over into relationships outside the legislative chambers. One major actor stated, "It is one thing to have strong feelings – it is another thing to act on them.... The reality is that the legislators are going to be there tomorrow and they are going to be talking about something different than they are talking about today. Today you are on the opposite side, tomorrow you are on the same side with the very same people, and legislators who have never been able to figure that out become close to inconsequential in the process" (Legislator, interview, 1997, December 12).

¹⁰ Antecedent legislative norms is the term the researcher used to identify the "unwritten rules" that Jewell wrote about, and McDonnell identified as procedures that must be followed "before" the official allocation of values can take place

“Inconsequential” was a powerful term to apply to a fellow legislator, but indeed, colleagues were relegated to that category as a result of violating the unwritten norm of mutual respect in this case study. One major actor identified another antecedent legislative norm of “moderate convictions.” Moderate convictions encompassed the norm of stating policy and political convictions in terms that did not alienate colleagues on a personal level. A significant actor identified one more antecedent norm that surfaced in a crucial moment of this case study, the norm of balance between representing one’s legislative district and understanding the implications of legislation through a regional or state perspective. “Legislators who keep [the] overview, are the outstanding legislators” (Perpich associate, interview, 1997, December 26). These antecedent legislative norms were integral to the political process in that they determined who was “granted formal authority to choose among proposals and what procedures must be followed before those with formal authority [could] make a decision” (McDonnell in Fuhman et al., 2007, p. 20). McDonnell’s assertion posits a fundamental personal relationship that was in place at a deeper level than the allocation of values of the political system. This fundamental personal relationship system was not fully explicated in either Easton’s Political Systems Framework or Mazzoni’s Conceptual Framework for Political Analysis but played a significant role in elevating some actors and marginalizing other actors at critical moments in the policy dispute.

An obvious and related legislative norm was inherent in the nature of political parties; loyalty to the political party to which you belonged. This resource was available to be used in two ways during the Arts High School conflict: party loyalty that enforced voting with the caucus position of both Democratic and Republican legislators and secondly, an understanding that a member might need to be released from voting the caucus position if the vote was “destructive in their own district” (Executive branch official, interview, 1997, December 18). The Democratic legislators (DFL) aligned themselves with Governor Perpich, willingly and sometimes unwillingly, along party lines on this policy issue. The advocates identified the pressure that could be applied by the resource of the “geography of location in the legislative chambers” to unwilling Democratic legislators. This

executive informant outlined this resource; “we knew the geography of where people sat and would say, ‘we need you to pull in three more people. Here are the people who sit next to you” (Ibid). The pressure that could be exerted ranged from an informal suggestion to an adjacent legislator, to the Governor using positional influence to tie party loyalty to a particular vote. This informant went on to describe this decisive resource when the Governor got involved, “There was a line outside the [Governor’s] door...We were not threatening people to vote. We were calling in favors” (Ibid). Party unity was a resource that went two ways: the legislator was in a position to extract the resources of patronage, but the Governor was in a position to extract the resource of loyalty. Though characterized in a benign fashion, the reality of standing outside the Governor’s door and being called into his office to be reminded of the importance of party loyalty was a significant resource available to the Governor. One additional sub-category of loyalty was available to the Governor, that being, “Rangers,” or those DFL legislators from the iron-range region of northern Minnesota. Perpich counted on this “Ranger” resource to keep the Arts High School legislation alive at crucial times in the legislative process. The unquestioned resource of voting with the Governor because you came from the “Range” was a powerful, underlying resource for the Governor.

On the opposing side, the Republican (IR) leadership also counted on loyalty to the philosophical party positions as a resource in the policy debate. These positions were articulated as; control the growth of government, no new taxes, and commitment to family values. The symbolic nature of what the Arts High School represented, combined with the ideological commitment of key committee chairs, was a resource around which the Republican legislators coalesced, particularly in the 1985 and 1987 sessions. The important value of caucus unity enabled the Republican opponents to mount significant challenges to the Arts High School legislation and required the proponents to negotiate on essential provisions of the policy: grade-level of students attending the school, location of the campus, and the addition of the Resource Center. As significant as the norm of loyalty was in this case study, a seemingly small resource emerged with important implications in the political arena. This resource was the ability of party leadership to release a member from voting the caucus

position, if it would create difficulties for re-election in their home legislative district. The words used by informants revealed the significance of this action: one informant described it as “released” from the caucus position, “A party member can be released from the caucus position if the vote is destructive in their own district” (Agency staff, interview, 1997, November 4). Another informant characterized the result metaphorically as, “breaking the caucus” (Agency staff, interview, 1997, December 2). This description implied positioning a legislator in a difficult and politically untenable position. If the legislator voted with the caucus and against the school, the legislator could be portrayed in his/her own district in a way that would threaten re-election. “Breaking the caucus” granted a legislator the ability to vote against the party position without recriminations from the party leadership.

The typological resource of legislative maneuvering

The typological resource of legislative maneuvering was predicated on a savvy understanding of legislative rules. Whereas norms were based on unwritten rules that guided interactions, legislative maneuvering was based upon detailed understanding and an insider’s application of the rules of legislative procedures and protocol, to gain advantage for one side and deny advantage to the opponents. This typological resource was based on an important underlying assumption, that being, your party held key positions within the committee structure which allowed you to control the application of legislative rules. The resource of legislative maneuvering was relevant in two distinct ways: the placement of the Arts High School bill within the larger omnibus education bill and the role of key committee and subcommittee chairs in applying legislative rules.

Placement of the Arts High School bill within the larger education bill was a resource available to the advocates, and the opposite, attempting to strip the arts school out of the larger bill was available to opponents. One of the legislators described this resource, “It was a key moment to place the Arts High School in the education bill, because now it did not have to stand on its own anymore” (Legislator, interview, 1997, November 11). The relatively minor legislative proposal of the Arts

High School was tucked in the large omnibus education bill which gave it cover, and shielded it from stand-alone, up-or-down votes at the end of the session. The placement within the larger bill also protected the Arts High School bill because legislative maneuvering required a majority vote to remove it, “By putting the article in the original bill, in order to remove it, somebody had to have an affirmative vote. If they only had a tie vote, it would stay in” (Legislator, interview, 1997, November 11). Though apparently only an issue of a one-vote difference between a tie vote and a majority vote, it was an important resource of the advocates as they maneuvered the bill through the committees, because it was often easier to maintain the tie vote status, than achieve the majority status on important votes. The intimate knowledge of legislative rules also allowed advocates to maneuver and vote with the opponent’s side, if the amendment or action under consideration, was headed for defeat in a committee. This rule specified, that in order to move for reconsideration of an amendment, you must have voted with the prevailing side. The knowledge of this rule gave proponents the resource to temporarily vote with the opposition in committee, though it was not their true position on the Arts High School, in order to bring the amendment up for reconsideration at a later date.

The power of a committee chair was a typological resource available to both advocates and opponents. Committee chairs did not have absolute control of the committee meetings, but a savvy chair could maneuver the direction of the committee actions to influence the outcome. Chairs had the power to call a vote by “sound,” that is, subjectively decide the result of a vote based on the volume of voices, and not call for a tallied vote, unless a legislator challenged the results by calling for a “division” (Agency staff, interview, 1997, November 4). A chair had the power to rule an amendment out of order and prohibit a change in language on the bill in question. Though arbitrary, the chair had the power to maneuver these moments to gain an advantage for the legislative position he/she favored. As one influential committee chair said, “Actually, the chair can make a big difference. You could rule an amendment out of order. If somebody says, ‘I want to get that,’ you could say, ‘Well, we are not going to do that today’” (Legislator, interview, 1997, November 11).

Committee chairs worked with the Governor’s staff and the state agency staff to track

the decisive vote tallies, which dictated the voting strategy the chair would employ. One key actor characterized this as “intuition” combined with “information” and said, “We charted out every vote on every committee that the arts school would have to go through and who the key hits would be, and who we could count on, and who we couldn’t count on, and what we would do” (Agency staff, interview, 1997, December 2.). This detailed approach to each important committee action combined with the “intuition” of a savvy chair was a resource available to influence the outcome of many of the “killer amendments” (Agency staff, 1997, November 4) offered up in the course of the Arts High School conflict. Finally, the loyalty of the chairs to a sitting Governor was a resource available to the advocates. The insiders understood that the real power in the “legislative educational structure” was in the key committees and subcommittees (Agency staff, interview, 1997, November 4). This resource was available to the Governor, particularly in the 1985 session, when the House was controlled by the Republicans and the Senate was controlled by the Democrats. The Arts High School bill was essentially given-up on the House side and kept alive in the Senate by key committee chairs. This split in power led to the importance of the loyal Senate committee chairs keeping the legislation alive and getting it to the Conference Committee.

The path an education bill took through the legislature, (See Appendix I) led ultimately to the House and Senate Conference Committee where differences in the two versions were reconciled. The Conference Committee was composed of equal numbers of senators and representatives who were obligated by legislative rules to reach an agreement on the language of the bill, and produce a final version for consideration by the House and Senate. The two bodies then voted separately, up or down on the bill, and no additions or deletions were accepted on the floor of the House or the Senate. The Conference Committee was an important resource for the advocates, because, though the Arts High School bill was not in the House version in 1985, it was in the Senate version of the education bill and could be placed in the final education bill by the Conference Committee. One Senate insider described the process, “If you don’t have it in the bill you can’t introduce it at conference time. So we had to have the arts school in the Senate bill going into Conference Committee

and we achieved that on the Senate side (Legislator, 1997, November 11). Insider knowledge of the Conference Committee rules was a resource that Governor Perpich skillfully accessed in the Arts High School issue. An executive branch informant said, “[The] grand scheme was to get things Perpich wanted through either of the houses, than trade them. He was a master at the Conference Committee. All we had to do was make sure our bills were alive, than we would trade” (Executive branch official, interview, 1997, November 11). This resource was an “end-game” resource, because after the debates, additions, and deletions of the committees and sub-committees, the allocation of values represented in the final version negotiated in the Conference Committee was binding. One of the informants involved in implementing this resource summarized it, “I think the issue is you engage all the citizens [legislators] in the debate and it has rules, but ultimately, ten people, the ‘third house,’ decides. Ultimately, just ten people are sitting in the room and saying, ‘OK, we’ve got to take it out and it is voted up or down. How do we build a coalition out of this where everybody gets a little something” (Executive branch official, interview, 1997, November 11)?

Peeling away the layers of Conference Committee interaction, revealed that the resource of negotiating also carried a memory of regret. The resource of skillful negotiations was available to both sides, but ideological considerations blocked the Republicans from accessing this resource in the 1985 session until Connie Levi stepped in, late in the night, to negotiate with Tom Nelson. Deeply held beliefs and the willingness to negotiate away those beliefs were incompatible positions for Sally Olsen. But the reality was that the resource of negotiating to gain something and the willingness to give up something was the *lingua franca* of the Conference Committee: political reality and principle were at odds in this setting. This contradiction was described by one of Perpich’s aides, “I have never thought about the Conference Committee process as being something that you would be remembered for your principles. You are remembered for your negotiating skills. It is not a place where you are declaring war, but the chair must stay on the committee members and get the bill out” (Executive branch official, interview, 1997, December 18). Another legislator’s memory reflected that there was a negative side to this

process and one that was tinged with regret, “One of the tragedies of the legislative process is that a lot of the big decisions get made in the Conference Committee when people are really frazzled. I think it was 2:00 or 3:00 in the morning [in 1989], I got angry, McEachern got angry and we yelled at one another and things just kind of fell apart” (Legislator, interview, 1997, December 12). The resource of the Conference Committee was available to Republicans and Democrats but in the end, informants revealed mixed memories about conflict of negotiations that trumped principle in 1985, and the late night anger that preceded the final version of the bill in 1989.

The typological resources of time, timelines, and timing

The resources of time, timelines, and timing were considered so crucial to the Arts High School issue that one Perpich associate identified timing as synonymous with the Arts High School: “The Arts High School was timing. That is what politics is, timing” (Perpich associate, interview, 1997, November 18). Hilgartner and Bosk (in Mazzoni, 1991, p. 135) contended that time is a limited resource; therefore it has power in political settings. One measure of time as a resource was the actual amount of time devoted to the arts school. Participants had different perspectives on the time spent on the issue based on their position in the process. One executive branch actor was asked, “How much of your time went to the arts school?” The answer was, “A huge amount” (Executive branch official, interview, 1997, December 18). A key legislative committee chair judged that the time the legislature spent on the issue was minimal. The researcher asked, “If you could say what percentage of time was devoted to the Arts High School by the legislature in 1987 and 1989, what would it have been? Oh, I would say less than one percent. It was just a small amount of time” (Legislator, interview, 1997, December 12). The researcher concluded that for agency staff, James Undercofler and Barbara Martin, it was their full-time job from 1986 to 1989, to develop the Arts High School concept and lobby for the school. Lani Kawamura and Dan Loritz represented Governor Perpich through the three legislative sessions and devoted large amounts of time to the issue, particularly as legislative sessions were ending and the intensity to act on the bill increased.

Legislative time was essentially confined to key education committee work and increased when the Arts High School surfaced in the Conference Committee as the primary issue of contention. But, this research concluded that time spent by the legislature as a whole on the Arts High School was relatively little when compared to the publicity and energy the concept generated in the public arena.

Time however, was not just clock hours spent on the policy issue. The resource of time was clustered around manipulating clock time, time as a continuum, timing as intensity, length of time served in office by a legislator, and the fortunate or unfortunate timing of the economy related to legislative initiatives. The resource of clock time in this case study was simple to state, but controversial to implement. The clock in the legislative chambers could be turned off before the time deadline expired for voting on the bill. While the clock was turned off, executive branch officials gained the time needed to influence a few key legislators to vote for the arts school. The bill would likely have gone down to defeat in 1984 if this resource had not been employed, literally at the last minute. When the necessary votes to pass the legislation were negotiated, the clock was turned on and the final favorable vote was tallied. Committee chairs also employed clock time as a resource and timed the votes on controversial amendments by assessing how many legislators in the room would vote in favor of the amendment and how many legislators were out of the room who would vote against the amendment in question. Though considered a bit of chicanery, both sides used this resource because legislators could leave the room and then not go on record as voting on the amendment, thus avoiding a recorded vote for or against the legislation.

Timing as a continuum represented an astute understanding of short and long timelines in passing legislation. Perpich was judged to be effective in employing this resource, "The Governor was a very effective user of time. He understood short and long timelines better than other people" (Agency staff, interview, 1997, November 4). One opponent to the arts school observed that controversial legislation must evolve over time; "Most difficult issues are evolutionary not revolutionary" (Legislator, interview, 1997, December 22). An arts advocate declared that patience was considered a form of time in the legislative process, "There were times when the

people on the committees made a very strategic step back rather than bull-dozing over something at that point. When you think about it, the whole space of nine to ten years is nothing” (Arts advocate, interview, 1997, October 26). Sabatier concurred that political actors use time to both understand the problem and assess the impact of the policy, “Findings accumulated over time gradually alter decision-makers’ perceptions of the seriousness of the problems...and/or the effects of major policy programs” (Sabatier, 1991, p. 148). The legislative process for the Arts High School worked over time to gain a piece of the legislation and came back later for another piece, then an additional piece (Perpich associate, interview, 1997, December 26). Understanding short and long timelines as a resource allowed advocates to gain authorization and an initial budget in 1985. Two years later, the 1987 session was devoted to site and building, and the 1989 session sought final approval for operating budgets and building rental. Stretching out the issue over three legislative sessions was a knowledgeable use of the resource of short and long timelines.

The resource of timing as intensity was focused on deliberately delaying major legislative action until the end of a session to intensify pressure on participants and create a sense of urgency to settle the issue and end the legislative session. This resource was also heightened by delaying floor action until late at night to effectively ratchet up the pressure on legislators. Late night sessions, with the end of the legislative session looming, brought intense pressure on legislators to negotiate both policy and patronage within the boundaries of the larger bill and political atmosphere. One key actor recalled that, “In 1989 it [arts school bill] passed at 5:00 or 6:00 in the morning. That was after negotiating all night long” (Legislator, interview, 1997, December 12). The fact that the Arts High School bill was originally placed in the omnibus education bill raised the stakes: few legislators would vote against the entire education bill that came from the Conference Committee on the last night of the session, particularly over the relatively small amount of money designated for the Arts High School. Even if they opposed the Arts High School in principle – the resource of timed intensity late in the session and late night timing, induced legislators to moderate their resistance and pass the bill. One respected legislator reflected about the resource of intensity and said, “Intensity brings the legislature

together” (Policy expert, interview, 1998, February 19). Intensity was a resource heightened by the deliberate use of delay during the session and late night deliberations to conclude the session. Taken together they were potential resources for both opponents and advocates. However, in this case study the opponents were out-manuevered by the advocates in timelines and timing as intensity.

Time of service was an additional resource available to Governor Perpich, particularly in the critical actions of the Conference Committee in 1985. Sally Olsen was a first-term Republican legislator heading into negotiations with Tom Nelson, a seasoned Democratic legislator. Longevity in the legislature increased the ability of a legislator to operate effectively in the legislative culture. One legislative chair concluded that it takes three to four years in the legislature to “initially understand the education funding system” and longer to apply that knowledge (Legislator, interview, 1997, December 12). The resource of length of service was crucial to Nelson out-manuevering Olsen in the late night Conference Committee. However, this was not the only instance of legislative experience influencing the legislation. Republican legislators with years of experience were able to effectively challenge the legislation in committee actions on many occasions (See Appendix A) and might have prevailed if not for the combined resources brought to bear in the political arena by the advocates and the intense motivation of Perpich to pass the legislation.

The economic recovery in Minnesota was fortunate timing related to the legislative initiative and was a significant resource in the Arts High School policy issue. The advocates initially presented the Arts High School proposal to Governor Al Quie in 1980, December. The proposal, though well thought out and presented in a concise document, failed to reach the official policy agenda because the state economy had taken a drastic downturn. It was not known whether Governor Quie would have considered the Arts High School proposal if the economy had been better, but in those economic times, with budget cuts negatively affecting K-12 education, the Arts High School proposal failed to surface as a policy alternative. The proponents were not at all convinced that the proposal would emerge in the future and essentially stopped advocating in the executive and legislative arenas (Arts advocate, interview, 1997, October 26). But the economy did improve, and as an opponent

observed, “The economy tends to make successes or failures out of people in spite of themselves” (Interest group representative, interview, 1997, November 24). The economy was an independent resource not under the control of the advocates or opponents. But the return of a more prosperous economy, paired with the election of Governor Perpich created a propitious timing that the advocates seized upon and successfully moved the Arts High School onto the official policy agenda with executive support. This research concluded that the recovery of the economy was a significant independent resource that enabled the legislative initiative to succeed. It will also be a contention, in the arena section of this chapter that the recovery of the economy allowed Perpich to make a more favorable economic forecast to provide a source of funding for the Arts High School.

The typological resources of rhetoric and narrative

The typological resources of rhetoric and narrative were available to the advocates to achieve intimacy and community among policy participants. Both Governor Perpich and James Undercofler were identified by informants as masters of rhetoric and narrative. Intimacy is achieved between speaker and hearer because the hearer is able to “employ a number of assumptions about the speaker” (Cohen in Sacks, 1979, p. 6). These assumptions include a belief by the hearer that he/she knows what the speaker believes and a belief by the speaker that he/she knows what the hearer can be expected to believe (Cohen, p. 6). This sense of intimacy was a vital part of the shared culture and relationship between the executive and legislative branches during the time of the policy issue (Legislator, interview, 1997, December 12). Community that came through narrative was described by Ricoeur (1975) as the means by which goals, causes, and chance are brought together in a coherent way through story, to communicate shared understanding. One legislator in describing Perpich, claimed that political culture is transmitted in stories, “Stories are great, it is the way we [politicians] relate our culture. Politicians love to get together and tell stories. I don’t remember how many of them are true anymore, but they really are the way we would like to remember them” (Legislator, interview, 1997, November 11).

Intimacy was built through shared beliefs and community was developed through stories that united the policy participants in common goals and causes. The “pink tights” story was illustrative of both rhetoric and narrative and extended the invitation of intimacy and community between speaker and hearer for the Arts High School. Several informants did not know, and did not care, if the story of a male dancer on the iron-range committing suicide was literally true. But the legislators understood what Perpich personally believed about the necessity of building an Arts High School, by hearing that story so many times, and Perpich could know what the legislators might be expected to believe by repeatedly telling the story. The story and the Arts High School were not historically tied together by fact; rather, they were connected at the level of beliefs and feelings. At that level, the human sense of intimacy and community exceeded partisan positions and enhanced the Governor’s policy position with both proponents and opponents.

Rhetoric and narrative were however, not exclusively tied to vivid stories; they also revolved around random stories and shared laughter. The same legislator recalled that, “Perpich had charisma. He would call people in and tell iron-range stories and he would laugh and hoot and holler and when you left, all of a sudden he had your vote. I don’t care if you were a Democrat or Republican” (Legislator, interview, 1997, November 11). The concept of rhetoric and narrative generating intimacy and community, and in return, affecting the vote on political issues does not emerge in either framework underlying this case study. There were no references that this researcher could find to this concept in Easton or Mazzoni’s frameworks, yet the data was clear, politicians were influenced by intimacy and community.

James Undercofler was also an acknowledged master of sharing stories to create community in legislative hearings and in conversations around the capitol. He read the sports section of the newspaper each day to engage with the legislators in the dominant cultural metaphor and erase the easy perception of arts snobbery (Agency staff, interview, 1997, November 4). Undercofler was applauded by committee chairs for his attention to detail and his ability to answer every question, but the data revealed the importance of shared narrative underlying beliefs. One agency staff actor observed about Undercofler, “Good stories create a bond, good humor creates a

bond. A legislator would remember, ‘that’s the guy who tells good stories. He must be a good guy’ (Ibid). Mazzoni posited “political skill” as a resource, and this research expanded that definition to include a subset of political skills: rhetoric and narrative as important resources that created intimacy and community around deeply held beliefs, irrespective of political party, and a resource more readily available to the advocates to influence the policy outcomes.

Strategy

The second part of the research question was, what strategies did the participants control that could influence the political process? Strategies are defined as the selection of issues to be addressed (Hilgartner & Bask in Mazzoni, 1991, p. 47) and imply an aspect of deliberate planning or response that could be implemented to gain advantage over policy opponents in the political arena. Strategic thinking was considered foundational to the Arts High School policy making and informants tied people, ideas, and strategy together in the interviews. One informant elevated strategy to the highest level of political activity; “As a good politician you never forget about the strategy. You can’t ever forget your strategy” (Agency staff, interview, 1997, November 4). The emphasis both in level of diction and in ethnographic detail of gesture, communicated the intensity of the informant’s thoughts about the importance of selecting the issues and the plan of action to achieve the policy goals. Another executive branch official made known the deliberate nature of designing strategy and the reality that each policy idea potentially involved a different strategy. This informant stated, “One of the reasons that Perpich and I worked well together is I liked to work with him to design a strategy that was tied to an idea. There is a process and it differs for each good idea” (Interview, 1997, December 18). Strategic thinking was not only for the policy proponents. The policy opponents viewed the importance of strategy in political thinking through the same lens, tying people to ideas. One long-term opponent of the Arts High School stated, “The whole process changes with the issues and who people are, and what their interests are, and their knowledge in a given area” (Legislator, interview, 1998,

January 5). Strategy for the policy participants was connected to efficacious political behavior and articulated goals, but it also seemed to exist tangentially as a reason unto itself; to engage in political activity as a well-played game. Good strategy was necessary to achieve results, but the topic of strategic thinking generated such intensity in the interviews, that this researcher concluded there was an element of personal satisfaction to playing the political game of out-thinking your policy opponent on the strategic level.

A rival interpretation of strategy deemphasized the overarching “designed” nature of strategic thought and action and elevated the political game aspect of strategic response to a battlefield metaphor. One key actor described a “battle” in the distance with the leaders viewing the movements of the enemy and countering those movements with their own movements, all the while trying to keep the arts school policy from getting “killed.” “There is activity going on all the time and there is to me, less going on than meets the eye. Most people believe there was a grand strategy. There was a grand battle, not a strategy! The rest of us in a military sense watch the battlefield from afar. ‘Well, they are coming at our flank. We should move a little this way and shore up that side.’ Don’t go out and get in the middle of the thing” (Executive branch official, interview, 1997, November 11). When the researcher pressed the informant on the metaphor and questioned further if there indeed was a strategy, this insider said, “We had a long term political strategy. I spent five years trying to keep the arts school from being killed” (Ibid). This same viewpoint was echoed by a committee chair who guided the arts school policy making during one of the sessions. He was hesitant to acknowledge an overall strategy that guided the actions and expressed disagreement with other informants, when he stated, “I don’t know if it was strategy” (Legislator, 1997). There were divergent interpretations on strategy among the informants: some elite political actors (elite was not a judgment of standing but of skill in strategic thinking) viewed designed strategy as foundational and among the most important political qualities, while other equally influential participants considered it less preplanned and more a response to the political realities of the moment.

Mazzoni listed seven perspectives on political strategy in his Conceptual Framework for Political Analysis of Education Issue Conflicts: access, voice/exit, coalition formation, agenda setting, scope of conflict, symbol manipulation, and power dependence. Two of those strategic behaviors had a strong influence on the political action in this case study: agenda setting and coalition formation. In addition, this researcher suggested two additional strategic behaviors that emerged: planning, and compromise. Strategic planning was viewed as articulation of actions to be taken, astute knowledge of legislator's "needs," and political connectedness. Strategic compromises were judged to be those savvy compromises on the implementation of policy options and the essential compromise on policy definitions that advanced coalition formation. The strategy of definitional compromise was crucial in two of the critical interactions that helped the Arts High School survive resistance by determined opponents and will be analyzed in the critical incidents portion of this chapter.

Strategies of agenda setting and coalition formation

Policy elites had the positional authority to set the official agenda for each legislative session over the length of the Arts High School debate. The power to set the educational agenda resided primarily with the Governor. However, he sought and received input from his executive staff, legislators with educational oversight, and the Department of Education. This power was a strategic advantage because Perpich could "select the issues to be addressed" (Hilgartner & Bask). The selection of the Arts High School for the educational policy agenda in 1984 was effectively paired with the strategic use of coalition formation in the form of two task forces to publicize and offer support of the Governor's policy goals. In 1984, January the Governor directed the thirty-seven member Commission on the Economic Vitality of the Arts (See Appendix N) to meet and study the possibility of "establishing a special high school of performing arts in Minnesota (Mesabi Daily News, 1984, January 24, p. 1). This Commission had been in existence since the previous summer, but the timeline the Governor gave the Commission for reporting back to him was exceptionally short. The Governor empowered the Commission to study the Arts

High School issue on 1984, January 23 and requested a report by 1984, February 1. In reality, that gave the commission one week to meet and issue a public statement regarding the Arts High School. The Governor's strategy could be judged to be related more to generating the perception of public support by a coalition of positional elites, rather than considering possible policy options concerning an Arts High School. The members of this coalition represented a strategic use of influential people in positions of power and visibility in the arts, the foundation community, print and television media, public relations, K-12 education, higher education, law, and banking, to buttress the policy agenda. The Governor correctly anticipated that the Commission on the Economic Vitality of the Arts would return a positive endorsement for the Arts High School concept. This support communicated the message to the public and state legislators that a diverse, powerful, cross-section of people from all geographical areas of the state favored the Arts High School. The influence of the Governor on this process was evident, because the same day the Governor empowered the Commission on the Economic Vitality of the Arts to study the Arts High School issue, Wayne Cox, the chair of the Education Task Force (a subcommittee of the Commission that existed from the previous year) submitted recommendations to the full committee that stated the position of the subcommittee regarding funding options for a new high school for the arts, "The lottery dollars should not support a high school for the arts under the plan being developed by its proponents" (Recommendations to the Commission, 1984, January 24, p. 2). The researcher judged that there was a conflict between this statement and the position the Commission took one week later supporting the Arts High School. The dissenting position was articulated in a memo addressed to David Speer, the chair of the Commission on Economic Vitality in the Arts. The memo received no publicity, was not answered in any written form that this researcher located, and was found only in one set of archives (Archives at the Greater Twin Cities Youth Symphonies). The dissenting position was contrary to the intentions of the Governor and the chair, which was for the Commission to act quickly and issue a statement in support of the Arts High School. In the end, Perpich gained political advantages by setting the agenda for the Commission, ignoring, or stifling dissent, and accessing a coalition of

elites that would issue a favorable statement within the constraints of the timeline the Governor issued.

Perpich next announced a fifteen member School for the Arts Task Force (See Appendix O) on 1984, February 3 to “recommend a site, curriculum, staffing, a proposed budget and how to lodge students from outside the Twin Cities” (Wilson, 1984, February 4, p. A1). Strategically, this Task Force was another coalition of policy elites, who traveled around the state and held hearings with “parents, students, educators, artists, and other concerned citizens” (Minnesota Arts Education Task Force: Preliminary Report to the Legislature, 1984, October, p.1). The Task Force followed these public meetings with work sessions and produced a thirty-six page document that was presented as a “Preliminary Report to the Legislature, October, 1984” in a public hearing. The document stated in the opening sentence that its “primary purpose was to make recommendations regarding the establishment of a high school of the arts in Minnesota” (Minnesota Arts Education Task Force: Preliminary Report to the Legislature, 1984, October, p.1). Again, the membership of Task Force was comprised of people with unassailable arts and business qualifications, which were as important to the public impact of the report, as the content of the report was to policy. Perpich set the policy agenda by using the media to announce to the public at-large his policy goal for an Arts High School and formed coalitions, with the two task forces, to support the policy agenda. One insider commented that, “You build coalitions for certain purposes...” (Agency staff, interview, 1997, November 4). Strategically, the purpose of these two coalitions was to generate the impression of statewide support, develop policy recommendations, and complete the task while the legislature was out of session, which allowed Perpich and the proponents to fully develop the initial proposal without the political pressure of competing interests and partisan resistance.

After setting the official policy agenda and developing coalitions, the Governor could also count on the access to powerful committee chairs to plan strategy within the committee and subcommittee arenas. Access to the committee chairs, particularly in the DFL controlled Senate, was a strategy for the proponents that allowed the executive branch staff, state agency staff, arts interest groups advocates, and strategic

insiders to act on behalf of the Governor in important official lobbying and unofficial sidebar personal encounters. The strategic use of powerful committee chairs working for the Arts High School policy transformed the Arts High School policy from a subservient or inconsequential policy idea in the legislature, to one of the persistent, if not dominant policy proposals over the length of the three legislative sessions. The chairs were able to keep the Arts High School on the relevant committee agendas (See Appendix A, Comprehensive Chronology, particularly 1987 session), the Arts High School received considerable press coverage, and it was constantly reinforced as an important policy issue because of effective interest group lobbying. Though small in all of the conventional ways of looking at educational policy issues, it loomed large because of the intense motivation behind the issue and the willingness of the Governor expend all available resources and strategies to get it passed. As one of the committee chairs concluded, “We spent a lot of time negotiating and gave up a lot of things out of the Senate bill, but we kept the arts school” (Legislator, interview, 1997, November 11).

One additional, and related aspect of agenda setting as a strategy, was articulated by informants; that being diversionary agenda proposals. This was a deliberate strategy to manipulate the policy agenda by offering multiple, simultaneous legislative initiatives to camouflage the more important legislative goals. An executive branch official outlined this strategy, “Perpich brought up a state math and science school in 1985. Of course, that was the one we could throw and keep the arts school if we had to sacrifice one. Like the life boat ethic, throw that one over the side” (Executive branch official, interview, 1997, November 11). Analysis is retrospective and actions may be recalled with greater acuity than existed at the time, but this informant was convinced that Perpich knowingly proposed the math and science schools to create a diversionary strategy. After public and legislative discussion, the Governor had policy proposals that carried the perception of importance and executive support. But, when ideological objections were raised to budget or program increases, he could mollify the opponents by offering to, “throw them over the side.” Another Perpich associate confirmed aspects of this strategy with phrases such as, “lightening-rod legislation,” and “smoke-screen legislation,”

that were offered to obfuscate real goals and confuse legislative opponents (Perpich associate, interview, 1997, December 26). This strategy created a deliberate hierarchy of legislative initiatives that Perpich knew would diffuse legislative opposition and give the Arts High School political cover during the maneuvering associated with policy making.

Planning as strategy

Planning as strategy involved three aspects: articulation as planning, astute knowledge of legislator's needs as planning, and political connectedness as strategic planning. Articulation as planning was centered on a comprehensive knowledge of the actions needed to guide the Arts High School bill as it moved through the legislature. State agency actors, James Undercofler and Barbara Martin, were alert to the scope of strategic planning and worked with Lani Kawamura and Dan Loritz, from the Governor's office, to articulate and implement the strategy. One of the key state agency actors conveyed the scope of the 1987 planning with these words, "The entire process was strategized by early March, 1987: work within the committee structure, work closely with the committee chair, get the Republican Senate caucus into a neutral zone, get the caucus released from the Republican position, take the arts school off of the caucus voting list, work on the school in closed chambers, generate bi-partisan support for the arts school, and provide a basis for the school to succeed" (State agency, interview, 1997). Most of these actions have been previously described as resources in this investigation, but taken together they articulate a plan that addressed the "selection of issues" as strategy. The major actors met together, often daily, to plan specific actions for the committees that were considering the art high school bill that day. The articulation of the planning constituted a commitment to each portion of the strategy: selection of the arena, actions to be taken within the committee and caucus structure, and articulation of a coherent philosophy behind the Arts High School that would attract and bolster legislative support for the policy initiative.

The proponents cultivated an astute knowledge of legislator's needs as a planned strategy to "find out what the situation was and to know where the votes were" (Legislator, interview, 1997, December 12). Strategic knowledge of legislator's needs by the Arts High School agency staff and the Governor's able staff, kept them in contact with negotiating points that could be traded for influence, patronage, and votes. The key legislator quoted above continued by saying, "In terms of doing what you needed to do; dotting the "i's" and crossing the "t's," all the detail work, I don't think anything even came close to being as thorough a job, and I think Barbara Martin had a lot to do with it, and Jim Undercofler too" (Ibid). Both key state agency actors were identified as knowing "what the situation was" and how to translate that into votes. The variety of situations could be viewed as a catalog of legislator's wants or needs, but the deliberate search to find out what meant something to a legislator back in his/her district was a strategic decision. Carrying out that strategy entailed constant and vigilant background work. One of Perpich's staff pointed out that Barbara Martin had worked for Senator Tom Nelson and learned from Nelson a savvy sense of the political give-and-take that permeated legislative negotiations during contentious issues (Executive branch official, interview, 1997, November 11). Perpich had confidence that Martin and Undercofler could take his wishes and translate them into coherent strategies on the Arts High School policy issue. This aspect was not viewed by informants as accidental, but a strategic decision by the Governor, "Perpich had a strategy; he would go at it and build the team and then let them take it. Then he would come back in the end" (Ibid). Assembling a highly qualified team, that acted on behalf of the Governor, and ferreted out the needs and wants of legislators to use as negotiating points was an important strategic asset, particularly as the actors traded favors for votes in the policy making process at the end of each legislative session or during a special session.

The final component of planning as strategy involved political connectedness. This was a static asset that became an important reality in the political context of the Arts High School. Political connectedness implied a broader historical context that had antecedent meaning for the participants from past political interactions. These

connections became valuable strategic assets that were inserted into the turmoil of the policy issue. The willingness to reach back into political history and pull influential people into the conflict solely to exert influence onto the Arts High School policy makers was a strategic advantage for the proponents and a strategic disadvantage for the opponents. Perpich was able to call in current and former department commissioners, past legislative leaders, Democratic Party fundraisers, influential business people, and current political leaders from state and local government (who stood to gain something based on the location of the school), to exert influence on committee members and final votes by legislators. One former legislative leader noted the unprecedented nature of the Arts High School policy debate when he stated, “I was involved in lobbying the legislature for funding for the arts school. It was the only lobbying I did in those years. It is the only lobbying I have ever done” (Legislator, interview, 1997, November 25). The conclusion seems valid that the Arts High School policy was personally important enough to Perpich that he turned to well-connected people to lobby on behalf of the school. The strategic advantage of using these people to influence the voting at key moments resided with the Governor, and demonstrated how the process worked and illuminated why the strategy was effective. Perpich strategically engaged powerful, well-connected people to lobby only for the Arts High School and did not use these powerful political elites on other educational policy issues; communicating to the legislators and constituents a commitment so intense that it explained why opponents were able to hold the policy process hostage and why the key actors felt compelled to work on behalf of the Governor when he enlisted them for the Arts High School.

Compromise as strategy

Compromise as a strategy occurred early in the political process and though the compromise seemed moderately important at the time, it proved to be one of the crucial interactions in explaining why the Arts High School proposal moved forward in the political arena. The Minnesota Arts Education Task Force (1984) encountered significant resistance throughout the state during their meetings with the Arts High

School constituencies. Foremost among the objections was the idea that a small number of artistically elite students would receive benefits not available to all students in their home schools. To meet this objection, the Task Force proposed that a “Resource Center” be added to the Arts High School. No informant could say with certainty, when or where the idea was initially proposed (although several informants claimed personal credit for the idea in the interviews and others viewed the compromise with outright disdain), but the first official record of the proposed Resource Center appeared in the preliminary report issued on 1984, October 23. On page one, the Task Force members wrote, “Our discussions with parents, students, educators, artists, and other concerned citizens established a need for a high school for the arts not as a separate entity, but as the cornerstone of a statewide arts education system. As a result, we propose a Minnesota School of the Arts and a Resource Center - - a school whose outreach program is as important as its curriculum, and whose programs for the artistically gifted do not diminish, but enhance the arts education of students in every school district in Minnesota” (underlining and dashes in the original, Minnesota Arts Education Task Force: Preliminary Report to the Legislature, 1984, October, p.1).

The significance of this compromise cannot be underestimated in this case study. Previously, only an Arts High School for talented youth had been proposed at Perpich’s press conference on 1984, February 3. References in the media included a “new Minnesota School for the Arts” and phrases such as, “give our young people a chance to bloom,” and a school “patterned after the School for Performing Arts in New York City” (Wilson, B. 1984, February 4, p. A1). As pointed out in the literature review, there were no arts high schools in the country that provided a conceptual model that included a Resource Center component that would serve all school systems and fine arts teachers in the state. In one strategic decision, an entirely new, and unprecedented policy option emerged; a residential arts school in a single location that would select and educate the most gifted applicants, combined with a Resource Center that would “provide benefits to all Minnesota citizens” (Minnesota Arts Education Task Force: Preliminary Report to the Legislature, October 1984, p.1). This unique compromise (literally, the only one of its kind) of a

Resource Center combined with the proposed Arts School connected the policy option in an integral way to each school system in the state, to each fine arts teacher in the state, and most importantly, to each legislative district and the individual representatives and senators. From a seemingly elitist arts school, the policy was transformed by this compromise agreement to a school and resource center, with a much broader policy vision and program component. When Perpich accepted the Task Force report, he accepted and embraced both aspects of the Arts High School; residential and resource center. One of Perpich's executive staff observed, "Perpich liked the Resource Center image to 'garner grass roots support to counter the elitist label'" (Executive branch official, interview, 1997, November 11). Another key actor recognized the importance of this strategic compromise in the interview and stated, "The Resource Center emerged during the Task Force deliberations. It was very obvious that the art school itself was never going to fly. It had to be married to something else for the rest of the folks. There was a lot of negative correspondence; people saying, 'That's great for the kids who get to go, but what about the kids who stay behind' (Agency staff, interview, 1997, November 4)? This informant was clear about the significance of this strategic compromise and recalled that as early as 1984, before any legislative action had taken place on the Arts High School that, "the arts school was never going to fly" (Ibid). Strategic behavior in this instance was judged by this researcher to correspond with the strategic behavior described by the policy insider earlier, "Well, they are coming at our flank. We should move a little this way and shore up that side." The policy idea developed over the course of statewide meetings and the Task Force "moved a little this way" to develop a model that was more likely to garner support from citizens and legislators. This was not a pre-planned strategic option that was deliberately developed, but a reactive strategic decision that proved to be one of the most important strategic responses, presaging the ultimate success of the policy proposal.

The second use of compromise as strategy, involved the basic definition of artistic talent. Taken on the surface, the definition of artistic talent was initially an unexamined definition that was assumed to mean the highest achieving students in that artistic discipline (Arts advocate, interview, 1997, October 26). But in an

important strategic move, this definition was questioned and the definition of common discourse was altered to mean not artistic skill achieved, but “potential talent.” The Task Force codified this for the Arts High School policy debate and wrote, “We must look at their current abilities and areas of strength as indicators of their potential for adult-level giftedness. In any case, the existence of advanced abilities and skills is itself a mandate for the modification of the educational experience” (Minnesota Arts Education Task Force: Preliminary Report to the Legislature, 1984, October, p.15). One informant who was involved in this strategic compromise declared that, “We stopped talking about students who were talented, because we knew that everybody was potentially talented. This is what people have, they have this potential. Now they could fulfill their potential” (Agency staff, interview, 1997, December 17). In a critical moment of policy development, the selection of students for the Arts High School was next attached to the requirement that students would be proportionately selected from each legislative district every year. The revised definition of “artistically talented,” combined with mandated statewide representation by legislative district, altered the original premise that the Arts High School would base admission on students with the highest artistic achievement. Plainly stated, the supporters of the Arts High School now had a broader definition of talent and a political “hook” into each legislator. Pressure could be brought to bear on legislators who opposed the Arts High School by pointing out that opposition would deny students from that district a chance to pursue their artistic dream. Legislators could also see media benefits and understood that each time a student from their district was selected it would turn into a press release and a photo opportunity. Lastly, state agency staff recognized that political reporting to the legislature could now be viewed as a strategic opportunity that presented enrollment by legislative district, not just overall student enrollment numbers (Agency staff, interview, 1997). This reporting strategy was first implemented in the 1989-1990 school year. A document entitled: “Congressional District Breakdown of Accepted Students to The Minnesota School & Resource Center for the Arts” listed all the Congressional Districts down the left hand column and the number of students accepted per district in the right hand column (Congressional District Breakdown in

the archives of Minnesota Center for Arts Education). The strategic compromise that altered the basic definition of “artistically talented” to “potentially talented,” and added statewide enrollment mandates by legislative district created significant advantages for the proponents in the legislative arena and placed the opponents at a strategic disadvantage. No informant indicated that the revision of the definition of giftedness or the coupling of the definition to representation of student admission by legislative district was a preplanned strategic decision. Rather, it was another example of “strategic response” that the Minnesota School of the Arts Task Force developed by listening to arts educators and parents during the 1984 statewide hearings and a strategic opportunity in combining the new definition with statewide student selection by congressional district.

Arena

The concept of arena provided the “focal point for observing how actors attempt to exert influence and how organizational factors and environmental factors condition these attempts” (Malen & Ogawa, 1988, p. 254). Arenas furthermore, were not neutral in influence or the allocation of values because, “institutional arrangements advantage some societal interests and policy alternatives at the expense of others” (McDonnell in Furhman et al., 2007, p. 20). The observations and reflections of the informants on *where* the action took place in this case study, allowed the investigator to analyze and draw conclusions as to *how* the process, that resulted in the policy alternative of the Minnesota Center for Arts Education, was shaped by the political and personal interactions in the relevant arenas. The theoretical construct of arenas that were of interest in this case study included *physical arenas* where location structured the influence of key actors and *abstract arenas* that were not dependent on location, or superseded location, because the authority that was inherent in the physical arena or emanated from the physical arena traveled with the actors to encompass institutional arrangements (McDonnell in Furhman et al., 2007, p. 20). These *abstract arenas* included the arena of leadership, the arena of negotiation, and the arena of influence that was dependent on *a priori* authority and organizational

factors (Malen & Ogawa, 1988). The *physical arenas* shifted (Mazzoni, 1991) quickly in this case study as actors sought to influence the policy making that combined timing with the arena of the moment: bathrooms, closed doors, and corridors. The term abstract arena does not obviate the importance of the physical arena, but it expands the conceptual understanding to the *nature of the interaction*, not only the *location of the interaction*. The nature of interactions could philosophically be understood and labeled as ontological arenas; that is dealing with the nature of reality, but though this researcher believed the concept was accurate and helpful in structuring the findings in this study, the phrase was rejected as unnecessarily pedantic. Physical arenas than, were analyzed by the *location of the interaction* and abstract arenas were analyzed by the *nature of the interaction*. Together they provided the framework in which the institutional arrangements of influence and interactions occurred and could be analyzed.

The importance of the concept of arena was central to this case study. Easton's Framework for Political Analysis posited a "conversion system" where demands and supports are negotiated by the actors and emerged as outputs of decisions and actions. But as was suggested in the literature review, "conversion system" did not clarify in a consistent, conceptual manner, what happened inside that portion of the model. By inserting Mazzoni's Conceptual Framework for Political Analysis of Education Issue Conflicts into the "conversion system," a blended theoretical model emerged that offered conceptual clarity: actors sought to implement goals, with different motivations, diverse resources, and a variety of strategies, that came together in the physical *location of interactions* and the abstract *nature of interactions*. McDonnell believed that such an understanding of the wide variety of arenas is particularly important in educational policy "to explain policy outcomes" (McDonnell in Furhman et al., 2007, p. 20). This section of the chapter will bring together the policy streams that have been explicated in Mazzoni's Framework and analyze the significant participants and actions in the arenas that structured the outcomes in state educational policy. As far a possible, each section of analysis will consider the interactions in chronological order from the initiation of official action in 1984, through the three legislative sessions: 1985, 1987, and 1989

Executive leadership arena

The proposed new state agency, the residential Arts High School, and a restructured educational delivery system, the Resource Center, were political challenges focused in the leadership arena of the Governor's office. The normal course of educational change was incremental and resided with the educational experts in the Department of Education, educational insiders, and the educational oversight committees in the legislature. In the 1980s, that changed. One legislator, who had educational oversight, said, "A lot of what happened in the 1980s is that the role of the players [educational subsystem] that had been the major players for years just changed dramatically" (Legislator, interview, 1997, December 12). Another key actor described it with a vivid metaphor, "It was pretty much like throwing a nuclear bomb into the educational establishment" (Executive branch official, interview, 1997, December 18). The Arts High School policy issue was uncharted territory, at the same time the educational establishment was attempting to sort out, and fend off other significant policy challenges. The currency of change was political power and as one of the influential actors observed, "Things don't get changed unless there are powerful politics involved" (Legislator, interview, 1997, November 25).

The decisive focal point for political power in the leadership arena was Governor Perpich's office. The paradigm shift (Barzaley, 1992) from interest group idea to official policy agenda status for the Arts High School, occurred at the 1984, February 3 press conference, when the Governor invited the press to the capitol and announced his intention to support a Minnesota High School for the Arts. Before the news conference, all attempts by the arts interest groups at getting the Arts High School on the official policy agenda had failed. One of the influential arts advocates had met one month before, in 1984, January with the Governor to explain the arts high school concept, but even he was unaware, that in the intervening month, Perpich had decided to support the Arts High School. This informant related that, "Perpich had his assistant call me [that morning] and say that the Governor would like me to come over to the capitol, and that he was going to have a press conference and could I meet him in his office before the press conference? So I went in and Perpich said,

‘I’m going to propose as a part of my address this morning, the school of the arts’ (Arts advocate, interview, 1997). The location and the timing were deliberately dramatic and controlled by Governor Perpich. His executive staff did not know of the news conference until Perpich had them make the arrangements that morning (Executive branch official, interview, 1997, November 11). The Minnesota Department of Education did not know of the Governor’s decision or have prior knowledge of the news conference. Perpich knew he wanted an arts school vaguely like the movie *Fame*, but beyond that he wasn’t sure what the structure of the school would be and referred all questions about the Arts High School to William L. Jones at the news conference. Three important political actions associated with the leadership arena were orchestrated from the Governor’s office: the arts school emerged from a no-priority item to “the centerpiece of his tenure” on the official policy agenda (Arts advocate, interview, 1997, October 26), the positional power of the Governor was placed behind the policy proposal, and an Arts High School Task Force was announced and directed to return recommendations to the Governor by 1984, October.

Governor Perpich had shown an interest in the concept of the arts high school in 1983, July, when he met with advocates and received a copy of the Prospectus for the Minnesota School for the Arts. Participants at that meeting recalled that the Governor was, “clearly moved by the idea.” He visited the Moscow School for the Arts in 1983 August, and just the day before the press conference, the Governor and his wife flew to New York City and visited the New York High School of Music and Art. However, no executive branch informants, legislative allies, or arts interest group advocates reported being privy to any policy thoughts of the Governor associated with these trips. Nor did any informant report that they perceived at that time, a linear progression of ideas and actions from 1983, July to the 1984, February press conference. What they did report was that the public announcement was the moment that galvanized Perpich’s commitment and the idea was no longer an arts interest group idea or an incremental policy idea that resided in the Department of Education. One Department of Education staffer stated, “[After the press conference] the idea of an arts high school was out of the arts and education community. It became the

Governor's idea and Perpich communicated, 'We are going to do it' (Agency staff, interview, 1998, January 22). The idea of an arts high school had been floating around the policy perimeter with advocates looking for a way to reach the official policy agenda, but key actors in the legislature reported being unaware of any arts interest group activity before Perpich attached himself to the idea. One committee chair saw Perpich as an idea champion and related in the interview, "I don't know where the idea came from or who bent Perpich's ear. When I first heard about an arts school, it surfaced from Perpich" (Legislator, interview, 1997, November 11). The power of the Governor and the location in the executive arena caught the attention of the press, the public, and the legislature. Without the focused actions of Governor Perpich in the executive leadership arena, it is the conclusion of this researcher that the arts high school policy issue would not have surfaced at that time.

The influence of the Governor's decision radiated out from his office with news stories that were printed throughout the state and the appointment of the Task Force. The will of the Governor was transmitted to the Task Force and was recalled by one of the informants who attended the first Arts High School Task Force meeting. The informant related that the chair, David Speer, started the meeting by stating, "We are representing the Governor, and this is what is going to happen" (Agency staff, interview, 1998, January 22). Another informant present at that meeting observed that "I was a member of the Task Force. The question was not, if there should be an Arts High School, the question was, what would it look like, what would it be" (Agency staff, interview, 1997, December 17). Incremental policy development was out the window, this was the Governor staking a claim to dramatic structural and symbolic reform. The trappings of the Governor's office and state capitol surrounded the announcement, the positional power to call the news conference and gain front page space in newspapers attested to the influence of the Governor's office and the immediate convening of an official task force put the weight of the Governor behind the task force proceedings with an accomplished political insider, David Speer, acting as the Governor's surrogate in the Task Force meetings.

The Task Force submitted their findings to the Governor in 1984, October, (and to legislators in 1984, November) but at that time, no legislation had been written for

the 1985 legislative session. Two informants corroborated the location and the process of drafting the legislation. One executive branch official (1997, December 18) said, “Perpich always had a proposal. He didn’t just get up and say, ‘I want an arts school,’ and let the legislature draft a bill. We drafted the bill.” Another actor, from the Minnesota Department of Education, who had been active in the issue from the earliest days, said, “We went upstairs to Dan Loritz’s office and Dan said, ‘We have got to write a bill for Perpich for the Arts High School’ (Agency staff, interview, 1997, November 26). No informant contended that the Governor had an intricate plan of action, rather they pointed to the intuitive, but decisive arena in which Perpich operated as Governor. The informant who observed this was both a legislator and a close Perpich associate, “You need a driving force. A governor has to decide. A legislator cannot decide he wants an arts school. It wouldn’t go anywhere” (Perpich associate, interview, 1997, November 18). There was a significant difference between the influence of the Governor and the other members of the policy community, and the Governor seized upon this difference in the leadership arena to propel the Arts High School onto the policy agenda and sustain it there for six years. Perpich did not propose an Arts High School, then step back and wait for legislation to emerge. He chose this policy and directed his staff to write the legislation and he spread his influence over a task force with the expectation that the findings and recommendations would favor an arts school. One astute insider summarized the actions of Perpich in the leadership arena, “I would say that had Perpich not worked for the Arts School, it would have never passed. The power of the executive, while it wasn’t enough to get it all the way through, was enough to keep it on the table and ultimately create the Arts High School” (Legislative staff, interview, 1997, December 15).

Expanded leadership arena

Perpich was able to expand the arena of executive leadership by appointing commissioners, agency heads, agency staff, and board chairs. These appointments influenced the course of the Arts High School policy initiative by enlisting upper

level political appointments as surrogate actors. The most important static resource that was converted to action in the leadership arena was the appointment of Ruth Randall as Commissioner of Education. Because Perpich sought, and was given the power of appointment, the Commissioner of Education became the “agent of the Governor” (Policy expert, interview, 1998, February 19). One executive branch official viewed it from the inside in even more stark terms, “She had no choice but to support the school” (Interview, 1997, December 18). The idea of an arts school had first been presented to Commissioner Casmey, who preceded Randall. He dismissed the idea and seemingly blocked Minnesota Department of Education support at multiple levels. But with Randall’s appointment, Perpich gained consistent and vocal support for the new policy initiative and it is the conclusion of the researcher that this political appointment was one of the critical interactions of the case study. The visible public support for the Arts High School was an important signal to the education subsystem that the head of the Department of Education stood with the Governor on this issue. Equally important, was the internal alignment of the Minnesota Department of Education with the Governor’s policy goals. Commissioner Randall did not tolerate public dissent from department personnel on the Arts High School issue and effectively communicated that to the department (Agency staff, interview, 1998, January 22). One Department of Education informant who had vacillated between public support and private opposition understood the significance of the change and said that the leadership of Randall was so strong that without her, “the Arts High School never would have gone through” (Ibid). The oppositional subsystem mentality that had been present in the Department of Education had a “bomb” tossed into it and with a single executive appointment, Perpich moved the Department of Education into his corner.

Perpich was not only highly effective at using department heads to influence the policy process; he coupled that with utilizing state agencies to influence policy development. Within the time boundaries of this investigation, Perpich appointed Lani Kawamura as Special Assistant to the Governor and in this position she first heard about the Arts High School on 1983, June 20. Following that meeting, Perpich assigned her the task of setting up the Governor’s Commission on the Arts to survey

the economic value of the fine arts to the state economy. The next year, 1985, she was appointed as Deputy Director of the State Planning Agency (1985-1986). During those two years, Kawamura was a key actor who involved the Planning Agency in arts initiatives that the Governor deemed would produce artistic recognition for the state as well as economic development. Kawamura was dedicated to Perpich and his vision, and carried the influence of the Governor into the arena of arts development for the state. Her position at the planning agency changed again in 1987 when she was named Director of the State Planning Agency (1987-1990). Kawamura, who was judged by all informants to be a key actor, was now ideally positioned in the political arena of state government to advise the Governor on public policy with the ideas and data from the State Planning Agency. Before Kawamura became active in the Perpich administration she had been on the Minnesota State Arts Board, after which she moved to Pittsburgh to become Executive Director of the Pittsburgh Dance Council. When she returned to Minnesota in 1983, she was considered a savvy political insider and an effective administrator, and most important for this case study, she was an insider who was positioned to influence an important state agency to consider arts related issues and lobby for the Governor's policy initiatives. Perpich now had access not only to his executive staff but he "used the State Planning Agency as sort of president's cabinet. He had his staff and he had the whole Planning Agency as well, and he knew well how to use them" (Agency staff, interview, 1997, November 26).

The sequence of personnel appointments at the incipient school for the arts shaped the environment in which the policy issue was contested from 1985 to 1989. The first appointment that affected the Arts School was made in the summer of 1984. Barbara Martin left Senator Tom Nelson's staff and moved over to become the Art School's first paid employee, reporting to the Arts High School Task Force. One former legislator recognized the importance of this appointment and said "she brought legislative connections" (Interest group representative, interview, 1997, November 24). The initial appointment of Barbara Martin not only brought insider legislative connections it also continued to influence the policy environment for the legislative sessions of 1985, 1987, and 1989. Barbara Martin "knew what was going

on better than anyone” (Legislator, interview, 1997, December 12). She was a master of the process and knowledgeable about the people involved in the process. The same legislator continued, “I mean every single person was contacted and [she] knew where the votes were” (Ibid). She was an effective lobbyist, tracked the bill through the committee process in each session, and advised the first director, Jim Undercofler, on the nuances of the legislative relationships” (Agency staff, interview, 1997, November 4). The political interactions were altered to favor the Governor’s policy initiatives in the legislative arena with the appointment of Martin; first to the Task Force then to the Arts High School administration.

The legislature passed the initial enabling legislation for the Minnesota School for the Arts and Resource Center on 1985, June 21. This legislation authorized appointing a board of directors and hiring staff. The first leadership position that was filled was the appointment of Dan Loritz, as Interim Director of the Minnesota School for the Arts, in 1985, October. Loritz had been the Director of Legislative Relations for the Minnesota Department of Education during the contentious 1985 session and was highly involved in the negotiations in the Conference Committee that ultimately included the arts school in the omnibus education bill. The extent of his involvement was understood by the chair of the subcommittee who stated, “I had the subcommittee greased, but once we got out of there, it was Loritz and Kawamura who had to go make the deals and get the votes” (Legislator, interview, 1997). The movement from chief lobbyist for the Governor on the Arts High School bill to interim director of the new agency was a strategic move that gave the new school an interim director who had political clout because he had been involved in all of the political maneuvering and was aware of the deals and agreements that had been made in and out of public view. Loritz moved from the legislative arena of advocating for the arts school directly to the leadership arena for the new school. He carried with him the authority of the Governor and the knowledge, skill, connections, and political toughness of being the point person in the legislative arena; all qualities that were clear advantages for the new state agency.

The authorization to hire staff for the new agency opened up the critical position for the first permanent director. The search process was statewide and nationwide

and resulted in the hiring of James Undercofler in 1986. The Arts High School, though extant in statute, was fragile in reality. Undercofler stepped into a position that required extensive knowledge of arts education, but more germane, was his political skill to guide the school through the 1987 session that dealt with site selection, building design, and the integration of the Resource Center with the residential arts school. The arenas of action were different for each of the issues. The site selection pitted a Minneapolis site, favored by the Governor, against an aggressive St. Paul consortium, that wanted the status associated with the new state Arts High School located in their city. The conflict was played out the in city council chambers of each city, the mayors' offices, and the Governor's office. The arena for building design ranged from the physical location of the Governor's office, where he advocated for a major architectural design that would symbolize the state commitment to arts education, to the legislative chambers where the most successful opposition to any aspect of the Arts High School was mounted. Undercofler carried the authority of the Governor into each arena and was viewed as highly successful at influencing the actors. A state agency actor who observed the politics from the Department of Education said that, "Undercofler was very political, nobody could have done it better" (Agency staff, interview, 1998, January 22).

The arena of negotiation that combined the concept of a Resource Center with the residential school, shifted to an abstract arena of influence and personality once the legislation passed. The Resource Center was the first part of the arts school to reach the planning and implementation stage in 1986, with David Zimmerman as director. His influence in the state policy environment was extensive for two contextual reasons; Zimmerman was from the iron-range and he was Bob Dylan's brother. But more important in the arena of influence, he had been a finalist for the director of the arts school. The internal board notes revealed (Minnesota Center for Arts Education archives) that Zimmerman was not selected to be the director of the Arts High School by the board, but was then offered the position of Director of the Resource Center as both a reward for his past work on the school and an internal compromise on the director's position. This was delicate territory for James Undercofler to navigate when he arrived. The negotiations that created one state

agency with two distinct parts was a critical moment to the success of the arts school legislation. Zimmerman had been on the Task Force that developed that compromise and he had been an active candidate for the art school director's position. When he accepted the position as first director of the Resource Center, Zimmerman was able to begin the planning for the Resource Center in 1986 and get it up and running in the summer of 1987, well before the legislature ultimately enacted legislation in 1989 for the residential school. The timing allowed Zimmerman to expand his connections with arts educators and artists all across the state with the Minnesota Arts Experience program that would serve 1,200 students. This presented Undercofler with a colleague in the Arts High School structure who had applied for the higher status job, for which Undercofler was hired, and had developed far reaching personal and professional contacts in the state before Undercofler arrived on the policy scene. Undercofler successfully operated in this arena of leadership by invoking the authority of the Governor and sought to build the state agency in the broader legislative arena with unquestioned "accurate information," "refined lobbying skills," "access to every legislator," and "targeted, polished presentations" (Legislator, interview, 1997, December 12). The nature of the interactions in the decisive arena of influence elevated Undercofler from what insiders believed to be a difficult situation, to unquestioned policy expert status on the Arts High School and mitigated the conflicting issues in the arena of influence and personality. Perpich was able to advance his policy agenda in the legislative arena because of the Resource Center compromise, but the success of the arts school in the early going was because Undercofler skillfully navigated the personal challenge with his colleague, and "was in a class by himself" in legislative relations.

Perpich was successful in another important arena of policy support early in the existence of the arts school. The first Chair of the Board, Jon Wefald, resigned with short notice in 1986, May. Governor Perpich moved quickly to appoint the former Speaker of the House, Harry Sieben Jr., as the Board Chair in June. Legislative insiders assumed Sieben "was appointed chair because Perpich's people figured they had trouble in the House of Representatives, and Sieben had been Speaker of the House and he knew everybody and...he was not an artist" (Legislator, interview,

1997, December 12). The ellipses in the quotation are not missing words. They reflected the informant pausing to find the right way to phrase the position that Sieben played. As reported in the history of the school, Sieben engendered strong reactions in people in state agencies and in the legislature, even by the actors who worked on the same side of the issue. He carried the historical and residual strength of his legislative position with him into the wider arena of negotiations and insider interactions. All informants indicated he was an actor who used power, pressure tactics, and intimidation to achieve policy goals. The arts school was in its infancy and needed powerful political cover to get through the difficult situations that were sure to arise in the next few years. Sieben was an influential actor who brought immediate advantages by transferring his authority from one arena to the abstract arenas of political cover and power politics. He had the implied and actual authority of the Governor behind him, he had status as board chair, he had residual power as former Speaker, and he had reputational power for rhetorical toughness, and political retaliation. Perpich could take the high road of a thoughtful, even profound policy choice embellished with symbolic public oratory, but he had an accomplished behind-the-scene political ally in the right position to control the initial development of the school and “run the show” from the position as board chair (Agency staff, interview, 1997, December 17).

Arena of political patronage

Political patronage was a crucial resource converted to action in the legislative arena. One Republican legislator stated, “I think it is safe to say that if people, without the trade-offs that they were given, and the extreme amounts of pressure; if people had just voted their own convictions on this, it [the arts school] would not have gone through” (Legislator, interview, 1998, January 5). This was confirmed by a subcommittee chair, through which the arts school legislation had to pass in 1987 and 1989. He said, “I would be amazed if there weren’t several projects that happened because of the Arts High School vote” (Legislator, interview, 1997). Political insiders viewed patronage as an important part of the environment

connecting the legislative and executive arenas in this policy issue. The process worked both ways: Perpich or his surrogates, solicited votes by offering something of value to the legislator or conversely, legislators let it be known what their needs were in order to vote for the arts school. Because the arts high school legislation was both an unprecedented structural reform and a symbolic reform, it was open for heavy legislative patronage. One legislative staffer described the arena of patronage in the informant interview, “The political process is that you have to get a majority of votes. In order to do that you have to have things that are important to each side. So you make deals. I don’t see it as corruption. I see it as the way the process works. If everybody came to the legislature highly principled and would only support a limited number of things they believed strongly in, we would not accomplish much” (Legislative staff, interview, 1997, December 15). Kiser and Ostrom (1982) suggested that in the arena of patronage there are rules distributing the payoffs among the various participants. This section will analyze patronage as part of the policy making process within the rules of the legislative arena and establish how patronage influenced the legislative process.

Patronage was controlled out of the Governor’s office. The Governor personally initiated the deal making or used his staff to get the deals done from his office. Physical location of interactions varied with the individual legislator involved and the timing within the session, but the power of the office was behind all patronage. Initially informants revealed that the staff handled bargaining out of “war room” at the back of the Governor’s office in 1985. One executive branch official recounted, “Terry Montgomery (Governor’s staff) put together a war room at the back of the Governor’s office and we started working” (Interview, 1997, December 18). The location shaped the interactions because of proximity and access to the Governor. All “horse trading” went through the Governor (Legislator, 1997, November 24) because he could consider the deal, and approve or deny the deal within the physical arena of his office. The same legislator described the Governor as singularly effective in the arena of patronage and said, “This was where Perpich was a good as they get. He never appeared. He was engaged and he called them down to his office” (Ibid). This was the arena of location where the resources were converted

to patronage, to influence voting. Informants were quoted in the resource section of the chapter identifying patronage with phrases such as, “the Governor’s credit card,” “collecting pet projects,” “trading for votes,” “sweeten the deal,” “the power of the deal,” and “I know you need something” (Informant interviews, 1997, November 4, 1997, November 24, 1997, December 2,). The informants were asked specific follow-up probes about patronage and identified multiple items or influence traded for votes.

Infrastructure traded for votes

Specific infrastructure projects were traded for votes in the 1985 and 1987 sessions. One source confirmed that a building was built at St. Cloud Technical School (Perpich associate, interview, 1997, November 18). Gubernatorial support and funding for a telecommunications system were traded for favorable votes from southwestern Minnesota legislators, with an informant recalling the conversation this way, “If the Governor will support the telecommunications system, then we [legislators] will support the Arts High School” (Agency staff, interview, 1997, December 2,). Bridges were mentioned by informants and the investigator directly asked one agency staff person, “Were bridges built for votes?” The answer was “Yes, bridges were traded for votes” (1997, November 4). Another informant corroborated this same direct question and answered, “Any number of these kind of things; buildings, highway rest stops, state college buildings, and judgeships were traded” (Legislative staff, interview, 1997, December 15). In 1987, the so-called, Arts High School rest stop, was reportedly built on Interstate I-94. A participant involved in the influence transaction said, “There are two rest areas on Interstate 94 that are three miles apart. One is the Arts High School rest area. I couldn’t believe the legislator was asking for one to be built. I guess it was jobs” (Agency staff, interview, 1997, December 2,). An executive branch official confirmed that highway rest stops were traded and said, “We liked rest stops; they cost \$120,000” (Interview, 1997, December 18). One legislator remembered both timing and location at the end of the 1987 session when asked by the researcher to confirm the patronage and said,

“In 1987 toward the end of the session I was in Senator Doug Johnson’s office (Tax Committee, Chair), just off the chamber when Rudy and Lola both came in and he had a list with him. He had been making the rounds and he said, ‘These are the votes we have.’ He went around [the legislature] and that is where I suspect some of these rest stop agreements and all of that got made” (Legislator, interview, 1997, December 12). One additional highway trade involved not infrastructure, but raising the speed limit in Minnesota. At the time, there was a debate in the legislature about the need to change the state speed limit. A legislator from Rochester wanted the speed limit increased to 65 mph. A state agency actor contended that “the speed limit was raised to 65 mph in rural Minnesota in exchange for votes” (1997, November 4). The researcher tried to get informants to identify a total amount of money spent that was traded for votes in 1985 and 1987. As reported in the resource section one informant said that Perpich told him the school cost \$50 million dollars in patronage (Perpich associate, 1997, December 26). When asked about that dollar amount, other informants were quiet and neither confirmed nor denied that amount. Another legislator demurred, but as quoted in the resource portion of this chapter, verified the three percent rule as an institutional arrangement that was in place in the legislative arena. This unwritten agreement was known and agreed to by legislators and the Governor. This legislator recalled that this norm was in play in the 1985 Conference Committee, “You had the Conference Committee wanting to stay between the unwritten law of three percent and Perpich saying, ‘Give it to them. Give it to them” (Legislator, 1997, November 24).

The arena of patronage actively involved a powerful governor and willing legislators in high level and non-public negotiations that traded the governor’s ability to exchange something tangible for a vote. However, voting in favor of the Arts High School did not involve all legislators; some legislators refused to enter into these agreements either out of principle or because they believed in the policy and contended, “They had never gotten anything for their district in exchange for a vote on this issue” (Legislator, interview, 1998, January 5). Not surprisingly, some legislators who were identified as taking patronage were coy about it and unwilling to confirm or deny the transaction of influence. The secret nature of the negotiations

made it difficult to accurately confirm the recipients of patronage, the dollar amounts, the arena in which the transaction took place, or precise locations of patronage projects. But to an unexpected degree, informants were willing to talk about the necessity of patronage in the policy process for the Arts High School. The executive leadership arena was physically located in the Governor's office however, the authority of the Governor traveled beyond the office with executive staff, agency staff and the Governor's wife. The patronage of infrastructure was most active in the 1985 and 1987 sessions and one participant suggested that changed in 1989 because one of the unspoken rules that governed the interactions had been broken by the Governor. The arena of patronage operated on mutual trust and if the promised item was not delivered that was called, "taking a bad vote." He explained that some legislators said the Governor didn't honor all of the 1987 commitments and the legislators continued, "I voted for you. I took a 'bad vote,' then the Governor didn't support me.' So it became very difficult after the 1987 session" (Agency staff, interview, 1997, December 2.). The environmental factors that conditioned the arena of patronage advantaged the Governor in the initiation of the policy making in the first two legislative sessions. The political dynamic of 'give something - to get a vote' was in play and at a monetary value that was perhaps as high as a five to one ratio over the initial budget of the school. The commitment of the Governor to influencing the political process in the legislative arena was illustrated by the Governor (and his wife) personally going to key legislator's offices and bargaining behind closed doors, calling legislators to his office and secretly bargaining with individuals, and sending his surrogates into the legislative arena and seeking votes by offering patronage. The resource of patronage was judged by the researcher to be vital in passing the arts legislation in 1985, 1987, and to a lesser degree in 1989.

Pair legislative support with appointed positions

Governor Perpich influenced the legislative process by pairing support with a range of appointed positions. The most prominent pairing of support and reward was the appointment of Senator Randy Peterson to a judgeship. Peterson was the key

actor in the Senate in 1987 and 1989 and it was widely believed in the legislative arena that his reward was a judicial appointment. A legislative staffer stated, “The rumors in the House were, when it was announced that Randy Peterson was going to become a judge – well he carried Perpich’s water on the arts school and got it passed. Now this was his reward” (Legislative staff, interview, 1997, December 15). Triangulation of this data proved to be elusive, even when the researcher asked informants the blunt question, “Did anyone get a job from this?” One policy opponent answered, “Nobody got a job from this.” The researcher restated the question with more directness, “How about Randy Peterson?” Answer, “Well, I wasn’t going to say that...” (Legislator, interview, 1998, January 7). The implication was that since the researcher stated it, he would confirm it with oblique language, but go no further. One additional informant supported this conclusion when asked the same question and answered, “Of course there were one or two judgeships... if I remember right” (Perpich associate, interview, 1997, November 18). Again, the confirmation was proffered, but slightly withdrawn at the end of the sentence by word choice and by diction. The length and sincerity of Peterson’s commitment to Perpich’s legislative initiatives seemed to be a common point of respect with informants and they were not surprised that he was appointed to a judgeship. An executive branch official placed the influence in a wider perspective and said, “I find it hard to believe that on one vote you get a judgeship. I think Peterson worked for Perpich causes all along” (Interview, 1997, December 18). Governor’s have the constitutional authority to appoint judges and in this case study it is the conclusion of the researcher that after Peterson successfully guided the arts school through the 1987 and 1989 legislative sessions, his appointment as a judge could partially, but not entirely be attributed to that achievement.

Two informants voluntarily linked the appointment of Senator Tom Nelson, as Commissioner of Education, following Ruth Randall, to his support of the Arts High School. “No one would have brought the Arts High School back [in the 1985 session] because no one was as closely tied to it as Tom Nelson was. And Tom’s interest in doing that was because of his personal relationship with Rudy and thinking at some point, maybe he would get something out of this deal” (Agency staff,

interview, 1997, November 4). This informant was positioned to observe the influence of Nelson on the legislative process and willingly stated for the record that there was some expectation of reward. Another insider was equally convinced that Perpich knowingly linked Nelson's support for the policy issue with the job, "Hey, It's not an accident that Tom Nelson was Commissioner of Education" (Perpich associate, interview, 1997, November 18). Nelson's influence in the Conference Committee negotiations, in 1985, was considered a critical moment for the policy issue. Nelson was down to the last hours of the session and by intensive bargaining paired the Arts High School policy with Post-Secondary Enrollment options. It is the conclusion of the researcher, that Nelson's actions in the arena of the Conference Committee carried the authority of the Governor, and further that Nelson skillfully maneuvered the bill into a winning bargain with the Republican leader, Connie Levi, and secured a favorable vote, in the face of determined opposition, that kept the arts school in the omnibus education bill for full legislative consideration. In addition, it is the conclusion of this researcher, that Nelson was rewarded for this with the Commissioner of Education job.

Rival interpretations or more nuanced interpretations must be considered in the legislative arena that paired patronage with votes. The informants wavered between complete, almost conspiratorial confidence in their observations, and responses that communicated a perspective of involvement mingled with a deflection of personal responsibility. An executive branch official variously stated in the interview, "I don't ever remember taking that message back to Perpich," and "I never got into the judgeship stuff." "It is very tough to do a flat out, 'I will give you a road if you vote on this bill,' because there is a process for roads and it is set by the highway department. You can't really make big promises. A lot of the trade stuff is like, \$50,000 for a little park." Regarding the 1985 session the informant stated, "I don't recall Perpich ever making a major trade." But the informant offered a contradictory observation, saying, "One never wrote those promises down. In this process you have to learn to memorize stuff, but it happened all the time" (Executive branch official, interview, 1997, December 18). The observations of "I never..." and "You have to learn to memorize stuff..." are simply not congruent. The researcher judged that this

major actor both wanted credit for the role in the executive and legislative arenas of influence and yet deflected responsibility for personal and unknown reasons. Two relevant committee chairs stated unequivocally, “I stayed out of it,” “I never actually got involved,” “I wasn’t smart enough to get anything for supporting the arts school” (Legislator, interviews, 1997, November 11; 1997, December 12). Yet close observation and confirmation by other informants clearly showed they both got jobs following the 1989 session. It is the conclusion of the researcher that these jobs were not a direct payment for their Arts High School work but a reward by Perpich to highly supportive legislative allies. Finally, an opponent of the Arts High School offered the most contradictory observations. When asked to confirm the \$50 million dollar figure for patronage he replied, “Perpich was a joker. I don’t think it’s true the school cost \$50 million in patronage.” But when pressed on knowledge in his own legislative arena of negotiations he confirmed that Perpich had come up with \$7 million for the Arts High School and an additional \$10 million for Educational Foundation Aid. When asked by the researcher, where did the money come from? He answered, “How the hell do I know. There is always \$10 million in the State budget for the Governor to spend. I went back to the conferees and told them, ‘we are going to have an Arts High School.’ They didn’t like it and I said, “Well we have \$10 million to raise the Foundation Aid for all the kids in the state” (Legislator, interview, 1998, January 7). In this case, the money did not go into infrastructure, but it did go into influence, and the researcher judged that the phrase “Perpich was a joker,” was a deliberate deflection, intended to cast the exchange in his own arena of influence as benign. But the votes of the conferees changed from negative to affirmative after the exchange and in this instance the exchange can be categorized as patronage.

Money in the arena: 1984, 1986, 1987, 1989

Bargaining to influence votes ultimately came down to real money to openly fund the arts school and covertly fund the patronage or the favored program that was tied to the deal. When the legislator quoted above said, “How the hell do I know

where the money came from,” he was clearly stating the problem, because as one informant casually said, “There is not money just sitting in drawers in the Governor’s office.” The 1984 session represented one mechanism to “find” money to effectively bargain. An executive branch official who was involved in the deal making as the Governor’s agent described the sequence of events, “So I went into the Conference Committee and said, ‘What’s the problem?’ They said, ‘Well, we don’t have seven million dollars for special education. How can we fund the Arts High School if we can’t fund special education?’ I said, ‘We’ll get you the seven million if you can get us the arts school.’ Seven million dollars traded for \$148,000! Seven million is a rounding error, it’s nothing. So I changed the estimates for the future, because I had the power to do that, and seven million dollars fell right out on the floor. (The informant stated it another way later in the interview: “Money rained down on the table, the deal was cut, and off we went.”) I went back to Perpich and he said, ‘How did it go?’ I said, ‘Fine, we got the money for the school.’ ‘Good, what did you tell them?’ ‘I gave them seven million bucks for special education. Then the charitable gambling went through for the money to study the arts school’ (Executive branch official, interview, 1997). The location of the interaction was physically in the legislative conference room, but the nature of the interaction was conditioned by the authority of the Governor, vested in his staff. The staff member bargained on behalf of the Governor, made sweeping decisions about the state budget estimate, and judgments about the acceptable amount of money traded, related to the size of the budget request for the arts school. The special education monetary amount was forty seven times the arts school budget. There was no literature reference to a mean ratio of patronage to budgetary figure, but a forty seven to one ratio, pushes the boundaries of credulity of any normal exchange for votes. It violated the “3% rule” by putting patronage far above the legitimate legislative budget and norms of patronage that informants reported were expectations in Minnesota. The improved economy might account for some largess on the part of the Governor, but the willingness to engage in significant bargaining once again illuminated the intense commitment to the policy issue, and more importantly, the advancement of the policy issue, at great cost in the legislative arena by tying money to votes.

The resource of altering the budget estimate was used in the 1984 session, but a different monetary tactic was devised to protect the Arts High School funding in the 1986 session. The process was described in detail by one of the participants. “Tom Nelson and Sally Olsen called Dan Loritz in the 1986 session and said, ‘We have to cut the Arts High School.’ Loritz said, ‘Why don’t you take a two percent cut against the Department of Education – every program. It will be enough.’ ‘Every constituent group in education will be down our necks, you can’t say anything about it.’ Loritz said, ‘We will do it.’ Commissioner Randall called him and said, ‘Did you authorize a two percent cut against the Department of Education?’ Loritz said, ‘I did.’ Randall replied, ‘You didn’t tell me.’ Loritz said, ‘No, because you couldn’t support it.’ Randall was furious and told Perpich she wanted Loritz let go. Perpich said, ‘OK, fine you can get rid of him.’ What she didn’t know was that Perpich was going to hire Loritz as Chief of Staff. So Loritz went from ‘being just a little under Randall, to being a little over her” (Informant, interview, 1997). The two percent cut against the entire Department of Education budget allowed the Arts High School to slide over and take a portion of the Department budget and allocate it for the Arts High School fiscal year. The arenas of interaction were more complex in 1986 than 1984 and included the executive arena, the legislative arena, and the state agency arena. But the organizational factors (Malen & Ogawa, 1988) conditioned the rules that allowed Loritz to move into each arena with the unquestioned authority of the Governor behind his decision-making. More than bargaining for influence, this was the application of executive authority through a surrogate actor. The arenas were of unequal power, and the authority of the executive arena shaped the solution in the legislative arena and the state agency arena.

The two major media accounts of the final day of the 1987 session (Whereatt, 1987, May 19, and Coffman, 1987, May 19) quoted unhappy legislators who had opposed the Arts High School for two sessions and now resisted the pressure to once again bargain on the bill. However, there were also examples of legislators who opposed the school then bargained with the Governor and changed their votes. The papers quoted a major executive actor, Lani Kawamura, denying that any “direct threats” were made to legislators. Some legislators felt differently however, and

stated off the record, “that they feared the Governor would veto measures for their home districts if they voted against the arts school” (Coffman, 1987, May 19, p. 1A). It was reported that Rep. Glen Anderson, DFL-Bellingham, who had “angered Perpich with tough talk several weeks ago about sidelining the arts school, wound up supporting the project” (Ibid., p. 1A). The pressure on the legislators was intense and described by participants as a night of “buttonholing” with former House Speaker, Harry Sieben, Jr., Minneapolis Mayor, Donald Fraser, and Tom Kelm, chief of staff for former Gov. Wendell Anderson, lobbying legislators outside the Governor’s office and in the hallways of the capitol.

The 1987 session, in the opinion of the researcher, contained one of the most dramatic public moments in the Arts High School policy conflict. Coffman began his front page story for the St. Paul Pioneer Press and Dispatch, “With surprising ease, the Minnesota Legislature on Monday handed Gov. Rudy Perpich a major political victory – passage of a \$470 million bond bill containing the Governor’s pet project, a state arts high school” (1987, May 19, p. 1A). The bonding bill contained over eighteen projects, with the Arts High School representing one of the smallest budget items. But the Arts High School was in the lead sentence for the two Twin Cities newspapers and the focus for much of each article. In the 1987 session, the Arts High School appeared again and again on the agenda of the House and Senate committees as it wound its way through the hearing process (See Appendix I for pathway of education issue in the legislature). Committee voting records on the Arts High School indicated intense insider maneuvering with the following actions or motions proposed: vote to lay over, vote to eliminate, motion to delete, motion to support, vote to remove, vote to amend, vote to refer to committee, motion to limit enrollment, and motion to pass. There were eighteen recorded votes specifically on the Arts High School bill between the opening of session and the passage of the legislation on May 18, 1987 (See Appendix A, January, 1987 to May, 1987).

The news accounts were revelatory about both the process and the final outcome. Whereatt wrote, “The vote was a testimony to the DFL Governor’s lobbying skill. He spent most of the afternoon calling legislators to his office, one by one, and asking them for their support” (Whereatt, 1987, May 19, p. 1A). Whereatt

continued, “Just after the vote, he [Perpich] embraced and kissed those nearby. “It’s unbelievable. Everyone had been telling me, ‘No, no, it can’t be done.’ He danced back into his office singing in a strange dialogue. Aides said he was singing the Croatian version of “My Girl” in tribute to his wife, Lola, his lobbying partner on the bill”(Ibid., p. 1A). The location of the arena of influence, the Governor’s office, again prefigured, but did not predict the outcome. Perpich effectively exploited the difference in power and status by calling people to his office to bargain. Legislators could refuse to go to the office, but once inside the Governor’s office, informants reported that Perpich used the phrase, “I know you need something...” and many things were now on the table; infrastructure, party position, and support for future campaigns. It was during the 1987 session that the resource of campaign support was converted to action with Mike Freeman, the chair of the bonding bill. Freeman was holding out on supporting the Arts High School until, “A number of DFL contributors persuaded Mike with large contributions” (Legislative staff, interview, 1998, January 13). The presence of Lola Perpich was also highlighted in the article, with Perpich singing a Croatian song in her honor, and the reference to “Lola, his lobbying partner on the bill.” Earlier in this chapter, Lola was identified as a major actor by informants, and the “personalization of politics” was suggested as a significant motivation in this case study. This scene, reported in the popular press, captured both aspects of these observations: Lola was a major actor who had unique access to the authority of the Governor. She traveled the capitol hallways lobbying for this bill (and no other bill during her husbands tenure) and personalized the policy process by her presence. These findings are unprecedented and could not have be predicted by either Easton’s or Mazzoni’s model; a governor’s wife as policy champion in the legislative arena, with the power of the governor behind her actions.

How were the patronage deals funded in the 1987 session? Yet another mechanism seems to have been used that bypassed the normal budgetary process. An informant stated that the State Finance Commissioner, Tom Triplett, changed the budget reserve and transferred money out of that account. This question was posed directly to Triplett by the researcher, and he answered with alacrity, “It is absurd, Perpich never said to me to change the budge reserve and he never asked for a budget

forecast to be changed” (Executive branch, interview, 1998). One informant stated to the researcher that changing the budget reserve was the mechanism and another informant stated unequivocally that it was not the mechanism. The researcher was not able to resolve this contradiction about the 1987 session. Two highly placed informants with access to privileged information disagreed. The implication from the intensity of the lobbying was that patronage was exchanged for votes, but the 1987 session also involved sophisticated lobbying, vote counting, and an effective tie-vote strategy by James Undercofler and Barbara Martin. Participants confirmed deals were made but no one would confirm the source of the money for the deals. This researcher concluded that the circumstantial evidence implied an unusual funding mechanism. Tapping the budget reserve would fit that description, but without further triangulation of the data it was not a firm conclusion.

Transferring money out of the budget reserve however, was the mechanism of support for the Arts High School in 1989, according to the Tom Triplett, the Finance Commissioner. When the session opened, Perpich did not include the Arts High School funding in budget request, and through a spokeswoman, Patrice Vick, let it be known, “It’s a tight budget, but it’s something the Governor still believes in” (Whereatt, R. 1989, January 27, p. B1). As late as 1989, April 1, the arts school bill was not receiving direct attention from the Governor, and Harry Sieben, Jr. was quoted in the media as saying, “he would rather have the Governor spearheading it with meetings called by him, not by me. It’s easier for him to get attention” (Pinney, G. 1989, April 1, p. A1). Opinions differed as to whether this was a deliberate strategy by Perpich to avoid the intense bargaining that concluded other sessions or, as others contended, Perpich was tired of the arts high school issue and was willing to let it go, and get on with other policy issues. The unresolved budget for the arts school again went to Conference Committee and though small in dollar amount, it again proved to be the key issue between conferees. The solution came between 3:00 and 6:00 a.m. and “broke the logjam in negotiations” (Pinney, G. 1989, May 22, p. 1A). The dollar amount was \$6.5 million and no one said publicly at the time where it came from. Pinney reported, “It was not immediately clear where the \$6.5 million would come from” (Ibid). Finance Commissioner, Tom Triplett suggested it might be

“available when figures from other spending bills are added up,” or “it might be available when the state counts the taxes due from this year’s income tax filings” (Ibid). It was not even clear on the public record where the \$6.5 million went. “It went to the arts school – absolutely’ said Rep. Ken Nelson, DFL – Minneapolis, co-chairman of the Conference Committee” (Minneapolis Star Tribune, 1989, May 23, p. 7B). “At a press conference, Gov. Rudy Perpich was equally adamant that the \$6.5 million did not go to the arts school” (Ibid). Neither the source of the money, nor the specific allocation fazed Sen. Donna Peterson, DFL-Minneapolis, who wrote a public journal of the Conference Committee proceedings that was printed in the Minneapolis Star Tribune. She wrote, “It’s 4:30 a.m. and we [Senate conferees] are in one room and House [conferees] in other. Staff is shuttling back and forth with ideas and proposals. Double Eureka! No, make that triple Eureka! The Governor came up with \$6.5 million more for the arts school and everything else settled quickly. Don’t ask me where he got the money” (Minneapolis Star Tribune, 1989, May 24, p. 1B). The source of the money was never clarified in the popular press or in public for that matter, but during the interviews an executive branch official responded to the question, “Was the budget reserve changed in 1989?” The answer was, “It probably was that year” (Interview, 1989, February 9). Though a non-committal answer, the informant was closely involved with the deal making, and it was the conclusion of the researcher, that this confirmed the budget reserve was changed as a revenue source.

The Governor, members of the Conference Committee, the Finance Commissioner, the committee chair, and the press were clear about the demand of \$6.5 million for the Arts High School, but agreement ended there. Facts reflected that Perpich stayed through the night and became an active player somewhere between 3:00 and 4:00 a.m. By 4:30 a.m., a deal was struck, the Arts School was funded; and the money had not been removed from the general education budget to fund the Arts High School. The Governor’s office was the arena of influence in earlier sessions, but in 1989 the Governor came to the Conference Committee rooms late in the night and proposed a solution directly to the conferees. Executive staff did not report involvement in this deal making. One staff member however, did sum up the moment by reflecting, “The legislature was Perpich’s arena and he knew that if you spend

enough time in the process that you can pass the law” (Executive branch official, interview, 1997, December 18). In 1989, the state Arts High School was passed into law with enabling fiscal resources to begin operating that fall. Money for the budget was small, a “rounding error” and never seriously considered the stumbling block. It was the allocation of values; a special school for underserved arts students, residential status, and a structural reform that had little subsystem support that engendered such long-term fierce opposition. Last minute deal making for votes was significant in the investigation and the source of money to fund that patronage varied from session to session. The source of money however, had a common antecedent; it was money available only to the Governor to spread around, to complete the deal making. No other actor in the policy conflict had access, without the Governor’s backing, to change the budget estimate to increase available resources, impose an across-the-board budgetary restriction on the Department of Education to free up funds for the Arts High School, and to arbitrarily access the budget reserve and transfer the funds to the Arts School budget. The location of the action revolved around the executive office and extended into the legislative arena with the authority of the Governor adhering to his staff. By all informant accounts, and public press accounts, this was expert level bargaining with unusual dependence on patronage tied to votes.

Legislative arena

Though the Arts High School issue was inserted into the official policy arena by Governor Perpich, the policy making was in large measure, played out in the legislative arena under institutional arrangements and “rules of the game” that legitimized certain actors and outlined which actions were allowed in an attempt to influence legislator’s votes (Kiser & Ostrom, 1982). Participants acted at times with forethought and long-range strategic planning, but at other times the actions and reactions were rapid, as if spontaneously drawn from a repertoire of past actions in similar situations, or enacted with the immediate authority of the governor, extended into the legislative arena. General observations about actors and actions paralleled the expected findings from the theoretical frameworks namely, that those who held

power; committee chairs, executive branch officials, party leaders, and state agency staff, exercised their power in the legislative arena to bargain with legislators who often defended the status quo and opposed the Arts High School. However, the participants in this investigation exceeded the predictions of the theoretical frameworks, particularly in the strength of actions compared to overall size and significance of the policy issue. Participants consistently pushed the boundaries of institutional rules and allowable actions in the legislative arena. The interplay of actions and actors in this investigation was instructive for the intensity of power and the persistence of the participants over an extended timeframe. This section is not a comprehensive catalog of the application of power and influence to advance policy goals in the legislative arena, but an analysis of the more significant actions within similar conceptual categories, over the three legislative sessions. The analytical categories included:

1. The strategic decision to place the arts high school bill within the larger omnibus education bill,
2. The strategic decision to advance the arts high school policy in the Senate and force a compromise with the House in Conference Committee,
3. The use of the resource of influential chairs to guide the process through the committee structure,
4. The strategic use of budgeting authority separated from statutory authority,
5. The use of timing to influence the policy outcome,
6. The use of impromptu arenas to conduct negotiations away from public scrutiny.

Arts high school language placed in the omnibus education bill

Governor Perpich received the recommendations of the Arts High School Task Force in 1984, November. Though the legislature was not in session until January, he asked his staff to write a first draft of the Arts High School bill in 1984, December to prepare the policy issue for legislative consideration (Executive branch official, interview, 1997, November 11). The legislation was drafted with the Governor's approval and an important strategic decision was made to include the Arts High School bill in the larger omnibus education bill. One of the participants from the Task Force who was involved in this decision stated, "There never was an arts

school bill in 1985. You will never find an arts school bill by itself in the archives. The arts school statute, 129.C.3.10 was always a part of the omnibus education bill” (Agency staff, interview, 1997, November 4). This was a key strategy and several actions followed from this decision. The same informant explained that amendments to the Arts High School policy could only come as deletions or strikes, because the language for the school was “safely” in the larger bill. The arts school opponents made repeated attempts to delete and alter the bill, but the strategy of placing an outlier educational policy within the omnibus education bill gave it protection. Strategically, it also gave opponents “cover” in speaking against the bill on the floor or in their home districts, but voting for it in the end, because they could not vote against the entire education bill. One Perpich associate described it this way, “By attaching the arts school bill to the omnibus education bill, Senator Nelson gave you all the cover you needed. You could say, “It was in the big bill, so I had to vote for it” (Perpich associate, interview, 1997, November 18). The committee chair confirmed this strategy when he stated to the researcher, “Opponents could talk big back in their districts, ‘We don’t need that school for the arts,’ but they could vote for it and nobody would know” (Legislator, interview, 1997). The bill passed the Education Aids Subcommittee on 1985, March 14, and stayed in the Senate version of the education omnibus bill through April and May to emerge in June as a negotiable item in Conference Committee.

A similar strategic decision was made for the 1987 session to place the Arts High School in the larger education-bonding bill. In this session, the Arts High School debate was over site acquisition, building design, and construction. As reported previously, this was a major defeat for Perpich and the arts school advocates. The site in Minneapolis proved unacceptable and the cost of construction was beyond what Senator Randy Peterson could carry in the Education Aids Subcommittee or the Conference Committee. But the victory for Perpich and the advocates was in saving a portion of the arts school funding that allowed the school to continue in statute with a small planning staff. The strategy of gaining votes by giving legislators cover again influenced the voting in 1987, and was described in frank terms by an executive branch official, “A Representative from Winona came into the 1987 session

gangbusters against the arts school and advocating for the Minnesota Education Association position. Perpich was livid and said, 'Is this the same guy who wants the engineering school at Winona State College?' I said, 'Yeah, it's the same guy.' 'Go talk to him about this.' So I went over and said, 'The Governor loves this engineering school and we will put it in the bonding bill regardless of how you kick his ideas around and no matter how much you bad mouth Lola.' He came around very rapidly but said, 'You got to give me cover. I'm going to continue to talk about the arts school, but in the end you have my vote' (Executive staff, interview, 1997). Both the influence of the Governor, which moved into the legislative arena with his staff and the strategy of "giving cover" to an opponent were illuminated in this data. The teacher's union had taken a position against the bill and this Senator was a vocal advocate for that position. However, the institutional authority of the Governor co-opted that position with an implied threat to stop a highly visible building project in the Senator's district. In addition, an important sentiment was coupled to that threat, which was to leave Lola Perpich out of the debate in the political and public arenas. Structural reform was not the focus of the interaction, nor were specific provisions of the bill an issue, rather, it came down to one-on-one discussion between the Governor's representative and the Senator that implied a linkage between the engineering school and the Arts High School vote. The Governor was able to alter the political outcome to his advantage by coupling a project of personal interest in the legislator's district with the Arts High School vote. This investigation also proposed the "personalization" of policy as one of the motivations for the Governor's intense commitment to the Arts High School and the senator's public statements criticizing Lola Perpich clearly angered the Governor. The Senator was outmaneuvered by a powerful insider who carried the strength of the Governor into the legislative arena and understood the "rules of the game," and though the Senator sustained a public posture that opposed the school, his private position was altered to support the school and remove the Governor's wife from discussion in the public arena.

The 1989 session revealed an important political variation on inserting the arts school language in the omnibus education bill. Advocates and opponents both believed the Governor was tired of the issue and deliberately left the arts school out

of the education bill. One opponent, who had opposed the arts school for four years stated, “Perpich didn’t put the arts school in the initial budget so he couldn’t be held hostage” (Legislator, interview, 1998, January 7). Whereatt reported in the Minneapolis Star Tribune, “The state arts school, once a pet project of Gov. Rudy Perpich, cannot open this fall under the budget proposed by the Governor....” (Whereatt, 1989, January 27). The Governor did include the Resource Center in his budget and even increased the funding by \$1.8 million, but he stated, “[the] increase should be used for the resource center only” (Ibid). James Undercofler, the director, concluded that the residential arts school could not open without a budget attached for operating expenses. Behind the public posturing two important things happened. First, the Governor talked to Undercofler and Martin privately and stated that he would not support the school in public, but “he would be there for them in the end” (Agency staff, interview, 1997). Secondly, Randy Peterson, chair of the subcommittee, placed the Arts High School in the omnibus bill, seemingly without the Governor’s knowledge. “Randy Peterson had the arts school in the bill in its original form, no one had to amend it to get it in, it was there and Perpich didn’t know it” (Agency staff, interview, November 4, 197). This informant continued, “Peterson gave the directive, the arts school was going in the original bill. If it hadn’t been in the original bill we never would have had an Arts High School because it could not have been added in” (Ibid). Governor Perpich ostensibly withdrew his support at a crucial moment in the 1989 session to avoid legislative pressure for patronage that had accompanied the bill in the 1985 and 1987 sessions. However, supporters of the arts school understood the rules of the legislative arena and knew that unless it was placed in the original omnibus bill, they did have enough support to add it back in, later in the session. Peterson acknowledged, to this researcher, that he deliberately implemented this strategy to get the bill through the 1989 session (Legislator, interview, 1997). Perpich had expended heavy political capital during the previous sessions in the form of patronage and influence. It was the conclusion of the researcher, that Perpich knowingly distanced himself from the arts school to reduce the pressure for patronage and turned the efforts in the 1989 session over to James Undercofler, Barbara Martin, and Dan Loritz to influence the action. In the end,

Perpich did re-enter the political arena in a dramatic late night appearance in the Conference Committee.

Advance the bill in the Senate and force a compromise in Conference Committee

Institutional rules permitted legislation to be introduced in either the House or the Senate and advance to Conference Committee entirely on one side of the legislature. The reconciliation of policy differences in Conference Committee required the five conferees from the House and five conferees from the Senate to agree on one unified educational bill that would be presented to each chamber for an up or down vote. Arts school advocates understood the realities of lack of support in the House, and made the decision by late January, in the 1985 session, to bypass the House entirely. One committee chair characterized it this way, “The House kicked it out early on and it never got back in” (Legislator, 1997, November 11). Governor Perpich’s lobbyist outlined the strategy that ensued, “Our only interest was in getting the bill to Conference Committee. We didn’t care if it got past both houses because if we could get it into the Conference Committee, it was alive” (Executive branch official, interview, 1997). One additional part of the strategy was to have a policy bill that the House wanted, than trade for the arts school, sponsored by the Senate, in Conference Committee. This was an intentional, long-range strategy that was articulated early and played itself out in the special session in 1985, June. “Perpich told Tom Nelson to, just get it through the Senate, and we’ll trade in Conference Committee for Open Enrollment” (Ibid). Open Enrollment had been promoted all over the state, with Minnesota Business Partnership support, and Perpich knew he could count on favorable action in the House, the more conservative body, for this bill. He also understood that the Senate, the more liberal body, would not support Open Enrollment, but he could introduce, and likely hold the Arts High School in the Senate. The executive branch informant that related this said, “In 1985, this strategy was laid out from the get go and we knew that one from the beginning” (Ibid).

Negotiations in Conference Committee were among the most intense moments for the legislators who were involved. The physical arena described by the

participants involved the House conferees and Senate conferees in different rooms with staff members shuttling between the rooms carrying proposals and counter-proposals. But the deal making was not done in the conference rooms, or for that matter, in any public arena. Informants, who were involved in the negotiations, described “closed door meetings,” “private side-bar conversations,” “deal cutting that was not public,” and conversations with executive staff to discuss what could be traded and what could not be traded (Agency staff, interview, 1997, November 4; Legislator, interview, 1997, November 11; Legislator, interview, 1998, January 7). The abstract arena (nature of interaction) traveled with the powerful subcommittee chairs because of institutional authority and the bargaining was played out at the expert level (Mazzoni, 1991) wherever these participants met. The stakes were high, with the single goal being the passage of the omnibus education bill. The executive strategy of placing the arts school in the omnibus bill became crucial to the bargaining. The political bind for non-supportive legislators became a win-win for the Governor; Perpich got both the Post-Secondary Enrollment bill (not Open Enrollment) and the Arts High School bill because in the end, legislators could not vote against a four billion dollar omnibus bill for the reason that they disagreed with a two million dollar expenditure for the Arts High School. The strategy of embedding the arts school in the omnibus bill and carrying it through to Conference Committee worked and Perpich out-maneuvered the opposition using the rules and conventions of the legislative arena, to enact both Post-Secondary Enrollment and the Arts High School in the 1985 session.

The strategy continued into the 1987 session. One informant outlined the deliberate strategy, “We knew there was never a chance in hell that the House was going to carry the bill in 1987, so the focus was on the Senate” (Agency staff, interview, 1997). However, in the 1987 session, there was no Post-Secondary Enrollment bill to trade, so the strategy was pushed back earlier in the session and the advocates had to bargain with committee members without the ability to trade legislation for votes. This necessitated tactics that were more focused on bargaining for patronage and influence rather than trading policy language in Conference Committee. Both Undercofler and Martin were persistent in their presence and

influence in committee hearing rooms, “Sometimes we were there twenty four hours straight, it is important to have a physical presence, it says you care. We were present the entire time – not one minute missed” (Agency staff, interview, 1997). Each challenge to the arts school had to be met and overcome in each committee hearing because losing the school in any committee would have required bringing it back at some later point. “We didn’t lose the arts school at any point during the 1987 session. If we had lost it out of one committee it was gone” (Agency staff, 1997). Physical presence and “holding the bill” in committee were the required actions in the legislative arena in 1987. Staff could follow the comments of legislators, count the votes, trade for votes if necessary, and relay information between committee chairs and the Governor. Two factors favored the advocates in this arena. First was the loyalty of the committee chairs on the Senate side to Governor Perpich, particularly the loyalty of Senator Randy Peterson in the Education Aids Subcommittee. Unquestioned loyalty protected the arts school bill. Secondly, was the influence of the Governor exerted through surrogate actors. The Governor was appraised of crucial votes and Undercofler was authorized to use the “Governor’s credit card” to bargain with legislators. The opposition could (and did) hold the bill hostage, but they could only make demands of the Governor; they had nothing tangible to pass out to fellow opponents. The bill passed in 1987 with the authority of the Governor exerted in the legislative arena, the unwavering support of Senator Randy Peterson controlling the sub-committee hearings, and the dogged persistence of Jim Undercofler and Barbara Martin tracking all votes and individual legislator’s demands.

The 1989 session, for the third time, employed the strategy of carrying the bill in the Senate and trading in Conference Committee with House conferees to secure a single vote on the Omnibus Education Bill. Because Perpich was deliberately distant in the 1989 session, the intense action was delayed until the Conference Committee and in Conference Committee it was delayed until late in the night. The arts school continued to be controversial, but to some extent it came in under the radar with only eight recorded committee votes between January and May (See Appendix A). Even the conferees expressed confusion about what was holding up an agreement between

the House and Senate in the Conference Committee on 1989, May 21 (Legislator, interview, 1998, January 7). The House Education Committee chair recalled asking the question around 3:00 a.m., “What’s wrong here?” and Senator Randy Peterson responded, ‘Perpich needs the Arts High School.’ I went back and said to my conferees that Perpich needed an arts school. They said, ‘What?’ Well, we’d still be in that Conference Committee if Perpich hadn’t given me the money” (Legislator, interview, 1998). (There were different figures given by different participants. The House Chair said it was \$10 million dollars. The papers the next day said that \$6.5 million appeared in the negotiations. The Governor’s Chief of Staff and Finance Commissioner quoted \$6.5 million.) This exchange was recalled with the trace of political and personal animosity that characterized the 1989 Conference Committee deliberations. The question of when the arts school was placed in the omnibus bill was the crucial question, with the House Education Committee chair implying that the language had not been in the original legislation in time to include it in the Conference Committee negotiations. This informant portrayed it in distinctly unflattering terms, “They say you can’t bring anything new into Conference Committee, and that it must be in one of the bills. That is a crock of shit. You can add something new and make it seem like it was there before, like the Arts High School” (Legislator, interview, 1998). There was oblique agreement concerning this assertion, with one agency staffer saying, “At some point, towards the end of the session the omnibus bill is ‘released’ and the chairman oversees the assembly of the bill. If he wants a piece of legislation in that bill, he will just write it in” (Agency staff, interview, 1997). No informant would go further than what was stated above in contending it actually happened, deferring to the unwritten rules of regard for your opponent in the legislative arena.

The length of the overall conflict regarding the Arts High School and the intensity of the policy disagreement ultimately reached a critical moment in the 1989 session. Perpich had publicly withdrawn from the policy conflict. Agency staff and executive branch staff carried the bill during the session but they did not command the necessary resources to complete the bargaining in Conference Committee. One person, the House Education chair had the institutional authority to hold up the

agreement until his demands and the requirements of the House conferees were met. The drama surrounding this moment was compelling. The arts school idea had been initiated in the interest group arena thirteen years before and had reached the official policy agenda six years earlier. The idea was not a solution to a major problem that had broad policy support, but rather a structural and symbolic solution to the perceived problem of underserved talented arts students in public schools. Perpich had attached himself to the idea six years before and had included his wife in promoting the policy. He both benefited from her involvement and faced criticism, even mockery about her involvement in the public arena. All of the bargaining of the 1985 session, in relation to initial statutory authorization of an arts high school, and the negotiations of the 1987 session between powerful players about site and building, came down to the two education committee co-chairs in the 1989 Conference Committee. Representative McEachern could block the negotiations within the rules of the legislative arena and Senator Peterson could be an equally strong advocate for the arts school but lacked authority to ultimately meet the demands of the House Education chair. Only the Governor, acting through his Chief of Staff, could meet the \$6.5 million demand for education aids in exchange for the House conferees vote to include the arts school in the Omnibus Education Bill. There were negative personal feelings about the date of the placement of the Arts High School language in the official bill and there were ideological differences coupled to partisan politics that threatened the arts school from the perspective of the advocates. None of this appeared on the official record of committee action between 3:00 a.m. and 6:00 a.m. on 1989, May 21, but it was clearly recalled by the key actors. Sometime after 3:00 a.m., Perpich personally appeared and intense one-on-one bargaining took place in the Conference Committee arena with the decisive authority of the executive arena behind the monetary concessions. The result was a compromise and the arts school language was added to the House bill and retained in the Senate bill for a vote the next day by the full House and Senate. The House and the Senate passed the Omnibus Education Bill on 1989, May 22 and the residential Arts High School was funded (Appendix J, Budget History) and joined with the arts

Resource Center to officially become the Minnesota Center for Arts Education, a policy option for 11th and 12th grade artistic students in Minnesota.

The use of influential chairs to guide the arts school through the committee arena

The path of an educational bill into Minnesota law begins with the introduction of the bill in the House and Senate (The complete path is described in Appendix I). Education bills are then heard and debated in the respective Education subcommittees, the full Education Committee, Tax Committee, and Appropriation or Finance Committee. Hearings are not entirely sequential, with action taking place in more than one committee at the same time, as they are scheduled by the chair of each committee. However, final action is concluded in the Finance Committee (Appropriation Committee) and the bill moves to the House and Senate for separate floor action. If there are differences in language, or the bill is not in the House or Senate version, the bill goes to Conference Committee, where five members from each chamber are appointed by leadership and meet to reconcile differences in the two versions. The consensus bill is presented to both the House and the Senate and is voted up or down, with no changes permitted at that point. The Governor may sign the bill into law, return the bill to the legislature with objections, or veto the bill.

Committee and subcommittee chairs hold great power in expediting, delaying, or totally blocking the progress of a bill through the committees. Some of the power resides in formal or parliamentary rules, some in conventions and unwritten rules of the legislative arena, and some power resides with suasion and personal clout. One close observer said, "Committee chairs have the power of the policy. They decide which bills are heard, and they decide whether to vote or not" (Agency staff, 1997, November 4). The same informant continued regarding education bills, "If you are going to have a champion, be sure it is the Education Committee Chair" (Ibid). Over the course of the policy conflict, 1985-1989, a Republican Senator declared that "Perpich had allies in key committees and he nurtured those in Senator Tom Nelson, Senator Randy Peterson, and even Representative Connie Levi" (Legislator, interview, 1998, January 5). Crucial action in the 1985 session was centered on Tom

Nelson in the Senate Education Aids Subcommittee. The Chair was candid with the researcher and stated, “When you chair a committee you have a good deal of power if you use your chair position correctly. You get things in the bill that you want in the bill, even if there are things other people don’t support, you put things in the bill for them and they end up supporting you” (Legislator, interview, 1997). Committee chairs, he continued, are most effective in the arena of their committee, and “lose clout when they get out of their own realm” (Ibid).

Senator Nelson was the key legislative actor in the 1985 session. He employed several strategies and tactics to keep the Arts High School bill alive and thwart opponents of the bill during committee hearings. One parliamentary procedure was to change his vote to the negative so that he voted with the prevailing side and could move for reconsideration of the bill later in the committee hearing (Agency staff, interview, 1997, November 4). Nelson controlled the voting rules and called for voice votes where the chair made the ruling as to who won the vote, both by sound and by knowledge of the voters present. The ruling was binding, even when opponents were not present to say “division” and request a roll call vote. This tactic was short term, but was effective in moving the arts school issue through committee hearings. It must be noted however, that this was not a tactic open just to the chair; opponents chose to absent themselves from the committee room to avoid going on record concerning the Arts High School. So the power of the Chair resided in deciding when to best apply the voice vote rule by understanding the obvious and implied intentions of the dissenting committee members (Ibid). The Arts School passed the Senate Educational Aids Subcommittee on 1985, March 14 at the halfway point of the session. Two weeks later on March 30, the House Education Finance Subcommittee rejected the Arts High School on a tie vote – which effectively eliminated the Arts School from consideration in the House. The issue moved, in a dramatic way, to the public arena with the Minnesota Education Association speaking out against an Arts High School. Governor Perpich upped the ante considerably during this time, when he announced on April 8, that because of the MEA position, he not only would not seek the MEA endorsement for his next campaign, but that he would not accept it if he was endorsed. This was an unprecedented stand for a

Democratic governor to take. Back in the legislature, the Arts High School was kept alive on the Senate side by action of the Finance Committee but defeated again in action in the House Appropriations Committee. The Senate approved the Arts High School by a 35-29 vote, and included it in the Education Aids Bill. It received final approval in the Senate Finance Committee on 1985, May 15. At that point the Arts High School was not in the House bill, but was included the Senate bill, so by rule, it was sent to Conference Committee. Tom Nelson was appointed to chair the conferees for the Senate and Sally Olsen was appointed to the chair House conferees. The Conference Committee arena became the locus for the earliest critical interaction in the arts school policy conflict. Senator Nelson was empowered to act for the Governor and Representative Olsen acted for the Republican controlled House.

Randy Peterson was the influential Senate Education Aids Subcommittee in both the 1987 session and the 1989 session. His committee had fourteen members and was the crucial location of action in both sessions. Peterson understood the power of the committee structure and stated to the researcher that the “arts school issue was predominantly in the committees” (Legislator, interview, 1997). The 1987 session required what the advocates termed, “orchestrating votes” by the committee chairs. Agency staff described the process, “You sit with a checklist and hope that some of your opponents leave the room. Committee chairman are real good about this, because they can orchestrate a vote when folks are out of the room. So it is a combination of understanding, who is with us, who is neutral, who is against us, and who is out of the room” (Agency staff, interview, 1997). That tactic in itself would not be considered anything but savvy timing; however the actions of the Governor’s staff and the loyalty of the committee chair pushed the boundaries of the rules, to include asking opponents to leave the room during the vote. “It is really dishonorable to ask a committee member to leave the room so they wouldn’t be recorded as a “no” vote. But we were down to that, saying, if you can’t vote for the Arts High School, just excuse yourself from the vote” (Executive branch official, interview, 1997). Because the bill in the 1987 session was heavily dependent on progress from committee to committee (Agency staff, interview, 1997, December 2,), vote counting and chair loyalty were inextricably tied to the success of the bill all the way to

Conference Committee. Perpich did not have the Post-Secondary Enrollment policy to trade this session, the debates had been particularly acrimonious about location, and the opponents had the upper hand to block funding of an architecturally significant building by the Japanese architect, Arata Isozaki. With no legislation to trade, and a defeat looming in committee regarding budget amount, the advocates had to focus intensely on committee chairman to maintain the legislation in the Senate omnibus bill by committee votes.

The 1989 session offered a different emphasis by influential committee chairs in protecting the arts school legislation. An agency staffer stated that, “We thought Peterson should put the senate committee ‘on call.’ Peterson told us, ‘I don’t think we should put them on call. I just don’t feel right.’ So we didn’t and if you notice the final vote, there aren’t many votes but it was a majority. We were almost run over by senators getting out of the chambers so they wouldn’t have to vote” (Agency staff, interview, 1997, December 2,). The committee chair corroborated this version, “In 1989, I decided not to ask for a roll call vote. It came down to the final passage and I didn’t ask for a roll call because I didn’t know which way it would work out. The senators were willing to vote for it on a voice vote but they didn’t want to be recorded as supporters on a roll call” (Legislator, interview, 1997).

Explicit advantage goes to committee chair in the legislative arena when the legislation is being debated in the committee they chair. This was a physical arena that was not neutral in this case study, because the committee chairs understood the rules of the arena and had the backing of the Governor. The chairs specifically used the organizational rules in the committee arena to: put “things in the bill” that altered the language, changed their vote to align with the prevailing side and bring the bill back from defeat, ruled on voice votes, and decided when to take a vote by who was remaining in the room. Language usage in the data revealed that the arts school staff, Undercofler and Martin, were integrally involved in the legislative arena as surrogates for Governor Perpich, and they self-identified as major players in the political process, using phrases in the interviews such as, “you decide who is with you...” and “we were almost run over...” It is the conclusion of this researcher that the agency staff maintained a physical presence in the *location of interaction*, but more

importantly, they represented Governor Perpich in the abstract arena, the arena of the *nature of interactions*. They assumed these roles and acted “as if” they belonged in the legislative arena by reporting directly to the Governor, and keeping in close communication with the executive staff; Lani Kawamura and Dan Loritz. Agency staff expanded the boundaries of institutional rules and acted as major players in the legislative arena, when in fact, they were agency staff, not legislative staff or executive staff. They planned strategy, implemented the strategy, and played a major role in providing information to legislators in the Conference Committee deliberations. Organizational rules and institutional arrangements from academic frameworks did not entirely account for the authority of state agency actors in the legislative arena in this investigation. Rather, it was an expansion of the executive leadership arena and the unquestioned authority of the Governor vested in the agency staff that allowed them to be persistent, even dominant influences in the committee hearing rooms, the Conference Committee deliberations, and the bargaining that altered the political reality surrounding the arts school issue. The Committee Chairs, Tom Nelson and Randy Peterson, played decisive roles in guiding the arts school legislation through the Senate and bringing the bill to Conference Committee. Executive strategy, with influential support from state agency actors, accounted for important influence in the legislative and the leadership arenas that traveled with the imprimatur of the Governor.

The use of budgeting authority in the legislative arena

The use of budgeting authority separated from statutory authority was a significant resource brought to bear in the legislative arena. This was a resource that was vital earlier in the conflict but diminished in importance by the 1989 session. Essentially it was described by an agency staffer this way, “Separate out the authority to do something, from the budget to do it. Get it in different sessions” (Agency staff, interview, 1997, November 4). The budgeting threat resided in the perception that the Arts High School would not be funded if the budget came by subtracting money from the existing K-12 education budget. Raiding the K-12 budget as a funding

mechanism for the Arts High School simply would not fly with the House Education Committee and was raised as an objection in the legislative arena, and by opponents in the public arena. The advocates had to find an alternate way to fund the Arts High School that did not draw resources from Department of Education budget allocations. One influential House chair summed this up, “I wasn’t opposed to the Arts High School as long as it wouldn’t take anything from existing K-12 money” (Legislator, 1998, January 7). Initial funding options, considered by the interest group advocates, were limited in scope and viewed charitable gambling as a viable resource. When Perpich attached himself to the proposal he soon judged that charitable gambling would not be an institutionally stable funding source and sought other sources. In the 1985 session, when the legislature first passed the bill to study the residential school and form the Resource Center, the money to fund the school came from a change in the state budget estimate. As reported earlier, Dan Loritz made this decision and communicated it back to Perpich for approval. This first allocation was a carefully crafted political compromise because it fully funded the more palatable Resource Center with an earlier start-up date and authorized a study of the residential school but separated out the long-term funding for the residential school. The director of the Resource Center deemed that, “The first budget allocation was absolutely the most crucial thing that could have been done” (Agency staff, 1997). Casting the decision in such strong terms caused the researcher to more fully account for the early funding strategies. Perpich and the advocates were faced with the decision to attempt to get both parts of the school in statute and fully funded, but it seemed clear that the executive branch officials judged that this strategy would fail. Instead of forcing the issue, they sought and achieved a palatable compromise to study the residential portion and fund the Resource Center. No existing funds were used for either part of the legislation, so lawmakers were not threatened and did not have to defend public school funding cuts back in their home districts.

Funding issues for the arts school were entirely different in the 1987 session. Perpich requested a budget of \$31 million dollars to purchase land near Loring Park in Minneapolis, design the arts school, and build the campus. With the most concentrated efforts by Senator Peterson and the agency staff, they were only able to

get the legislature to pass a \$4.2 million dollar budget to continue the Resource Center and move into an extended planning stage to open the residential arts school in 1989. The lobbying in the legislative arena was intense but the entire architectural budget and construction budget was blocked. The opponents evolved a successful strategy that raised the issue of student safety and chipped away at the enrollment age. The House Education Committee was able to eliminate 10th grade student enrollment in the Arts High School by committee action on 1987, April 15. The Republican strategy also focused on multiple attempts to reduce or deny funding for the school. In 1987, April, there were eleven votes in the relevant committees to remove the funding or delete the statutory authority for the school. On 1987, April 15 there were two votes in the House Education Committee that illustrated the strategy. The first vote called the question to eliminate all Arts High School planning money. The motion failed. The second vote was to remove the Arts High School from statute. That vote also failed. The strategy to separate budget from statutory authority was available to both advocates and opponents and both sides attempted to implement that strategy from their perspective in the 1987 session. In the end, the money that funded the Resource Center and the continuing study of the residential school came by reducing the overall Department of Education budget by two percent and shifting the money over to the Arts High School from the Department of Education budget.

The 1989 session had significantly fewer committee votes on eliminating the Arts High School (See Appendix A) but the advocates still faced the strategy of separating funding for the Resource Center from funding for the residential school. Conference Committee action was brought into play when the House approved the education aids bill on May 8, without the arts school budget in the language. The next day, May 9, the full Senate failed to vote to delete the Arts High School; the outcome being that the arts school was dead in the House and alive in the Senate. The Conference Committee actions have been previously detailed, but favorable outcome again hinged on finding money that did not come from the Department of Education budget. The \$6.5 million (out of a total \$7.2 billion dollar Education Aids bill) that was needed to solve the Conference Committee deadlock was apportioned

from the budget reserve, thus avoiding a prolonged conflict with the House conferees. Statutory authority and funding source arose as contentious issues early in the Arts High School conflict and were solved in different ways in each session. The conflict over the authoritative allocation of values as illustrated in budget allocation and budget source, were predicted by Easton's model, and confirmed in the strategies that were enacted in committee arenas and broader legislative arenas. The failure of Governor Perpich to fully enact his legislative agenda, particularly in the 1987 session, was predicated on a shift of arenas from the executive arena in 1985 to the House legislative committee arena of 1987, where the budget request so far exceeded a realistic figure that the Governor's authority could not sway the final outcome, which was a reduction in budgetary allocation and an Arts High School bill that barely survived multiple attempts in two months to eliminate all or some portion of the Arts High School.

The use of timing to influence the policy outcomes in the legislative arena

Timing was a multi-faceted strategy in each of the relevant sessions and this researcher concluded from the data, that many aspects of successful political action in the arena of influence revolved around timing. Among the strategic and tactical uses of timing were: timing as long range policy understanding, timing on patronage by Governor Perpich and his surrogate actors, timing on bringing the arts school back in committee by voting with the majority, timing as a tie vote strategy, timing as pressure tactic in late night Conference Committee meetings, timing as delaying tactic to get the bill to special session, timing as exit tactic by Governor Perpich, and timing as dramatic appearances in late night sessions by the Governor.

Sabatier (1991, p. 148) described a strategy that connected timing to emergent understanding of policy by legislative participants, "Findings [accumulate] over time and gradually alter decision-maker's perceptions of the seriousness of the problems... and/or the effects of major policy programs." This concept coupled timing with policymaker's recognition of effective policy solutions as they learned more about a problem and policy. This was a long-term strategy that continued over six years,

where Perpich used his skills of oratory, relationship building, party connections, public media pronouncements, and policy information to drive the long-term timing, which increased the understanding of the need for a structural policy solution for the problems talented arts students faced. Jim Undercofler and Barbara Martin supported the Governor and provided factual and narrative background on which legislators' based their decision-making. But there were also moments in the legislative arena that timing itself was the strategic resource. The first tactical use of timing to influence the Arts High School came in the 1984 session before the policy issue was introduced in the legislature as an agenda item by Governor Perpich. The advocates were short of votes in the House, to pass an initial bill authorizing a legislative study of the Arts High School concept. If Perpich could not bring together a coalition of legislators to get the Arts High School study bill out of the 1984 legislature, it might have failed before it got started. The bill to study the Arts High School had failed to attract the necessary votes to pass, so Dan Loritz applied the resource of tactical timing and made a deal with the Speaker of the House that, "he wouldn't close the voting board – he would just leave the board open. It didn't make any difference if it was open for hours. The board stayed open, a few little deals had to be made, and we finally had our votes, and he closed the board" (Executive branch official, 1997). This was tactical timing, where powerful insiders, the Governor and his lobbyist, pushed the acceptable boundaries of institutional rules with the complicity of a willing legislative leader. The board was held open, deals were cut and votes were traded, after which the final vote was recorded and the voting board was immediately closed. This tactic was only available with the agreement of the Speaker of the House, thus not a tactic that opponents could have accessed. The rules of the arena advantaged Perpich in the 1984 session in the House arena, but would not have worked in the 1985 session when the Republicans regained control of the House.

Perpich employed the long-term strategy of dividing the policy language and budgetary authority for the Arts High School out over three sessions. This strategy required an understanding of timing as setting the agenda for each session and building coalitions of legislators that supported the policy by choice, or legislators who could be induced to support the policy by gubernatorial influence. One of the

executive branch officials described the strategy this way, “With Perpich and the Arts High School it was; let’s introduce the idea this session, then again next session. Let’s get it halfway through, and then in the third session get it all the way through” (Executive branch official, interview, 1997, December 18). The strategy had a thoroughly thought-out component, which was to initiate an incipient policy proposal in the legislative arena and separate the initiation of legislative action from the formulation of a completed policy proposal, which was again separated from the effort to enact the policy proposal in its final form. Pressure was brought to bear on legislators in the 1985 session through lobbying by the arts school staff and the executive branch staff that focused on short-term tactics, including meticulous vote counting, and votes traded for tangible items that influenced the progress of the bill through committee.

The tie-vote strategy that was in play in the 1987 session was conceptually a timing tactic targeted toward committee action in the legislative arena. An agency staffer said that the, “strategy was always there, it was just never articulated or seemed quite as important to us until we got into the 1987 session” (Interview, 1997, November 4). This strategy emerged in committee hearings because of the institutional rule that required a majority vote to remove the Arts High School language from the omnibus bill after it was in the original bill. The agency staff engaged in painstaking vote counting and the subsequent lobbying and patronage to ensure that all votes in the Senate committees remained at the tie-vote level, “we did daily vote tallies and I would spend the days in the Governor’s office with the chief of staff counting the votes. Then he would go through the votes and I would show him the list of pet projects the senators wanted” (Executive branch official, interview, 1997, December 18). The decision to engage in the strategy was a purposeful decision to hold the bill on the Senate side and let it go on the House side. With the insider leadership of the committee chair, Senator Randy Peterson, and the tactic of timing the votes, plus encouraging opponents to leave the chamber if they could not support the question before the committee, the advocates were able to hold the bill in every major committee vote. An executive branch official described how the tactic pushed the boundaries of institutional rules, “There were a handful of us counting

votes. We knew in advance when things were going to ‘cave in’ in committee. We begged people to leave the room when the vote happened. Maybe there would be only two people left on the committee that would take the vote” (Executive branch official, interview, 1997, December 18). There were fourteen members on the Education Subcommittee and this informant revealed that at times only two people voted on the motion before the committee, not a tactic that violated specific rules, but it did push the boundaries of legislative policy making.

Three tactics came together under the broader title of the “tie-vote strategy” because of the commitment of the Governor and the power of the chair: the tactic of vote counting, the tactic of patronage to influence the vote, and the tactic of timing the vote when dissenting legislators were out of the committee room. The researcher questioned the committee chair about whether the tie-vote strategy was a deliberate decision and he responded that, “the tie-vote strategy was absolutely a deliberate decision” (Legislator, interview, 1997). This removed the strategy/tactic from the speculative realm for the researcher and placed it in the arena of institutional arrangements and major actor influence. The location of interaction involved vote counting and tally sheets inside the Governor’s office with full knowledge of the Governor’s chief of staff and the Governor. The arena of action inside the committee rooms advantaged the legislators who had something to trade, their votes, over the advocates who were forced to trade to save the Arts High School bill. However, because the Governor had the power to make deals, the nature of the interactions ultimately favored the Governor. The power in the legislative arena traveled with the Governor’s staff and to a lesser degree with the arts school staff from the Governor’s office to the committee rooms and back to the Governor’s office. These conceptually distinct arenas (Mazzoni, 1991) shaped the political outcome in the session with both sides accessing and using their powers within their physical and abstract arenas of influence.

Mazzoni (1992) identified one timing strategy, the exit strategy, which was employed as a new strategy in the 1989 session. As described previously, the Governor judged that the arts school bill was a target for legislative patronage in the 1985 and 1987 sessions. It was also the conclusion of this researcher, that the

Governor was genuinely weary of the Arts High School as a policy issue at the start of the 1989 session. These two factors combined to create an exit strategy where the Governor told the arts school staff and then the public media that he was going to remove himself from the political fray surrounding the Arts High School during the 1989 session. This decision freed the bill from the excessive bargaining that had accompanied it earlier, but it also put Undercofler and Martin squarely as point people to get the bill through the 1989 session. This strategy removed the influence of the Governor from the legislative arena and substituted the influence of a powerful committee chair, Senator Randy Peterson, as a guiding force in the final session. This strategy went to the opposite end of strategic thinking, instead of intense personal involvement, Perpich portrayed himself as above the negotiations, as uninvolved, and even disinterested in whether the school survived. Public hints at the withdrawal of Perpich's interest first surfaced in a story in the 1989, January 4 Minneapolis Star Tribune where the Governor declined to say whether he would commit money to the school (Perpich quiet on arts school funding, 1989, January 4, p. 5B). This was still the public posture five months later on 1989, May 1. The Minneapolis Star Tribune quoted Perpich explaining why "he was no longer pushing for funds to open a full-time high school for the arts" in the fall. "Well, you know, you have to know when to walk away from things. You know, it was trade everything off on the arts school. It's like it was for – it made it sound like Lola was going to enroll. And so we figure, OK, it's out there. The people know what it's all about. And if there's going to be an arts school, it's going to have to come from support in the community" (p. 3B). He also had communicated the same sentiment to the arts school staff, "Don't call my office or my wife. I don't want to see you around here" (Agency staff, interview, 1997). But then he added one sentence that, in the opinion of this researcher, illustrated that this was a thought-out exit strategy, "But I will be there for you in the end" (Ibid). And indeed, this was the session when he showed up at 3:00 a.m. in the morning and made \$6.5 million dollars appear in the Conference Committee negotiations that appeased the House Education Committee chair, Bob McEachern (Minneapolis Star Tribune, Where did the \$6.5 million go? 1989, May 23, p. 7B). Randy Peterson also credited Perpich with an additional timing strategy, "Perpich

took advantage of late-night sessions to intensify pressure and create a sense of urgency to settle the negotiations” (Legislator, interview, 1997). The strategy played itself out in three ways: deliberately exit from the arena of policy conflict early in the session, turn over the day-to-day political maneuvering to highly competent agency staff, and executive branch staff, and plan a dramatic appearance at the appropriate time to consummate the bargaining in Conference Committee. The Governor’s office was not the authoritative arena of negotiations in the 1989 session because the House Education chair, Representative McEachern, understood that the organizational factors (Malen & Ogawa, 1988) had shifted and favored an end-game strategy of saying “no” to Senator Randy Peterson in the Conference Committee arena. This was political give and take at the expert level with four actors: Governor Perpich, his chief of staff, Dan Loritz, Senator Randy Peterson, and Representative McEachern. All other actors were on the sidelines, all of the complexities and interactions came down to one request, find money for education aids for the whole state or there is no deal. Perpich understood the institutional advantage that McEachern held and created a revenue stream to meet his request and in-turn got the House to vote for final authorization of the Arts High School bill.

The Arts High School as a structural reform, benefited from multiple timing strategies employed in the physical arenas, particularly the Governor’s office and the Conference Committee arena. The political arena advantaged the Governor because he had more to give, and willing legislators bargained to get tangible items from the Governor in exchange for votes. Perpich was heavily invested in the Arts High School, to the point that this researcher characterized it as the, “personalization” of politics. This was visible in the leadership arena with the Governor expending his political capital in the 1985 and 1987 sessions to such a degree that he became weary of the entire process and withdrew from the 1989 session. But the policy reform meant too much to him on a personal level to abandon it in the final weeks of the 1989 session and he appeared in a moment of drama, even triumph, to seal the deal with an infusion of money that satisfied the demands of the House conferees and paved the way for the school to open in September, 1989.

Impromptu arenas of negotiation

One additional physical arena significantly influenced the outcome of the Arts High School policy making, that being the arena Caro termed, the “fertile field” (Caro, 2003, p. 393) and this researcher termed, *impromptu arena*. This was the “fertile” arena of interaction that was sought out, or covertly accessed by participants where they “felt safe,” (Ibid) because they could conduct their negotiations with no prying reporters, no constituents, few staff members, and no microphones or video recordings capturing offers and counter-offers. This was the arena of political give-and-take where the written rules of the legislature were replaced by unwritten rules of bargaining, the arena of readiness where personal flexibility and political compromise was rewarded and intransigence was discouraged, the hidden arena of cooperation where the “political bias” (Hilgartner & Bask, in Mazzoni, 1991, p. 135) favored a different range of discourse than was seen in public. The “political bias” of legislative chambers or conference rooms, was that every word was recorded and the participants could not bargain without the knowledge that their deliberations would reach colleagues, constituents, party leaders, and the press. Informants said to the researcher on more than one occasion, “If you want to confirm what I said, just listen to the tapes,” acknowledging that they knew every public utterance was on tape in the legislative library. But they also described an arena that they deliberately sought out where negotiations were not recorded. Seven different informants described “impromptu arenas,” denoting secretive locations that were known to the participants, where unplanned conversations, improvised negotiations, and unrehearsed positions could be stated frankly without others overhearing the details. These were arenas where the “political bias” favored difficult negotiations, where proposals were tendered and counter-proposals were offered, and private, secret deals were hammered out with the particulars known only to the participants. “Open meeting” laws have been passed to open up the political process to the public and the press, but insiders felt that these laws constrained the type of negotiations needed in this policy making. A long-time insider said, “There are no more closed meetings, so you operate on the phone, or ‘happen to run into each other in the café” (Perpich

associate, interview, 1997, November 18). A Committee Chair described an important impromptu arena that he suggested was used in Arts High School negotiations, “One of the best places to listen to the Senate proceedings is the Senator’s bathroom. There is a speaker in the bathroom and you have some of the best acoustics anywhere. You know when the vote is taking place and when to return to the floor. Oh, you’d be surprised how much work gets done in the bathroom” (Legislator, 1997, December 12). This would have remained an interesting background statement except that one participant described a crucial exchange in this impromptu arena, in the 1989 Conference Committee negotiations, “This is how it happened. The Arts School was in the Senate bill and not in the House bill. Randy Peterson insisted that we add it. 100% of the House conferees were against it. Randy and I went to the bathroom and in walks Dan Loritz. He said, ‘What are we going to do to get the Arts High School?’ I said, ‘Go get me \$10 million for Foundation Aid for the whole state.’ Dan left and came back and said you have your \$10 million” (Legislator, interview, 1998). (The discrepancies in amounts have already been discussed, but this is a direct quotation from the participant.) This interchange was confirmed by another executive branch official who stated, “The aid formula deal was done in the bathroom with Loritz and McEachern” (Interview, 1998, February 9).

Participants described several other impromptu arenas of importance in this study, “The Conference Committee is an open meeting, but most of the deals are made behind closed doors, Chair-to-Chair” (Executive branch official, interview, 1997, December 18). This participant described House and Senate Conference Committee chairs, who met in the corridor outside the conference room to talk, went to each other’s offices, or literally met behind closed doors to avoid the recording of conversations and to engage in the give and take they believed could not be a part of the public record. The Perpich associate quoted above described meeting at cafés, but an agency staffer also stated that caucuses would meet outside the capitol to plan strategy (Agency staff, interview, 1997, November 4). There was no doubt that this was partly social, but it was also portrayed as an important arena of political discussion and strategy. Lastly, the Governor’s residence and the Governor’s office were identified as significant arenas of the moment (impromptu arenas). The

Governor's residence was a resource that only the Governor could access. Senator Nelson said, "The Governor's residence is a real asset. The Governor calls you up and says, 'Come on over and have breakfast in the morning. I want to talk to you about a few things'" (Legislator, interview, 1997). Nelson also placed the Governor's office in the same arena of interaction, "The Governor calls and says, 'We are having a meeting.' So you go in and it is just you and the Governor and three or four other people" (Ibid). Neither the Governor's residence nor the Governor's office have official recording devices, so the arena favors frank talk, bargaining, setting out demands, and agreeing to demands, in an arena that is sought out because the arena is inaccessible to all but the invited participants.

Vivid emotional narratives in the rhetorical arena

The rhetorical arena was the arena of persuasion and interaction that used narrative, both in public discourse and private conversation, to convince legislators and the public that the educational system did not work well for artistically gifted kids. This was a significant resource in policy making because stories have the power to personalize the abstract and create an emotional impact that can engender support for a policy. The need for an arts high school was initially developed from compelling stories, not statistics, and the broader narrative included the stories of talented students who left Minnesota for education in other states, students who were "tortured" because they were artistic and rural students who couldn't receive an adequate arts education in local school districts. McDonnell gave theoretical support to the strength of emotional narratives when he wrote, "ideas can fuel powerful changes as they are communicated through a variety of rhetorical mechanisms, including stories about decline or negative consequences resulting from the current policy monopoly and stories of hope about what can be accomplished with a new framing of the policy problem and solution" (in Furhman et al., 2007, p. 30). The stories that the arts advocates initially told were sufficient to initiate action, but the stories that Perpich intuitively gravitated towards were far more vivid and compelling, and the structural policy solution he framed, seemed like a necessary answer to the problem. One Perpich associate reflected that, "Perpich was able to

personalize these stories and then repeat them to others so that instead of a dry policy statement, he was able to make the appeal on an emotional level, which made legislators more likely to support the policy idea” (Perpich associate, interview, 1997, December 26).

The “pink tights” story was what one legislator called, “One of the holy stories. You would hear that story in the legislative hallways” (Legislator, interview, 1997, December 22). As Perpich told the story, it was the story of a boy on the iron-range who wanted to be a ballet dancer. He was teased by fellow students and in the end, committed suicide. A Perpich associate was asked directly by the researcher if he knew the story? He said, “Yes,” and related that, “There was a young man that Rudy and Lola Perpich knew on the iron-range who wanted to take ballet. He was harassed by fellow students and committed suicide.” The researcher asked in a follow-up probe, “Is this a true or an apocryphal story?” Answer: “It is true. Rudy and Lola knew the parents, but didn’t use the name so it wouldn’t bring attention to the family” (Perpich associate, interview, 1997, December 26). The researcher asked the same question of Perpich’s Chief of Staff, “Was this a true story,” and he said, “Well, I don’t know, Perpich never divulged that” (Executive branch official, interview, 1997). Another executive branch official said that “Perpich told the story of attending Hibbing High School with a guy who wanted to learn ballet. He had been teased.” She continued, “Perpich told that story over and over as he asked legislators for their support. I think it was an actual person. I wish he could of thought up another reason to get this vote from this legislator, other than a school for people in pink tights” (Executive branch official, interview, 1997). The story passed out of the realm of a Perpich narrative and became a narrative for other advocates. One of Committee Chairs said, “At one point in the Tax Committee, when the Arts High School was going through, I remember Senator Berg asking why we needed it? I said, ‘Well, if there is one boy in a small town in Minnesota who is interested in ballet, the potential for participating in that is virtually nothing.’ He answered, ‘Well, he probably wouldn’t last long in that town.’ I responded, ‘I rest my case’ (Legislator, interview, 1997).

The pink tights story passed through several iterations with minor differences in details. It was the conclusion of the researcher that the story became important as a metaphor, not as truth telling. Perpich understood that he could identify the larger educational issue and frame the policy solution by repeating a story that had such deep and vivid emotions. The young man in the story accrued meaningful characteristics for the policy problem and the policy solution: he was artistic, there is the implication he was gay, he had career goals that were misunderstood in rural Minnesota, he felt trapped in the school and the town, and he had no place and no one to turn to for help. His desperate choice was to commit suicide. There may have been legislators who wanted to speak out against the meaning of the story, but Perpich intuitively knew they couldn't. He framed the story so that there was only one humane response, sympathy for the boy and support for the policy solution. As a piece of the policy making puzzle, this story was told more often in interviews to the researcher than any other detail in the case study. The informants knew the story; they heard Perpich tell the story to legislators, businessmen, educators, and the media. The researcher questioned informants about the staying power of the "pink tights" story in the policy debate, and discovered informants who recalled hearing it over the entire six years the issue was before the legislature. From the data, this researcher concluded that this narrative influenced the policy participants because it tapped into an image they could understand in a visceral way. Perpich counted on the unspoken assumption that legislators could put a face on the boy of someone in their district. A common metaphor was built on the shared value that all kids counted in Minnesota, and their aspirations could not be disregarded, even if you didn't entirely agree with the image. But more importantly, a policy solution was available that would remedy the problem. In the arena of rhetoric it was a crucial story that influenced legislators over the entire course of the policy debate.

Perpich was enamored with the idea that Minnesota could have its own *Fame* high school for the arts. The first instance of pairing a policy solution with the movie occurred at the breakfast meeting with William L. Jones and Rudy and Lola Perpich at the Governor's residence in 1984, January. Jones recalled, "I was invited for breakfast at the mansion and it was just Rudy and Lola. I talked about the arts school

and what he picked up on was the idea of the movie, *Fame* that was based on the School for the Arts in New York City. He didn't understand the North Carolina School for the Arts, but he understood the movie and the TV show" (Arts advocate, interview, 1997). Shortly after that, and the day before Perpich announced his intention to develop an arts high school, he and Lola flew to New York City to visit the New York School for the Arts, and at the press conference the next day, "Perpich said the school would be patterned after the School for Performing Arts in New York City" (Wilson, 1984, February 4, pA1). This image was really a one-word metaphor, not a narrative, and it didn't take long for the metaphor to catch on with the media as an easy image that "jazzed up the story" (Media expert, interview, 1998, February 16).

The metaphor achieved what Booth (in Sacks, 1979, p. 67) described as a "vision of what *stands for* human happiness" and shares a picture of "what human life *can be*." On the first level of analysis, the metaphor communicated a picture of happiness and possibility: famous dancers and musicians and young artistic kids from Minnesota making it in the larger world of entertainment, movies, and TV. "Perpich's idea at the press conference was not as much a studied idea for a school for the arts, as it was in his mind, this high powered, high energy *Fame-school*" (Arts advocate, interview, 1997). But a second-level analysis revealed that the themes of the movie were more complex, ambiguous, and realistic, even if portrayed in a cinematic way: how does one establish a personal identity in life, how does one bring meaning to life which seemingly is characterized by the unknown and chaotic, and how does one put good and evil in a context that has contemporary meaning? The actors in the movie struggled with the following real-life issues: gender identity, sexual awakening, poverty and a way out of poverty through personal artistic achievement, searching for work that gives meaning to life - not just money, adolescent loneliness, separation from family to achieve a personal dream, drug and alcohol abuse, depression and suicide, pregnancy and abortion, artistic freedom versus commercial success, technology as personal expression or suppression of humanity, racial conflict, the relevance of religion and faith, and the failure of the educational system to support artistic kids. This researcher did not talk to any

informant who heard Perpich explicate this level of metaphorical understanding, but it was not necessary to articulate it, in order for him to intuitively understand it, and exploit it for the dominant image of what was “possible” if Minnesota had an Arts High School

Perpich also had an unusual advantage in the arena of rhetorical influence, Bob Dylan. Dylan was a real-life personification of the movie and a young musician who had graduated from Hibbing High School while Perpich served on the school board in Hibbing. Dylan was misunderstood by the teachers and his fellow students. One informant said, “Dylan was booed off the stage of Hibbing High School and he won’t ever go back. He was very bitter because of his treatment in Hibbing” (Perpich associate, interview, 1997, December 26). The researcher asked Bob Dylan’s brother, if the story was true, and he said, “Many people tell the same story whether it happened or not. Even if it is not true, that does not mean the story does not have meaning” (Interview, 1997). The story was powerful because it rose to the level of common myth and intuitive truth, and fed off of the pride Minnesotan’s took in Dylan coming from their State. Legislators might possibly ignore the story of a boy in “pink tights,” and maybe could separate a movie from reality, but they couldn’t ignore Bob Dylan. He was a kid from the Minnesota iron-range who made it huge in the world of the arts and pop culture. Perpich could not have invented a more powerful pairing of reality, policy problem, and policy solution. In the decisive arena of interaction and influence based on the *nature of reality*, the Bob Dylan story confirmed exactly what Perpich believed about the necessity of an arts high school and Perpich could combine the idea streams, the movie, *Fame*, and Bob Dylan to illuminate a deeper truth about the need for a new education structure to serve artistic kids.

The policy opponents were out-maneuvered in the arena of rhetoric and symbolism. Duane Benson, IR, Senate Minority Leader, tried to respond by calling Perpich, “Governor Goofy,” and indeed, the phrase got some traction in the legislature and the media. He also printed buttons to pass out to Republicans that said, “What Lola wants, Lola gets!” (Legislator, interview, 1997, November 24). Senator Berg, (related earlier) compared the “art of fly fishing” to the “fine arts” in the proposed high school, but in reality, there was no successful oppositional

narrative or public metaphor to match “pink tights,” *Fame*, and Bob Dylan. Perpich won in the arena of rhetoric and articulating compassionate values. The education subsystem had no response, and the Republican response was weak and off-target. The narrative and metaphors were so powerful that this researcher concluded that they were not merely public stories, but represented part of the “personalization of policy” and helped account for the intense motivation for the Arts High School. The young dancer was allegedly from Hibbing and his parents were known to Perpich. Bob Dylan not only was from Hibbing, but attended high school while Perpich was on the school board, and he personified the metaphorical possibilities portrayed in *Fame*. This was the arena of story telling, of myth making with deep human meaning. The literature accounts for charisma and personal leadership, but this researcher concluded that no model accounted for the level of metaphor and narrative that Perpich so skillfully used in this arena.

Critical Interactions

Underlying the critical interactions of the case study are three assumptions this researcher made about the processes of politics. The first assumption was that human agency was crucial in the policy arena. Tirrell (1990) offered a three-part definition of human agency that informed this investigation: one must be able to act according to one’s decisions, one must take responsibility for one’s actions, and one must make judgments about one’s place in the community and how things are and how things could be (p. 117). The actors in this case study considered policy options, made decisions about how things were and how they could or might be, and the outcomes of the policy issue were influenced by those decisions and actions.

The second assumption was that ideas and values mattered – not just the interplay of politics and self-interest. Kingdon observed, “If we try to understand public policy solely in terms of the concepts of power, influence, pressure, and strategy, we miss a great deal. The content of the ideas themselves, far from being mere smokescreens or rationalizations, are integral parts of the decision making in and around government” (1984, p. 131). One former legislator and policy observer

captured this sentiment well when he said in the interview, “Ideas matter. Politicians have to operate on ideas and theories” (Policy expert, interview, 1998, February 19). It was clear in a contentious policy dispute that some ideas were perceived by opponents as specious and self-centered, while others were considered genuine policy options, but McDonnell contended that, “ideas are necessary to persuade others to accept even the most self-interested policy” (McDonnell, in Furhman et al., 2007, p. 25).

The third assumption was that nothing in history had to happen the way it happened. Nobody knows how things are going to turn out when they are going through it (McCullough, D., 2003). The informants had the perspective of eight to thirteen years of recalling their actions in the Arts High School issue. Even with the passage of time, key actors were reflective and cautionary about the policy making process and outcomes. One Committee Chair said, “I don’t think anybody knew what they were getting. No one really knew for sure how this was going to evolve” (Legislator, interview, 1997, November, 11). An executive branch official responded to the researcher’s question, “Did you know what you were doing” and said, “We had no clue! Hindsight is 20/20” (Interview, 1997, December 18). Finally, another executive branch informant concluded, “In the end, all of this stuff floats around, but you cannot guarantee outcomes. You cannot, because even if you think it is the right thing, a few years later who knows if it was the right thing” (Interview, 1997, November 11). These three informants were judged by the researcher to be the most committed legislative and executive actors in the policy reform. However, with the benefit of hindsight, they acknowledged that even they didn’t know how the process, let alone the policy would “evolve.” They were candid in saying they had “no clue” as to what they were doing and couldn’t “guarantee the outcomes.” David McCullough’s (2003) prescient observations about the Founding Fathers, held true for the Arts High School policy participants, it didn’t have to happen the way it did, and while they were going through it, they didn’t know how it would turn out. The critical incidents that will be explicated were truly that, critical moments when the policy outcome hung in the balance of a political bargain struck behind closed doors,

a reformulation of two definitions that altered the values debate, and choices and process about “all the little things” that made it turn out the way it did.

Human agency: A win/win for Governor Perpich

The first critical interaction was the Connie Levi/Tom Nelson bargain in Conference Committee in the 1985 session. The stage for this moment was set by the refusal of Representative Sally Olsen to bargain on the Arts High School in Conference Committee. The Arts High School was not in the House bill but had been guided through the Senate version, largely due to the efforts of Tom Nelson, as the Chair of the Education Aids Subcommittee. Olsen was a first-time Chair and represented the values of the Republican controlled House. She had the institutional authority and personal strength to resist the deal making. The dispute went on late into the night, with the Speaker of the House sending emissaries down to the Conference Committee to check on the progress. No one could describe a breaking point where frustration took over, but they recalled that Tom Nelson decided to bypass Olsen and offered to deal directly with Connie Levi, the House Majority Leader. Levi accepted the offer to temporarily replace Olsen and bargain with Nelson directly. One Republican Senator described the importance of Levi’s decision, “Connie Levi was good in terms of getting into that whole dynamic and went after some very important things like Post-Secondary Enrollment and that one individual then became the avenue for things to happen” (Legislator, interview, 1998, January 5). Those are startling words in the context of the policy issue in the legislative arena. Arts advocates had initiated the idea nine years before in the arts interest group arena. Governor Perpich had placed the idea on the official policy agenda at a press conference a year and a half before. The legislature had been debating the issue for five months, and at this moment “one individual became the avenue for things to happen.” Sally Olsen had the same things to bargain with as Connie Levi, but her viewpoint was limited by her ideological vision and institutional will. The policy expert interviewed for this case study was a respected observer of Minnesota politics and he said about that critical moment, “Connie Levi transcended herself because of

her flexibility” (Policy expert, interview, 1998, February 19). Again the words were unusually broad in scope; she “transcended herself.” All of the preparatory policy work and political interactions came down to the influence of two key actors making a process choice. The bargain was described earlier in the history of the school as a win/win for Perpich because the Governor got the two bills he wanted from the House and the Senate. In a time span of thirty minutes of bargaining, behind closed doors, Nelson secured the Arts High School from the House and Levi gained the Post-Secondary Enrollment Options Act for 11th and 12th grade students the Senate. Neither bill involved significant fiscal resources, but they were allocations of significant educational values and as a result of the Levi/Nelson bargain, each bill got placed in the Omnibus Education Bill to be voted up or down. The magnitude of the moment was expressed by Senator to the researcher, “This was a major, major move, because the Education Bill has everything for education in it including the per-pupil allotment. The Arts High School was just a little thing. Those who were angry that the Arts School was in it would have to vote against everything in the Education Bill to take it out. Once we did that, it was a done deal” (Interview, 1997). The transforming moment for the Arts High School was that these two people mattered (human agency) in the politics of the moment. They made choices about what could be, and they took action to bring it into being. This critical incident was the catalytic moment that transformed the Arts High School from policy proposal into statutory existence.

Ideas matter: Alternate formulations to conform to political reality

Ideas matter in politics and no ideas were more important than the basic definitions that undergirded the policy proposal of the Arts High School. Governor Perpich appointed a Task Force to travel the state, after he moved the Arts High School to the official policy agenda in 1984, February. The Task Force was operating on two basic definitions; first, the Arts School was for the most artistically talented students in the state and second, the Arts School would be a residential boarding school that kids would leave their homes and attend. The Task Force expected

opposition but “the surprise was that it was so intense. People didn’t care about how small the change, it was symbolic, and changed the status quo” (Agency staff, interview, 1997, November 4). The Task Force was searching for answers to meet the resistance and the basic definition of gifted students came under consideration. In their report to the Governor and legislature the Task Force changed from a common but unexamined definition of artistic giftedness to Renzulli and Smith’s definition that, “Giftedness consists of three basic clusters of human traits – above-average abilities, high levels of task commitment, and high levels of creativity” (1980, see page 83 in this document). The next sentence was an idea that mattered and changed the policy outcome: “Gifted and talented children are those possessing or capable of developing this composite set of traits and applying them to any potentially valuable area of human performance” (Minnesota Arts Education Governor’s Task Force, 1984, p. 8). This alternate formulation of giftedness to confront political reality, shifted the definition of giftedness from being the students who were demonstrably the highest achieving to saying that all students are gifted, “some, whose talents have been discovered and some that are still undiscovered” but can be developed (Arts advocate, interview, 1997, October 26). This alternate formulation of a basic definition was then combined with the political reality that each Congressional District must be proportionately represented in the Arts High School. That political reality paired policy language with legislative votes and ultimately showed up in the 1985 statute under section IIC #4: “The board must plan to the enrollment of pupils on an equal basis from each congressional district.” The Arts School gained crucial support by an alternate formulation of the basic definition of giftedness.

The legislature debated at length the idea of a residential campus for the Arts School. As pointed out in history section, a residential school was not common in Minnesota and violated a deeply held belief about taking students away from their homes, their schools, their churches, and their communities. The Task Force again needed to formulate an alternate definition of the concept of “residential arts high school.” At some unknown point in the summer of 1984 the idea of a statewide Resource Center connected to a residential school arose. This was an unprecedented policy idea in the nation. One agency staffer described the political reality, “The Arts

School had to be married to something else for the rest of the folks, the kids left behind” (Agency staff, interview, 1997, November 4). This marriage created a compromise that muted some of the elitist criticism, gained the acceptance of teachers and school districts, and created an urban/rural coalition among legislators. As with the definition of giftedness, programs for the Resource Center needed to be represented in each congressional district. A legislative staffer said, “The Resource Center concept seemed to evolve and was set up before the Arts High School, and the justification was that as a state-wide resource this was going to provide services to school districts and students throughout the state” (Legislative staff interview, 1997, December 15). The political compromise was articulated by the second Board Chair, Harry Sieben Jr., “I think the money through the Resource Center was intended to buy some political peace, and it did. A lot of public schools did not want to come in on the one hand and oppose the Arts School, if they were asking for money from the Resource Center” (Legislator, interview, 1997). The Senator responsible for guiding the legislation during the 1987 and 1989 sessions admitted personal qualms about the Art School, until it was combined with a Resource Center, “I was skeptical at the outset about the Arts High School, but the point where I really became convinced was after they had created the Resource Center” (Legislator, interview, 1997). It is the conclusion of the researcher that the alternate formulations of these two basic definitions; giftedness and arts high school, were critical to the policy issue. Both definitions were reexamined ideas that were “married” to political reality and influenced the policy outcome.

No one knew how it was going to turn out: All those “little things”

Understanding the political process in the Arts High School case study, involved understanding that effective policy making came from the sum of many little parts. This researcher judged that the final critical incident was the intense commitment of the Governor, his executive staff, and the state agency staff, and the interest group advocates to the Arts High School policy reform over a lengthy period of time, and the implementation of a strategy that was comprised of, “all those little

things along the way.” The Senator that went toe-to-toe at 3:00 a.m. in the 1989 session with the House Education Chair, when the prospects for the school seemed to be fading, said that he could not point to one thing that made a difference, rather, “The thing that actually made the difference between the Art School happening and not happening was all those little things along the way” (Legislator, interview, 1997). The State Finance Commissioner said it metaphorically, “you must always have one more arrow in your quiver” (Executive branch official, interview, 1998). Until the very end, literally 6:00 a.m. on the morning of the last day of the 1989 session, the fate of the school was in the hands of the Conference Committee co-chairs. No one knew how it was going to turn out, because Perpich had withdrawn his public support early in the session, and yet again the Arts School was not in the House bill. Senator Peterson had bargained most of the night with Representative McEachern, but McEachern wasn’t going to give in until he had secured \$6.5 million in foundation aid for all school systems in the state. When Perpich showed up at 3:00 a.m. and Dan Loritz met McEachern in the bathroom and made the \$6.5 million appear from the budget reserve, the Arts High School became a reality. The moment was dramatic, but the overall policy success was built on all the “little things” that combined to produce the structural reform of the Minnesota Center for Arts Education. Each of these “little things” has been mentioned, explored, or analyzed in this research. They are presented here as a final summary of the range of detailed political actions that were taken to influence this policy reform.

Figure 15: Summary of Political Actions Used to Influence the Policy Issue

Formal powers of the Governor:

- Attached himself to the policy idea following meeting with advocates
- Accessed the power of the Governor to call a press conference and defined his legislative priorities
- Accessed the ability to speak with single voice and represented his policy agenda and party position
- Elevated the interest group ideas to a policy proposal on the official agenda
- Formed task force to develop policy ideas and created perception of public support with inclusion of artistic, policy, and educational elites
- Drafted legislation in the Governor’s office
- Separated out budgetary authority and statutory authority for policy proposal

- Attached small policy to large Omnibus Education Aids bill – so policy was not a separate proposal
- Developed a strategy to gain a portion of the bill in each session
- Lobbied for and gained authority to appoint Commissioner of Education
- Appointed Commissioner of Education who supported the Arts High School and delivered the support of the Department of Education
- Appointed powerful political allies to key positions to give arts school political cover
- Retained veto threat over legislation to force legislators to include arts school in end of session negotiations
- Created new revenues sources for the arts school so that existing public school budgets were not threatened

Informal powers and strategies of the Governor and staff:

- “Personalized” the policy issue by involving his wife and his family in the public and legislative arenas
- Appointed his wife, Lola, as co-chair of Arts High School Task Force
- Invoked Lola’s passion in the policy issue as a reason for positive action
- Implicitly empowered Lola Perpich to carry the Governor’s authority into legislative hearings and lobbying
- Accessed task force information to redefine the term “artistically talented” to conform to political realities
- Accessed task force information to compromise on the structure of the arts school and added Resource Center to conform to political realities
- Maintained close and productive relationships with powerful committee chairs to guide bill through legislature
- Introduced and kept bill alive in the Senate version and give up the bill on the House side
- Brought the bill through on the Senate and negotiated in Conference Committee to add to the House side in final omnibus legislation
- Began small by budgeting for a study
- Commanded media attention; including print media, TV media, and AP stories throughout the state to create case for his policy initiative
- Used commissioners from unrelated departments to lobby for arts school at crucial moments
- Accessed power of legislative sub-group, iron-rangers, for unquestioned support of policy proposal
- Accessed iron-rangers to “circle the wagons” around Lola when she was publicly attacked
- Maintained ability to work on multiple issues and viewed allies and opponents as temporary or shifting so they were not perceived as “enemies” and doomed other policy proposals
- Appealed to civic pride of Minneapolis and St. Paul to provide best location with the most favorable financial implications for the arts school

- Used power of dramatic timing and personal appearance at late night sessions to move the political process forward
- Used power of exit to withdraw from arena of conflict and project a neutral commitment to policy proposal to protect bill from being held hostage
- Accessed the trappings of the Governor's office to influence legislators
- Accessed the surroundings of the Governor's residence to influence legislators

Patronage in the legislative arena:

- Used the power of the Governor to call people to his office to say "I know you need something" and what can we negotiate
- Traded infrastructure for votes, including: bridges, buildings, rest-stops, and communication system
- Traded influence and campaign appearances for votes
- Traded financial contribution to legislators for votes
- Rewarded supporters with jobs, sanctioned people who opposed policy
- Traded budget support for favored bill for affirmative vote on Arts High School, 6.5 million dollars for state-wide per-pupil aid
- Paired legislative goals with support for legislator's goals (Post-Secondary Enrollment Options Act)

Manipulation of symbols, narrative, and metaphor:

- Built on symbols of "excellence," "global market," "national educational leadership," "educational change to meet needs of artistic students"
- Built on pride in Minnesota; "Paris and Vienna of the United States," an opportunity for Minnesota for national and international recognition
- Related narratives of despair; "pink tights" story, to create emotional recognition and sympathy for policy need
- Covert references to emotionally charged issue of gay students in Minnesota, with implied policy solution of a "safe" high school
- Used emotionally charged language: "tortured," "misunderstood," "ignored" to frame the issue
- Referenced narratives of success: the movie, *Fame*, and Bob Dylan to imply Arts High School was a policy solution to an educational problem

Legislative rules and norms:

- Experienced chair requested the House Majority Leader remove inexperienced, non-negotiating chair of Conference Committee
- Chair of committee voted with prevailing side to reintroduce the Arts High School after committee defeat
- Committee chairs manipulated votes after opponents exited the committee room
- Committee chairs used voice votes to avoid putting opponents "on record"
- Developed "tie-vote" strategy to keep bill alive

- Provided opponents with legislative cover on committee votes and final omnibus votes
- Introduced diversionary legislation that could be negotiated away or “thrown overboard”
- Introduced multiple reforms to camouflage real goals
- Held controversial legislation until the end of the session or special session and refused to adjourn before compromise was reached
- Held controversial legislation and deliberately bargained late at night to increase pressure to settle
- Got caucus to “release” a legislator from caucus position so the legislator would not have to take a “bad vote” in his/her district
- Marginalized legislators who would not bargain

Effective use of state agency personnel with insider knowledge and access:

- Moved key legislative or executive staffers to insider positions at new arts school
- Used arts school staff to lobby legislature with compelling and accurate information combined with district by district focus
- Used arts school staff in legislative arena for “vote-counting”
- Used arts school staff to convey wishes of legislator, including implied patronage requests, to the Governor
- Used arts school staff to convey wishes of Governor to legislators with implied reward or sanction
- Used arts school staff to assess interests of legislators and what issues might influence individual legislators: party loyalty, rural interests, urban interests, ideological position

CHAPTER 7 CONCLUSIONS

The essential question of this investigation was, “what were the political processes that resulted in the Minnesota Center for Arts Education?” The major actors were identified by the informants and by triangulation with the archival data. The stated and inferred goals were explicated from informant perspective and public data. The resources and strategies were enumerated and the influence of the actors in the leadership arena and the legislative arena were analyzed. The turmoil at the boundaries of legislative rules and norms was examined. Yet the goal of creating meaning out of thirteen years of interest group actions and six years of focused political interaction finally needs to be drawn together in policy outcomes, lessons for the politics of education, and implications for further study.

Policy Outcomes

The statutory outcomes of the political processes that resulted in the establishment of the Minnesota Center for Arts Education were spread over three legislative sessions: 1985, 1987, and 1989. The Seventy-fourth Session of the Legislature (1985-1986) enacted appropriations and authorization for an Arts High School and Arts Resource Center on 1985, June 21 in the First Special Session (Laws of the State of Minnesota, Chapter 12, Statute 129C.10). The appropriation for FY 1985-1986 was \$491,000 (See Appendix J). The appropriation for FY 1986-1987 was \$2,170,000. The Seventy-fifth Session of the Legislature (1987-1988) enacted start-up funds for the Arts High School and Resource Center on 1987, May 18 (Laws of the State of Minnesota, Chapter 398). The appropriation for FY 1987-1988 was \$2,206,200 for operating funds and \$4,000,000 in capital funds. The Seventy-sixth Session of the Legislature (1989-1990) enacted appropriations and authorization for the Minnesota Center for Arts Education on 1989, May 22 (Laws of the State of Minnesota, Chapter 329, Article 12). The appropriation for FY 1989-1990 was \$5,800,500. The Minnesota Center for Arts Education opened in 1989, on the site of

the former Golden Valley Lutheran College, and housed both the residential Arts High School and the Resource Center.

Lessons for Politics of Education

The first lesson for the politics of education, from this case study, was the necessity for a policy champion, a strong insider to be fully committed to the policy change. The case was not politics as usual, what McDonnell described as “political action focused on refining rules governing an established policy (McDonnell in Furhman, et al., 2007, p. 30). Mazzoni believed that this type of case represented “structural reform not statutory incrementalism” (Mazzoni, 1991, p. 115). It was a highly unconventional structural reform played out within the traditional policy system and the reform and the policy subsystem did not match up in any way that was considered traditional by the policy participants.

The most common observation about a “policy champion” was encapsulated by a state commissioner who was a neutral policy observer, but was drawn into the conflict at the end when the budget reserve was tapped in the 1989 session. His words to the researcher were, “Inevitably, education reform needs a strong leader, it is impossible to pass any other way” (Executive branch official, interview, 1998, February 9). This trenchant observation was made not from within the Department of Education, not as an arts interest group advocate, not as agency staff at the Arts High School, but as a political appointee who oversaw the state’s finance department. The former Speaker of the House, the most seasoned political observer expanded on the same question, “I saw thousands of ideas in the legislature, some of which we adopted and some maybe we should or should not have considered. A lot of them never got to the table because they did not have the clout like the Governor pushing them” (Legislator, interview, 1997, November 25). Ideas do matter and that was a central theme in analyzing the critical incidents, but in the politics of education, a strong leader mattered more. The same informant summarized this whole concept for lesson for politics of education, “I think if it did not come from the Governor, it would not have happened” (Ibid).

The second lesson for the politics of education was that political skill counted in the arena of influence. The Director of MCAE reflected on the traditional position of arts education advocates compared to the political realities of arts education reform, “I think the lesson was that arts lobbyists and arts politicians...have always taken a bow tie, high elitist road. We had to overcome that. We really just played good old-time politics on this one and I think the lesson to be learned is that politics is politics, and you gotta’ get in there and do it” (Agency staff, interview, 1997). Phrased slightly differently, another agency staffer said, “You can have all the great ideas in the world, but if you don’t have the political power to get them rolling they are worthless” (Agency staff, interview, 1997, November 4). Creating a solid basis for funding arts education in the public schools has always been difficult when confronted with the necessity of funding “core curriculum,” or the more popular choice of funding athletics. Art educators expressed the feeling that the arts were the last area to be funded and the first area to be cut. The informants in this case study believed that arts education advocates too often took refuge in the “high road” and failed to master the political skills necessary to enter the arena of influence and engage in the political process to seek the allocation of values that favored their position. Perpich’s Chief of Staff concluded that, political skill resided in finding commonality and creating winning coalitions, “Perpich was very good at finding the policy streams, the idea streams. And if there was a commonality, he would join forces” (Executive branch official, interview, 1997).

Policy making required strategy and the centrality of this idea emerged as the third lesson from the informants. “The big lesson is; there is a way to go about it. Perpich was a shrewd politician. He didn’t just engage in political fights, there is a strategy to politics” (Executive branch official, interview, 1997, November 11). The comprehensive list of the strategies in this case study, concluded the last chapter, but the informants were clear when asked this final question, that the most important strategies were to: start small and use pilot projects to demonstrate efficacy, minimize the threat to current stakeholders, and create new revenue streams (Executive branch official, interview, 1998, February 9; Executive branch official, interview, 1997, November 11). Some of the strategies explicated were clearly deliberate and

implemented with thought. Other strategies arose in a more spontaneous manner, but the lesson for the politics of education was that strategic thinking, at all points, was necessary to ultimately win in the allocation of values.

The final lesson for the politics of education was to preserve and project a detached humility about both the process and success. One key committee chair stated, “Don’t go public too early with hard and fast positions. Hold gentle conversations” (Legislator interview, 1998, April 13). Gentle was not a word that arose in this case study before this legislator used it to sum up his view of lessons for the politics of education. Informants were more likely to describe the “hard-ball politics” that it took to win. But there were important key actors who, even in the midst of the policy conflict, were able to step back and project less emotionality and an attitude of pragmatism. Another key actor placed the policy solution in a longer-term perspective that reflected this detached position, “I believe that there aren’t any ‘right answers’ in education. There are only right answers for a period of time, than they expire. The right answer of a few years ago is not the right answer today” (Executive branch official, interview, 1997, November 11). He concluded his interview by quoting the Governor, “Perpich used to say, ‘Don’t ever act too smart about it, because the truth of the matter is that we are not that smart. We got lucky in places and the right things happened along the way” (Ibid).

Educating children takes place in every large city, every rural town, and every congressional district in the country. Each curricular issue and each structural reform can be contentious and hard fought because deeply held values are at stake in the allocation of resources. These four lessons for the politics of education, from an educational policy issue that was hard-fought over thirteen years offer guidance to people who advocate for educational policies and those who study the politics of education.

Further Study

This research blended the historical framework of Political Systems analysis explicated by Easton in 1965 with A Conceptual Framework for Political Analysis of Education Issue Conflicts by Mazzoni (1992). Fruitful research waits to be pursued

with this blended framework that considers other case studies in educational policy making. This researcher concluded that Easton's model accounted for the broad policy picture and accurately described the environment of a stable political system when interest group advocates penetrated the boundaries of the system with demands for reform and were confronted by those who resisted the reform and advocated for the status quo. Mazzone's framework provided thoughtful, comprehensive categories of inquiry to analyze the political conversion "box" that Easton left ambiguous. Further research on traditional educational issues may provide data that expands the theoretical base of understanding more than an outlier case study, such as the Arts High School. It is the conclusion of this researcher that the blended frameworks offer greater conceptual clarity to understanding policy research and should be applied to research in a variety of educational issues.

The "personalization of politics" provides the second area for further research. There was convincing evidence in this case study to suggest that the 'personalization of politics' provided the intense motivation behind Rudy and Lola Perpich's interest in the Arts High School issue and sustained their efforts to influence the legislative decisions over the length of the policy debate. Further research efforts are needed to explore the linkage between high personalization of policy by executive actors and their commitment to the policy process and outcomes. Two significant factors that can traditionally account for high motivation in policy analysis, are absent in this case study: significant allocation of fiscal resources and educational reform that affects large numbers of students. The Arts High School budget was no more than a "rounding error" according to the informants and the first class of students enrolled in the residential school in 1989 numbered 135 kids. Case study analysis of policy innovations with extraordinary levels of "personalization" may shed light on the theories of policy reform in education.

The final area for further study suggests a linkage between a structural reform paradigm and the nature of the reform. Barzelay (1992) posits a "bureaucratic paradigm" that describes educational institutions. The categories represented in the paradigm included: efficiency driven, administrative designed outputs, local control and local vision, authority based on function and structure, lowest cost per student,

and educational policies designed to meet the general needs of the most number of students. The intriguing question raised by this case study, but far beyond the boundaries of the study was: is there a relationship in educational reform between the inherent nature of the reform and the structure of the reform. Extrapolating from Barzelay's paradigm, the Arts High School structural reform suggests that inherent in an artistic paradigm was a new structural paradigm. The Arts High School reform suggested the following categories in an analogous paradigm: values driven instead of efficiency driven, artistic design for the delivery of instruction rather than administrative designed, a vision that encompassed a larger community; namely a statewide, national, or international vision for artistic achievement rather than a locally defined educational vision, authority based on the mission of the school to serve artistic students rather than an abstract vision of function and structure based on utility, fiscal resources that meet the needs of the students rather than per-pupil funding based on categorical models, and finally the creation of innovative state agencies or educational options designed to meet multiple educational needs, rather than limited educational institutions which students fit into and attempt to seek out the resources to meet their own needs. Are there other subject areas that offer the intrigue and flexibility of the arts? It is a question that could provoke interesting research.

The final word in this case study goes to Randy Peterson, the advocate who guided the arts school through to implementation in the 1987 and 1989 sessions. Barbara Martin called him the "hero" while others pointed out his genuine interest in educational reform. He recalled the policy issue with detached wisdom and a wry sense of humor that concluded this investigation, "It was a very interesting thing I have to say. Disregarding any policy arguments or whatever – the Arts High School policy was a work of beauty, just in terms of legislative process. I have frequently grinned about it" (Legislator, interview, 1997).

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The Minneapolis Star Tribune, and St. Paul Pioneer Press and Dispatch, were systematically reviewed for the dates January 1978 to September 1989. All references to the Minnesota Center for Arts Education were reviewed.

The following Minnesota newspapers were reviewed for articles about the Minnesota Center for Arts Education:

Askov American

Austin Daily Herald

Bemidji Pioneer

Benson - Swift Monitor

Brainerd Daily Dispatch

Cambridge Star

Cannon Falls Beacon

Clinton, The Northern Star

Coon Rapids Herald

Detroit Lakes Tribune

Duluth News - Tribune

Fergus Falls Daily Journal

Grand Forks Herald

Hawley Herald

Herman Review

Hibbing Daily Tribune

Little Falls Record

Marshall Independent

Morris Sun

New Hope – Golden Valley Post

Owatonna People's Press

Parkers Prairie Independent

Prior Lake American

Red Wing Republican Eagle

Rochester Post Bulletin

St. Paul Skyway News

Sandstone Courier

Stillwater Gazette

This Week Burnsville

University of Minnesota Daily

Wadena Pioneer Journal

Worthington Daily Globe

APPENDICES

Appendix A

Comprehensive Chronology of the Minnesota Center for Arts Education 1976-1989

This comprehensive chronology was revised eighteen times following interviews with informants and an analysis of archival data. The fifteenth revision was mailed to four selected key informants late in the data gathering process. The informants were requested to review and verify the accuracy of the chronology. Three informants made detailed corrections and mailed those corrections back to the researcher. However, even with these checks there were differences in the chronology of events. The researcher deferred to archival documents over informant memory and the generic month over conflicting dates within the month. This document represents the final revision of the chronology of events. There were significant differences between the earlier versions mailed for the initial interviews and the later versions mailed for the final informant interviews.

Activity preceding the Policy Idea - 1973

1973 The Minnesota Alliance for the Arts in Education was organized within the Minnesota Department of Education in 1973. David Price, Minnesota Department of Education, Music Education Specialist, wrote the grant that obtained funding from the National Alliance for Arts in Education, an outreach program of the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts. The MAAE board of directors was comprised of educators, artists, and citizens who were interested in a “statewide effort to develop, coordinate, and implement a comprehensive arts education program for students in the State of Minnesota.” (1986 Progress Report)

Phase One 1976 to 1980

Concept of an Arts High School Proposed and Developed by Key Arts Advocates

1976, Summer William L. Jones, Music Director of the Greater Twin Cities Youth Symphonies, proposed the concept of a statewide Arts High School for the first time in public, when he addressed the participants at the Minnesota Alliance for the Arts in Education, Summer Conference.

1976 Governor’s Commission on the Arts conducted a survey in 1976 to determine the status of arts resources in Minnesota. The commission recommended that:

- because public schools provided the only opportunity for many students to learn and participate in the arts that the current level of arts education be maintained
- current education funds be shifted to the employment of certified arts specialists and visiting artists
- more schools implement artists in residence programs
- the State Department of Education implement a continuous assessment of public arts education to ascertain the most effective application of public dollars

- 1977 “Minnesota Plan for Arts in Education” was written in 1977 by the Minnesota Department of Education and the Minnesota Alliance for Arts in Education with funding from the United States Office of Education. The plan was designed as a model for state and local education agencies and outlined objectives for improving arts education in Minnesota. The plan was approved by the Minnesota State Board of Education in 1978.
- 1977-1979 Lt. Governor, Rudy Perpich completed Wendell Anderson’s term as the Governor of Minnesota. Governor Anderson resigned and was appointed by Perpich to complete Walter Mondale’s Senate term, after Mondale became the Vice President of the United States under President Jimmy Carter.
- 1978
- 1978 Minnesota Alliance for Arts in Education (MAAE) became an independent organization. The organization received funding from the private sector.
- 1978, January Statewide conference entitled, “The Arts in Education, Coming to Our Senses” has held with one hundred scholars, artists, and administrators in attendance During the conference the idea of a statewide arts high school in Minnesota was renewed and promoted. The final recommendations emerged in four areas; awareness, advocacy, arts resources, and training. The conference was funded by grants from The Bush Foundation, Dayton Hudson Foundation, Minneapolis Star Tribune Company, and Wood-Rill Foundation.
- 1978, November 10 William L. Jones presented the concept of an Arts High School at “Take Time for Talented,” a statewide conference on meeting the needs of gifted and talented students.

1978, December Northwest Area Foundation approved \$4,750 for a feasibility study for a Minnesota Arts High School. The money was granted to William L. Jones (Greater Twin Cities Youth Symphonies), through the fiscal agency of the Minnesota Alliance for the Arts in Education, to study the North Carolina School for the Arts, Interlochen Arts Academy, Dallas Arts Magnet School, and the New York High School of Music and Art.

1979

1979 Minnesota Department of Education expanded its assessment program to include testing in the arts. The Department tested writing in 1979- 1980, music in 1980-1981 and visual arts in 1981-1982.

1979, February 19 Bill to establish a program of aid for gifted and talented students was introduced in the House (HF 518). This bill was referenced by the Arts High School Planning Committee as a model for future funding from the Minnesota Legislature.

1979, March to October Planning and Feasibility Conferences, sponsored by the Minnesota Alliance for the Arts in Education, were held around Minnesota to promote the concept of an Arts High School.

1979, August Rudy Perpich moved his family to Vienna Austria after he lost the election for governor to Al Quie. Perpich was employed by Control Data, and lived in Europe until 1982, April.

1979, November 26 Advocates for an Arts High School held a meeting with Gerald Kleve, Assistant Commissioner, and Donald Johansen, Supervisor of Secondary Education for the Minnesota Department of Education. The Arts High School proposal was formally presented to the Department of Education.

1979, November 30 Minnesota Department of Education questioned the need for an Arts High School in a memo to William L. Jones.

1979, December 7 The concept of an Arts High School was presented at the Conference on Gifted Education sponsored by the Northwest Area Foundation.

1979, December 7 Minnesota Commissioner of Education was invited by letter, to attend the upcoming conference to establish an Arts High School (scheduled for 1980, February 29).

1980

- 1980, January 22 Minneapolis Mayor, Donald Fraser, invited to the 1980, February 29 conference on the Arts High School in a letter signed by Lila Jacob.
- 1980, February 5 St. Paul Mayor, George Latimer, invited to the 1980, February 29 conference on the Arts High School in a letter by William L. Jones.
- 1980, February 8 Minnesota Department of Education, Gifted Education Specialist, Lorraine Hertz, withdrew her support for the concept of an Arts High School.
- 1980, February 29 to March 1 Conference to establish a Minnesota School for the Arts was held in Minneapolis.
- 1980, March 1 The first meeting was held on selecting a site for the Arts High School by the planning committee.
- 1980, March 11 The first general media coverage of the proposed Arts High School was printed in the St. Paul Pioneer Press and Dispatch in a story entitled, *Education in the Arts*.
- 1980, March 25 Children's Theater Company withdrew its support for the arts high school proposal.
- 1980 April Northwest Area Foundation rejected the grant application for a second round of funding and denied further funding to study the proposed Minnesota Arts High School.
- 1980, April 22 A formal plan to approach the State Legislature for funding was proposed by the Arts High School Planning Committee.
- 1980, May 28 Arts high school planning committee meeting developed a one year strategic plan for public and private funding sources. Members of the committee included; Minnesota Department of Education, Music Specialist, David Price, Art Specialist, Mary Honetschlager, Mounds View Schools principal, Gene Young, and citizen, Lila Jacob (formerly representing Children's Theater).
- 1980, August Prospectus for the Minnesota School for the Arts, was printed and widely distributed around Minnesota. This document summarized the 1980, February Conference. Legislative action was not requested because of state budget problems.

1980, December William L. Jones had breakfast at the Governor's residence with Governor and Mrs. Quie. Jones formally presented the concept of a Minnesota Arts High School to the Governor.

Phase Two 1981 to 1983

The Proposal for an Arts High School Failed to Reach the Official Policy Agenda

1981

- 1981-1982 Seventy-second Session of the Minnesota Legislature
Senate: 44 Democrats 23 Republicans
House: 70 Democrats 64 Republicans
- 1981, February A planning matrix for budget support for the proposed Arts High School was developed by Arts Management Associates at the request of the Planning Committee.
- 1981, March 5 A bill that created an expanded program of arts education was introduced in the House by Otis, Norton & Nelson (H.F. 719).
- 1981, March 9-10 Conference to plan for the Arts High School structure, location, curriculum, financial support, hiring, and operational policies was held at the Spring Hill Conference Center in Wayzata, Minnesota.
- 1981, March 13 Legislative update indicated that there were no hearings scheduled in the House on the arts education legislation (H.F. 719).
- 1981, March Smithsonian Magazine printed a high profile fourteen page article on the North Carolina School for the Arts. This article was copied and widely distributed by the advocates for the proposed Arts High School.
- 1981, May Arts Education report enacted into law:
Laws of Minnesota
Chapter 358, Article 6, Section 44
Legislative summary: law required a "Status of Arts" report to the Legislature by 1982, January 1.
- 1981, Summer Minnesota Alliance for Arts in Education published an article, The Movement for a Minnesota School for the Arts, by Meredith Howell in their statewide newsletter.

1981, July Minnesota Council for the Gifted and Talented reprinted the MAAE article in their statewide newsletter.

1982

1982, January 1 Minnesota Department of Education issued “Arts in Minnesota Schools” a status report, pursuant to Chapter 358, Article 6, Section 44. There was no mention of an Arts High School in this seven page document.

1982, May Statewide survey was conducted of arts teachers seeking information on local arts programs. The information was published in “Arts in Education in Minnesota: 1982 Status Report.” This report was delivered to the Legislature in 1983, and was widely distributed in Minnesota

1982, November Rudy Perpich was elected Governor of Minnesota

1983

1983, January Rudy Perpich was sworn in as the Governor. He served from 1983, January until 1991, January.

1983-1984 Seventy-third Session of the Legislature
Senate: 42 Democrats 25 Republicans
House: 77 Democrats 57 Republicans

1983, May 17 Ruth Randall selected by Governor Perpich as Commissioner of Education. This was the first time the Commissioner was selected by the Governor rather than the State Board of Education. Randall began her term on 1983, July 1.

1983, May Legislature passed the Comprehensive Arts Planning Program (CAPP) bill. CAPP grants were awarded to thirty school districts to improve arts education in their communities.

1983, April United States Department of Education released the report, “*A Nation At Risk: The Imperative for Educational Reform.*” Recommendation A included, “work in the fine arts and performing arts” as a basic requirement of education. Implementation suggestions stated that high school curriculum “should also provide students with programs requiring rigorous effort in subjects that advance students’ personal education, and occupational goals, such as the fine and performing arts...”

- 1983, June 20 Governor Perpich met with Minnesota Department of Education Arts Specialists and other arts advocates seeking to establish arts education goals. Staff member, Lani Kawamura, was assigned the task of setting up a Governor's Commission on the Arts. The proposal for an Arts High School was introduced to the governor at this meeting. A participant at this meeting reported that Perpich, "asked a lot of questions, and was clearly moved by the idea."
- 1983, August 2 Informational meeting to resurface the idea of a Minnesota School for the Arts. This meeting included many of the arts advocates who were initially involved in the idea development. In addition to the arts advocates, Lani Kawamura from Governor Perpich's staff attended.
- 1983, August Governor Perpich and his wife, Lola, traveled to Moscow to visit the Moscow School for the Arts.
- 1983, November 15 St. Paul Pioneer Press and Dispatch reported in an article titled, "*Educators revive dream of statewide school for arts,*" that parents and educators were invited to a public meeting at the MacPhail Center for the Arts to discuss the proposal for an Arts High School.

Phase Three 1984 to 1989

The Proposal for an Arts High School Moved to the Official Policy Agenda

1984

- 1984, January William L. Jones had breakfast with Governor and Mrs. Perpich at the Governor's residence. Jones discussed the proposal for an Arts High School and shared the background work that had been done.
- 1984, January 10 Governor Perpich's State of the State message emphasized the need for the arts, to "soften the hard edges of technology."
- 1984, January 23 Perpich directed the thirty-seven member "Commission on the Economic Vitality of the Arts" to meet and study the possibility of "establishing a special high school of performing arts in Minnesota."
- 1984, February 2 Governor and Mrs. Perpich visited the New York High School of Music and Art.

- 1984, February 3 Governor Perpich held a news conference and named a fifteen member “School of the Arts Task Force” to develop a plan for a Minnesota School for the Arts. David Speer was named as the chair of the Task Force and Lola Perpich was named honorary co-chair.
- 1984, February 9 Governor’s Commission on Economic Vitality in the Arts, issued a preliminary report pertaining to the interdependence of the arts and the Minnesota economy. The fourth recommendation was to; create a high school of the performing arts in the Twin Cities to attract talented students from Minnesota.
- 1984, February 14 St. Paul Pioneer Press and Dispatch, in an editorial stated that “the ultimate idea of greatly expanded opportunities for profoundly gifted young artists remains infinitely worth exploring.”
- 1984, March 27 The School of the Arts Task Force held its first meeting.
- 1984, March The City of St. Paul actively promoted St. Paul as the location for the proposed Arts High School.
- 1984, Spring Barbara Martin left Senator Tom Nelson’s staff and began work as an employee for the Arts High School Task Force.
- 1984, April St. Paul and Minneapolis presented competing proposals for the location for the Arts High School. The site conflict drew media attention from the two major Twin Cities newspapers.
- 1984, April 30 The School of the Arts Task Force changed its name to the Minnesota Arts Education Task Force, to reflect its commitment to both an Minnesota Arts High School and a statewide Resource Center for the Arts. The Task Force identified, wrote, and disseminated a mission statement and list of seven objectives.
- 1984, May Legislation for an Arts High School passed by the legislature.
Laws of the State of Minnesota
Chapter 463, Article 7, Sections 41, 55
Legislative Summary: authorized a study and report to the legislature on a Minnesota Arts High School,
Appropriation of \$148,000 for FY 84-85 from the sales tax on charitable gambling

- 1984, June 14 Minnesota Arts Education Task Force met with consultants from Interlochen Arts Academy in Michigan and the New York High School of Music and Art.
- 1984, August 5 WCCO-TV broadcasted an editorial on the high school for the arts that referenced a high school for the arts, but pointed out that “thousands of gifted students” would be left out. The editorial went on to suggest an alternative – an Arts Resource Center for students and teachers.
- 1984, August 15 The original planning committee from 1979 was reconvened to “refocus... and renew interest in an Arts High School.” The meeting was held under the auspicious of the Minnesota Department of Education Art Supervisor.
- 1984, November Minnesota Arts Education Task Force, Preliminary Report to the Legislature which reported that as they studied the issue, the scope of the mission was changing to embrace a Minnesota School of the Arts and Resource Center (emphasis in the original) “whose programs ... would enhance the arts educations of every student in every school district in Minnesota.”
- 1984, November Independent Republican Party gained control of the Minnesota House of Representatives. The Democrats retained control of the Senate.
- 1984, November 16 Governor Perpich named a committee to evaluate potential sites for the Arts High School.
- 1984, December 5 Minneapolis City Council submitted three locations to the Site Evaluation Committee, David Speer, chairman.
- 1984, December 5 St. Paul City Council submitted three locations to the Site Evaluation Committee. The proposal was a 114 page document.
- 1984, December 6 City of Rosemont submitted one location to the site committee.

1985

- 1985-1986 Seventy-fourth Session of the Legislature
Senate: 42 Democrats 25 Republicans
House: 69 Republicans 65 Democrats
- 1985, January Minnesota Department of Education issued a six part report on the Comprehensive Arts Planning Process in Minnesota,

pursuant to the 1984 Law, Chapter 463, Article 7, Section 3. The proposed Arts High School was not mentioned.

- 1985, January Minnesota Arts Education Task Force, Report to the Legislature (Preliminary report issued in 1984, November) The report attached greater detail to the development of curriculum and the student selection process from each legislative district.
- 1985, January 24 Bill requesting money for an Arts High School was attached to the Omnibus Education Bill.
- 1985, February Governor Perpich spoke to the Citizens League on the proposed Arts High School.
- 1985, February 12 Senate rejected a tax on charitable gambling as a funding source for the proposed Arts High School.
- 1985, February 22 House Tax Committee rejected a tax on charitable gambling as a funding source for the Arts High School: recorded vote 12-9.
- 1985, February 26 Senate rejected another motion to use a tax on charitable gambling as a funding source for the Arts High School.
- 1985, March 14 Funding for the Arts High School passed the Senate Educational Aids Sub-committee (Chair, Tom Nelson). The proposal was sent to the full Senate Education Committee (Chair, James Pehler).
- 1985, March 30 House Education Finance Sub-committee rejected funding for the Arts High School on a tie vote.
- 1985, April 7 The two Minnesota teachers organizations (the Minnesota Education Association and the Minnesota Federation of Teachers) publicly opposed the Arts High School.
- 1985, April 8 Governor Perpich criticized the two teachers unions for not supporting the proposed Arts High School. He stated that he would not seek or accept teacher union endorsement for his 1986 re-election campaign.
- 1985, April 24 Senate Finance Committee added the Arts High School to the Education Aids Bill.
- 1985, April 26 House Appropriations Committee approved \$2.61 billion Education Aids Bill on a voice vote. The proposal for \$4.65 million for an Arts High School was defeated 20-13. The

Education Aids Bill advanced without the proposed Arts High School.

- 1985, April 27 Minnesota State Auditor, Arne Carlson, labeled the Arts High School proposal “elitist” in a letter to the editor of the St. Paul Pioneer Press and Dispatch.
- 1985, May 2 Senate approved \$2.75 billion Education Aids Bill. This bill included \$3.5 million for the Arts High School: vote 35-29.
- 1985, May 5 St. Paul Pioneer Press and Dispatch summarized the major educational issues pending in the legislature: open enrollment, Post-Secondary Enrollment, and the Arts High School.
- 1985, May 15 Senate Finance Committee approved money for the Arts High School building as a part of the bonding bill.
- 1985, June 6 Legislature reached a tentative agreement on a \$2.53 billion Education Aids Bill. This bill included planning money for an Arts High School.
- 1985, June 10 Legislative Conference Committee approved an allocation of \$2.7 million to hire Arts High School staff and plan for Arts Resource Center programs for the summer of 1987.
- 1985, June 21 The appropriation establishing the Minnesota Center for Arts Education was enacted into law.
Laws of the State of Minnesota
First Special Session
Chapter 12, Article 5, Sections, 2, 3, 4, 6, 8, 10
Statute: 129C.10 Center for Arts Education
Legislative Summary: Appropriation and authorization for an Arts High School and Arts Resource Center.
Appropriation of \$491,000 for FY 85-86
Appropriation of \$2,170,000 for FY 86-87

The legislation had four major components that included the money specifically designated for the Arts High School and Resource Center and additional money for aid to arts education around the state:

1. Elementary Arts Education Aid - \$1980,000 All Districts would receive \$2.25 per elementary school pupil
2. Comprehensive Arts Planning Program (CAPP) - \$200,000 established thirty new CAPP sites to develop plans for improving arts education

3. Artists in the Schools - \$154,800 Funds for the Minnesota State Arts Board to continue and expand artists in the school programs
4. School and Resource Center for the Arts - \$2,661,000 Created fifteen member board which had the responsibility for a plan for the School for the Arts and Resource Center

The enabling legislation for the Arts High School contained provisions for governance, terms and compensation for board members, powers and duties of the board, employee contracts, establishment of the Resource Center in 1985-86 and required reports to the legislature on 1986, February 1 and 1987, February 1 on the activities and recommendations of the board concerning the continuation of the school and Resource Center. (1986 Progress Report)

1985, July 29 Governor and Mrs. Perpich hosted a reception at the Governor's Residence to thank supporters of the Minnesota School for the Arts

1985, October Perpich appointed the following fifteen people to the board: (At least one member from each congressional district was required) Roland Amundson, Congressional District 5, Marilyn Berg, Congressional District 4, Gordon Bird, Congressional District 2, Reginal T. Buckner, Congressional District 3, Jack Fena, Congressional District 8, Flo Grieve, Congressional District 8, Owen Husney, Congressional District 6, Mary Ingebrand-Pohlad, Congressional District 3, Alexandra Jacobs, Congressional District 6, Margaret Marvin, Congressional District 7, Sarah Nesson, Congressional District 3, Ruth Roitenberg, Congressional District 5, Harry Sieben J. Congressional District 3, Nancy Vollerstsen, Congressional District 1, Jon Wefald, Congressional District 5. (Confirmation of the appointments was requested during the 1986 Legislative session.)

The Board met and elected Jon Wefald as the Chair and Ruth Roitenberg as the Vice Chair. In addition, an Executive Committee, Communications Committee and Curriculum Committee were formed.

Daniel Loritz, staff member of Governor's office, appointed Interim Director of the Minnesota School for the Arts.

1985, October Board authorized the establishment of a Charitable Foundation for the Minnesota School for the Arts.

1985, November A twenty-five member Resource Center Advisory Council was appointed by the Board of Directors. Its membership represented a balance of artists and educators, and rural and metropolitan interests. Cynthia Gehrig was appointed chair and David Zimmerman was appointed Vice-chair for a one-year period.

1986

1986, January Summary of personnel activity through January:
175 individuals applied for 25 positions on the Resource Center Advisory Council
250 individuals and organizations requested to be put on the mailing list
600 individuals requested information and application forms for the two positions; Director of the Resources Center and Coordinator of the Resource Center
142 applications were selected to be reviewed by the board for these two positions

1986, February James Undercofler, David Zimmerman, and Thomas Tewes were selected as finalists and interviewed for the position of Director of the Minnesota School and Resource Center for the Arts

1986, February 19 Minnesota Arts School and Resource Center Board Minutes, recorded the secret ballot for the Director's position; James Undercofler received six votes, David Zimmerman received three votes, and Thomas Tewes received zero votes.

1986, March James Undercofler was officially named as Director of the Minnesota School and Resource Center for the Arts.

1986, March Temporary offices were obtained in St. Paul at the Gallery Tower Building. These offices were attached to the Science Museum of Minnesota complex.

1986, March Board adopted a mission statement as follows:
"The Minnesota School and Resource Center for the Arts is a statewide public school and resource center for the visual, performing and literary arts. In partnership with all public schools, its purpose is to provide expanded opportunities in the creative and interpretive arts to meet the needs of the students of Minnesota. Committed to both academic and artistic excellence, it will serve Minnesota's education system by providing:

- A dynamic environment for students throughout Minnesota’s public school system to develop their artistic talent, intellectual abilities, human character and their interrelation to the broader community.
- Expanded opportunities for students to improve their abilities to engage in the creative process.
- Continuing education and support for professional educators and artists
- Interaction with arts and community organizations throughout Minnesota”

- 1986, April 2 Legislature passed a budget reduction bill that included the Minnesota School and Resource Center for the Arts.
Laws of the State of Minnesota
 First Special Session
 Chapter 1, Article 9, Section 35
 Legislative summary: Budget reduction that revised the appropriation from \$2,170,000 to \$2,037,000 for the Minnesota School and Resource Center for the Arts for FY 86-87
- 1986, May Twenty-one Minnesota communities were selected to participate in the first Resource Center art programs during the summer of 1987. David Zimmerman was selected as the Director of the Resource Center and estimated that 1,200 students would be served in all legislative districts. The individual courses would be developed by the University of Minnesota, community colleges, local school districts, and local arts organizations.
- 1986, May Jon Wefald resigned as the first Chair of the Board of Directors for the Minnesota School and Resource Center for the Arts.
- 1986, June Harry Sieben Jr. was appointed by Governor Rudy Perpich as the second Chair of the Board of Directors for the Minnesota School and Resource Center for the Arts.
- 1986, July James Undercofler began his tenure as the Director of the Minnesota School and Resource Center for the Arts. The summer was spent planning for the implementation of statewide Resource Center for the Arts programs in 1987.
- 1986, September 19 Media presentation by David Zimmerman to the Board of Directors of the Minnesota School and Resource Center for the Arts on all the proposed sites in the state for Resource Center activities.

- 1986, October 14 St. Paul revised its proposal for the location of the Arts High School. The city reduced the proposal from three to two locations.
- 1986, October 16 Minneapolis and St. Paul each submitted final site proposals to the Board of Directors of the Arts High School.
- 1986, November 12 Minneapolis Fawkes block was selected as the Arts High School site by a sub-committee of the Board. This block was located near the Guthrie Theater, Walker Art Center, Orchestra Hall, Children's Theater, Minneapolis Institute of Arts, and just north of Loring Park.
- 1986, December 19 Chair of the Site Selection Committee reported that twenty-two architectural proposals had been received and reviewed.

1987

- 1987-1988 Seventy-fifth Session of the Legislature
Senate: 47 Democrats 20 Republicans
House: 83 Democrats 51 Republicans
- 1987, January *Artbeat*, the official publication of the Minnesota Alliance for Arts in Education states that the MAAE will pursue the concept of a Minnesota School and Resource Center for the Arts in its legislative initiatives.
- 1987, January 12 Arata Isozaki, a Japanese architect, was selected to design the new building for the Minnesota Center for Arts Education.
- 1987, February 24 Governor Rudy Perpich proposed new statewide high schools for Math, Science, and Foreign Languages.
- 1987, March 1, Senator Randy Peterson, Chair of the Education Sub-committee, attached the Arts High School funding proposal to the Education Aids Bill.
- 1987, April 4 Bill was laid over by the Senate Governmental Operations committee, Donald Moe, Chair.
- 1987, April 4 Cynthia Gehrig, executive director of the Jerome Foundation and former chair of the Arts High School Advisory Committee issued a public statement opposed to the Arts High School.

- 1987, April 6 Breakfast at the Governor's residence for members of the Senate Education Finance Committee, hosted by the Governor.
- 1987, April 9 Senate Governmental Operations Committee voted on a motion to delete the Arts High School proposal from S.F. 1173. The motion was defeated on a tie vote: 5 -5.
- 1987, April 10 Governmental Operations Committee voted on a motion to support the proposed Arts High School. The motion prevailed and was referred to the Education Committee: 6-3.
- 1987, April 11 Senate Education Aids Sub-committee voted on a motion to remove the Arts High School (Article 5) from the Education Aids Bill and retain the Resource Center. The motion to remove failed on a tie vote: 6-6.
- 1987, April 12 Minneapolis Star Tribune printed an editorial that asked Governor Perpich to withdraw the proposal for an Arts High School.
- 1987, April 13 House Education Committee, Education Aids Division, voted on a motion to delete funding for the Arts High School. The motion failed on a tie vote: 6-6.
- 1987, April 13 House Finance Committee voted on motion to remove the Arts High School from H.F. 753. The motion failed on a tie vote: 6-6.
- 1987, April 13 House Education Finance Committee voted to adopt Article 10 (Arts High School) into Omnibus Education Aids Bill. The motion prevailed: 6-4-2.
- 1987, April 14 Reception at Governor's residence at 5:00 p.m., hosted by the Governor, for House Appropriations Committee which would be a crucial committee in considering the Arts High School
- 1987, April 15 Full House Education Committee voted on a motion to amend Article 10 and limit the enrollment for the Arts High School to 11th and 12th grade students. The motion passed: 20-12. Initial vote was voice vote with division requested.
- 1987, April 15 Full House Education Committee voted on a motion to delete all Arts High School planning money and increase the funding for the Comprehensive Arts Planning Process and Elementary Arts Education Categorical Aid. The motion failed: 16-14-2.

- 1987, April 15 Full House Education Committee voted on an amendment to remove the Arts High School and Resource Center from the statute. The amendment failed on tie vote: 15-15-2.
- 1987, April 15 Full House Education Committee voted on motion to pass Omnibus Education Aid Bill (H.F. 753) as amended and refer to Appropriations Committee. The motion carried.
- 1987, April 20 Full Senate Education Committee voted on an amendment to remove the Arts High School and Resource Center from S.F. 583 (Omnibus Education Bill). The amendment failed: 10-7-1.
- 1987, April 20 Full Senate Education Committee voted on a motion to pass S.F. 583 and refer the bill to the Committee on Taxes. The motion prevailed on a voice vote.
- 1987, April 21 James Undercofler, the Director of the Minnesota School and Resource Center for the Arts traveled around Minnesota and shared a vision of the Arts High School in speeches and press releases.
- 1987, April 22 Senate Tax Committee voted on a motion to remove the Arts High School from S.F. 583. The motion failed: 13-12.
- 1987, April 22 House Appropriations Committee, Education Division voted on a motion to remove the Arts High School from Omnibus Education Aids Bill (H.F. 753) and retain the Resource Center for the Arts. The motion passed: 7-2.
- 1987, April 22 Senate Tax Committee voted on a motion to pass S.F. 583 and refer the bill to the Finance Committee. The motion passed.
- 1987, April 27 House Finance Division, Education Committee voted on a motion to eliminate both the Arts High School and the Resource Center from the Education Aids Bill. The motion passed and eliminated \$4.9 million from the Bill.
- 1987, April 28 Letter to all members of the Legislature from Governor Rudy Perpich, where he stated, the editor of City Business, John Kostouros, recently summed up the case for a state school for the arts better than any I've seen. His conclusion: "An arts school isn't elitist. It's good education." Perpich went on to say, "I hope you'll take a few moments to read it."
- 1987, April 29 Senate Finance Committee voted on a motion to limit enrollment to 11th and 12th grade residents at the Arts High School. The

- motion carried on a voice vote. This motion followed similar House action on 1987, April 15.
- 1987, April 29 Senate Finance Committee voted on a motion to remove the Arts High School from the Omnibus Education Aids Bill and retain the Resource Center. The motion failed: 16-10.
- 1987, April 29 Senate Finance Committee voted on a motion to pass S.F. 583 as amended for floor action. The motion passed.
- 1987, May 1 Senate voted on a floor motion to remove the Arts High School and retain the Resource Center. The motion failed: 34-32.
- 1987, May 1 Senate voted on a motion to pass S.F. 583, the Omnibus Education Aids Bill and appoint a Conference Committee. The motion passed: 37-29. A Conference Committee was appointed that included 5 members from the Senate and 5 members from the House.
- 1987, May 11-13 Perpich lobbied the Conference Committee to restore the Arts High School funding that was eliminated in House Appropriation Committee on 1987, April 22.
- 1987, May 12 Senate voted on a motion to eliminate the Arts High School and use the funding to restore a trout farm. The motion failed.
- 1987, May 16 Conference Committee adopted the Education Aids Bill with \$8.8 million allocated for the Arts High School and Resource Center.
- 1987, May 18 Legislature passed the Education Aids Bill that contained the start-up funds for the Arts High School and Resource Center.
Laws of the State of Minnesota
Chapter 398, Article 10, Sections 4-13
Legislative summary: Appropriation of \$2,206,200 in operating funds and \$4,000,000 in capital funds for FY 1987-1988
- 1987, Summer The Resource Center for the Arts provided arts experiences (MAX) throughout Minnesota for the first time. There were sessions in art, dance, and theater with 500 teachers in attendance. The summer program served 1,200 students with a staff of 300 teachers. The arts leadership workshop served 50 teachers and 30 administrators. Cooperative projects with colleges and universities around the state served 663 teachers and 50,000 students

- 1987, October 9 Minneapolis City Council rejected the Fawkes block site for an Arts High School.
- 1987, October 9 Board of Directors of the Minnesota School and Resource Center for the Arts voted in favor of a St. Paul site for the school.
- 1987, December 1 Perpich indicated that he might not seek funds to open the residential portion of the Arts High School
- 1987, December 22 Governor Perpich stated that the prospect of building an Arts High School “looks bleaker and bleaker each day.”
- 1987-1989 Governor Perpich was elected chair of the national Education Committee of the States.

1988

- 1988, February Jim Undercofler, the executive director, and his staff, toured the state to meet with public school officials and promote the Minnesota School and Resource Center for the Arts.
- 1988, Spring Model of the Arts High School building was displayed in public.
- 1988, May 10 Administrative Law Judge Hearing for Finding of Fact, Conclusions, and Order Adopting Rule regarding Proposed Rules Governing Admission to the Minnesota School for the Arts
Laws of the State of Minnesota
Minnesota Rules, parts 3600.000 to 3600.007
Chapter 629, Section 32
- 1988, September Minnesota School and Resource Center for the Arts moved to acquire the Cathedral Hill site in St. Paul.
- 1988, October Admission procedures for students to enter the Arts High School were publicized throughout Minnesota by the media, and by packets mailed to all high school counseling offices.
- 1988, Fall to Winter 250 students applied for admission to the Arts High School
- 1988, Fall Funding for the Arts High School is questioned in the State Legislature.
- 1988, Fall Governor Perpich tells the Arts High School staff, “I don’t know you anymore, you are on your own.”

1989

- 1989-1990 Seventy-sixth Session of the Legislature
 Senate: 44 Democrats 23 Republicans
 House: 80 Democrats 51 Republicans
- 1989, January 30 Bill introduced in the House (H.F. 476) to delay the Arts High School until 1992.
- 1989, January Governor Perpich did not include the Arts High School in the budget request in the biennial budget.
- 1989, February 27 Bill introduced in the Senate by Senator Gen Olson, (S.F. 1275) to eliminate the Arts High School and retain the Resource Center for the Arts (repeal MN Statutes 1988, sec. 43A.08, sub. 1a; and 129C.10).
- 1989, April Governor Perpich hosted two dinners at the Governor's residence for State Legislators. Perpich lobbied for the Arts High School at each dinner.
- 1989, April 14 House School Aids Division vote on a motion to delete the Minnesota School for Arts from the \$3.5 billion Education Bill. The motion passed.
- 1989, April 17 Motion to delete funding for the Arts High School and retain funding for the Resource Center was introduced in the Senate. No action was taken.
- 1989, April 19 Senate Education Aids Sub-committee approved \$12 million for the Minnesota School and Resource Center for the Arts.
- 1989, April 19 Senate Education Aids Sub-committee (Randolph Peterson, chair) approved the proposed name change for the Arts High School to the Minnesota Center for Arts Education.
- 1989, April 21 Senate Education Aids Sub-committee voted on a motion to approve the Minnesota Center for Arts Education. The motion passed.
- 1989, April 25 Senate voted on a motion to delete the Arts High School. The motion failed.
- 1989, April 26 Senate voted on a motion to reduce the budget for the Arts High School. The motion passed.

- 1989, May 6 Minneapolis Star Tribune newspaper published an editorial that supported a residential Arts High School. This editorial represented a change from not supporting, to supporting the Arts High School.
- 1989, May 8 House approved a \$7.2 billion Education Aids bill. The bill did not include funding for the Arts High School.
- 1989, May 9 Senate voted on an amendment to delete the Arts High School funding. The amendment failed: 25 to 33.
- 1989, May 21 House and Senate Conference Committee requested adoption of the bill (MN Statute, 1988, sec 43A.08, sub. 1a) funding the Minnesota Center for Arts Education. This bill contained \$6.5 million for the Arts High School as a part of the \$7.2 billion Education Aids Bill.
- 1989, May 22 House passed the bill to fund the Arts High School.
Senate passed the bill to fund the Arts High School.
Laws of the State of Minnesota
Chapter 329, Article 12, Sections 1-11
Legislative summary: Authorized the opening of the residential portion of the Arts High School in the fall of 1989
Appropriation of \$5,800,500 for FY 1989-1990
The school was officially named the Minnesota Center for Arts Education.
- 1989, June 27 William L. Jones, who first publicly proposed the concept of an Arts High School in 1976, was named to the Board of Directors of the Minnesota Center for Arts Education.
- 1989, July The Golden Valley Lutheran College campus was rented for the classroom and dormitory space for the Arts High School.
- 1989, Fall 135 juniors from around Minnesota made up the first class of students at the Minnesota Center for Arts Education.

Appendix B

Profile of Key Informants

<u>Position*</u>	<u>Number of Informants Interviewed</u>
Arts Advocates	2
State Legislators/Legislative Staff	11
Executive Branch Officials	5
Policy Expert	1
Media Expert	1
Associates of Governor Perpich	2
<u>Minnesota State Agency Staff</u>	<u>5</u>
Total Interviews	27

*Many informants played more than one significant role during the issue conflict. This researcher listed them by their major role or major contribution to the issue. No informant is counted more than one time, though several informants authoritatively answered questions based on multiple roles. Two key actors and one proximate actor declined to participate in the investigation after two requests by the researcher. One key actor was not contacted due to illness. One informant was contacted at three different addresses and did not respond. In all, 27 informants agreed to be interviewed out of 32 people contacted.

Appendix C

Key Informant Packet Initial Letter

Date:

Dear (Key Informant),

I am researching the legislative process that established the Minnesota Center for Arts Education as an educational choice for students in Minnesota. I would like to interview you as one of the key people with knowledge about the process. This research is in partial fulfillment of requirements for a Ph.D. in Educational Policy and Administration from the University of Minnesota Graduate School.

Enclosed you will find a description of the study and a chronology of the events leading up to the establishment of the Minnesota Center for Arts Education. This chronology is intended as a beginning point for the interview. I have enclosed two copies of the consent form that explains the conditions of your participation. I will need to have a signed copy of this form before we begin the interview. I will plan on collecting one of the consent forms when we meet.

If you have any questions or concerns about the study or your participation, or you do not wish to be contacted by phone please contact my advisor, Dr. Charles Sederberg, at 612-644-4450. I look forward to setting up an appointment and meeting with you.

Sincerely,

James D. Hainlen

Graduate Student, Education Policy and Administration

University of Minnesota

(651-439-7084)

Advisor: Professor Charles Sederberg (612-644-4450)

Description of the Study

The Process of Politics: A study of the process leading to the establishment of the Minnesota Center for Arts Education

James D. Hainlen

Ph.D. Candidate

Educational Policy and Administration

The objective of this study is to investigate the political process that resulted in the establishment of the Minnesota Center for Arts Education as an educational option for Minnesota public school students. The research will investigate the major actors who initiated and brought the idea to the executive and legislative branches. The research will identify the participants in the legislative arena and study the process of politics of this educational issue. The research will look at the interactions of the major actors from the political perspective of goals, resources, motivation, strategies, and setting. The location of interest for this study is centered on the legislative and executive arenas in Minnesota government, but also includes significant interactions with the Department of Education, public school lobbyists, the fine arts communities in Minnesota, and foundations.

The study is bounded in time by the initial proposal to the Northwest Area Foundation in 1978 and the enabling legislation passed by the Minnesota Legislature in 1989. The research methodology is case study with qualitative data being gathered from interviews of significant informants, archival documents, state legislative documents, and news accounts from the public record. The Minnesota Center for Arts Education is a unique educational choice in the nation and provides an important study of state education policy formation. The information gained in this study will be used in a doctoral dissertation to be presented to the faculty of the University of Minnesota graduate school.

Members the Ph.D. committee

Dr. Timothy Mazzoni, Professor of Educational Policy and Administration

Dr. Charles Sederberg, Professor of Educational Policy and Administration

Dr. Van Mueller, Professor of Educational Policy and Administration

Dr. Claire McCoy, Professor of Music Education

Dr. Paul Haack, Professor of Music Education

Appendix D
Consent Form

You are invited to participate in a study of the process through which the Minnesota Center for Arts Education was established. The enclosed project description provides information about the study's purpose, scope, and use.

If you decide to participate in this study, I will conduct an interview, which will last approximately one hour. All information obtained in this interview will be strictly confidential and anonymous. The interview will be tape-recorded and I will take notes with pen and paper. Information will be presented by categories of respondents unless it is already a matter of public record (legislative debates, legislative votes, and information in the public press record). The information will be kept in a safe location and will be destroyed following the completion of the paper. The names of respondents will not be disclosed. All research questionnaires will be coded and will not carry individual names.

Your participation in this study is completely voluntary and unpaid. You may refuse to participate in this study or you may discontinue your participation at any time. If you have any questions, please ask me before, during, or after the interview. My address and telephone number accompany my signature at the bottom of this form.

- By your signature, you indicate that you have read the information included in this form and have chosen to participate in this study.
- You will be given a copy of this form for your files before the interview.

Name, research respondent _____ Date _____

Signature _____

University of Minnesota, Education Policy and Administration Ph.D. Student:

James D. Hainlen
1206 Third Street South
Stillwater, Minnesota 55082
651-439-7084

(James D. Hainlen)

Advisor: Dr. Charles Sederberg (612) 644-4450

Appendix E

Interview Guide

Date _____

Code _____

Verbal Interview Guide for

The Process of Politics: The Process Leading to the Establishment of the Minnesota Center for Arts Education

Section A

1. State purpose - to understand the process leading to the establishment of the Minnesota Center for Arts Education, state time period of interest and involvement, confirm confidentiality and anonymity.
2. Clarify the position of respondent during the time period, self-described position, (policy position, advisory position, other) confirm specific referral information for accuracy.
3. Invite respondent to describe the chronology of events that occurred, tell about the process: who, how, where, when, why.
4. Follow up probes based on political framework:
 - Where did the initial idea for the arts high school come from and what did the participants seek to accomplish? (Goals, #2 in Mazzoni)
 - How did the policy dimensions come into being from the initial idea? (Sederberg)
 - Who were the major policy actors in the initiation and further development of the arts high school? (Participants, #1 in Mazzoni)
 - What was symbolically important about having a public arts high school in Minnesota?
 - What were the major issues and conflicts that arose in the policy debate? (Easton, Conflict enters political process)
 - In what arenas were the policy issues debated and how were they resolved? (Settings, #6 in Mazzoni)
 - What resources, personal and political, were brought to bear on the policy participants? (Resources, #3 in Mazzoni)
 - How willing were participants to use their resources to exert influence on the policy conflict? (Will, #4 Mazzoni)
 - What strategies were employed to build support for the policy positions? (Strategies, #5 in Mazzoni)
 - How were the setting and the context defined in the decision making process to implement the legislation? (Setting and Context, #6 in Mazzoni)

- What were the key decisions, critical moments and miscalculations of the participants that influenced the outcome? (Outcomes, #7 in Mazzoni)
5. Metaphor: If you could suggest a vivid metaphor for the process:
“The process was like a...”
 6. Is there anything else you would like to share with me that I have not raised?
 7. Request additional document sources or follow up leads.
 8. Confirm availability to double check and verify information.
 9. Review interview notes following conclusion of interview.
 10. Send thank you letter within 3 days.

Appendix F

Interview Assessment Guide

Date _____ Time _____

Respondent Code Number _____ Site _____

I. Respondent seemed:

(1 = least to 5 = most)

Uninterested 1 2 3 4 5 Interested

Reluctant 1 2 3 4 5 Straightforward

Uninformed 1 2 3 4 5 Knowledgeable

II. Respondent provided additional resources _____ yes, _____ no

III. Respondent agreed to follow-up contact _____ yes, _____ no

IV. Respondent seemed:

Unclear in memory 1 2 3 4 5 Remembered well

Removed from conflict 1 2 3 4 5 Integral
participant

V. Comments:

(Adapted from Anderson, Betty Malen, 1983; Revised Hainlen, J. 1997)

Appendix G

Key Participants and Organizations Involved in the Issue Conflict 1976-1989

<u>Key participants</u>	<u>Organization participant represented in the issue conflict</u>
Benson, Duane	Senate, Republican, minority leader
Brandl, John	Senate, Democrat and policy analyst
Brunell, Phillip	Minneapolis musician involved in original study group
DiBlassio, Margaret	University of Minnesota Art Professor, represented Minnesota Art Educators
Gerhig, Cynthia	Director of the Jerome Foundation
Grabarski, Sam	Minnesota State Arts Board, Director
Hasse, Margaret	Minnesota Alliance for Arts in Education member
Hertz, Loraine	Gifted and Talented Specialist, Minnesota Department of Education
Honetschlager, Mary Ann	Art Education Specialist, Minnesota Department of Education
Jones, William L.	Music Director, Greater Twin Cities Youth Symphonies, Chair or the Minnesota Alliance for the Arts in Education
Kawamura, Lani	Staff member, Minnesota State Arts Board Executive Director, Pittsburgh Dance Council Special Assistant to the Governor 1984 Deputy Director, State Planning Agency 1985-1986 Director of State Planning Agency 1987-1990
Kleve, Gerald,	Commissioner of Minnesota Department of Education 1983
Levi, Connie	Senate, Republican, House Majority Leader 1985
Loritz, Dan	Assistant Commissioner, Department of Education Director of Legislative Relations, Department of Education Interim Director of the Minnesota School and Resource Center for the Arts, 1985 Assistant Director, State Planning Agency Policy Coordination 1987 to 1988 Chief Lobbyist for the Governor, 1988 Deputy Chief of Operations for the Governor, 1988
Martin, Barbara	Committee Secretary, Subcommittee on Education Aids, 1983-1984 Deputy Director for the Minnesota Center for Arts Education 1985-1990
Marx, Bill	Committee Administrator, Education Finance Division, 1980-1984 Fiscal Analyst, Senate Education Committee, 1985-1986 Fiscal Analyst, House Education Finance Division, 1987-1989
McEachern, Bob	House of Representatives, Democrat House Education Committee, Chair

Merriam, Gene	Senate, Democrat Finance Committee, Chair
Misukanis, Mark	Legislative Analyst, Senate research staff
Nelson, Ken	House of Representatives, Democrat Chair of K-12 Education Finance division
Nelson, Tom	Senate, Democrat Education Aids Subcommittee, Chair Commissioner of Education 1991
Olsen, Sally	House of Representatives, Republican House Education Finance Division Committee, Chair 1984-1985
Olson, Gen	Senate, Republican
Perpich, George	Senate, Democrat Bother of Governor Perpich
Perpich, Lola	Wife of Governor Perpich
Perpich, Rudy	Governor, Democrat, 1977-1979, 1983-1991
Perpich, Rudy Jr.	Son of Rudy and Lola Perpich
Peterson, Randy	Senate, Democrat Education Aids Subcommittee, Chair
Price, David	Music Education Specialist, Minnesota Department of Education
Quie, Al	Governor, Republican 1979-1983 Received first official proposal for arts high school in 1980
Rainville, Alice	Minneapolis City Council member
Randall, Ruth	Commissioner of Education appointed by Governor Perpich, 1984-1990
Schultz, Steven	University of Minnesota, Music Professor, represented Minnesota Music Educators Association
Sieben Jr., Harry	House of Representatives, Democrat Speaker of the House Second Chair of Board, Minnesota Center for Arts Education
Speer, David	Arts High School Task Force, Chair Partner in Padilla and Speer Public Relations Firm Influential Democrat
Triplett, Tom	Director of State Planning Agency 1986-1987 Commissioner of Revenue 1988 Commissioner of Finance 1989
Undercofler, Jim	First Director of the Minnesota School and Resource Center for the Arts
Vaughan, Susan	Music Education Specialist, Minnesota Department of Education
Wefald, John	First Chair of the Board of Minnesota Center for Arts Education
Zimmerman, David	First Director of the Arts Resource Center

<u>Key Organizations</u>	<u>Role in Issue Conflict</u>
Children's Theater Company	Management supported early concept of Arts High School and later withdrew support
Minnesota School of the Arts Task Force	1984 Task Force, reported to Governor on the feasibility of an Arts High School
Greater Twin Cities Youth Symphonies	Non-profit organization that received the first Northwest Area Grant to study an Arts High School. The grant was received in 1978.
Minneapolis, Minneapolis	Proposed location of Minnesota Center for Arts Education that was at the center of site location conflict
Minnesota Alliance for the Arts in Education	Organization where the initial policy idea and interest group support was developed
Minnesota Department of Education	Ambiguous in support and opposition to the policy idea
Minnesota Education Association (union)	Opponent of Arts High School
Minnesota Federation of Teachers (union)	Opponent of Arts High School
Minnesota, Governor's Office	Locus of strategy and governor's efforts to pass the legislation
Minnesota State Legislature	Major arena in the Arts High School policy debate
North Carolina School of the Arts	Model for Minnesota High School for the Arts
North Carolina School for Math & Sciences	Model for Minnesota High School for the Arts
Northwest Area Foundation	Funded the initial grant to study feasibility of an Arts High School
School Administrators Association St. Paul, Minnesota	Opponent of Arts High School City that was considered for site location but lost out to Minneapolis in contested decision

Appendix H

Legislative Committees with Education Oversight during the Issue Conflict

1983-1984 Seventy-third Session (Democrats had majority in Senate and House)

Senate 42 Democrats, 25 Republicans

Senate Majority Leader: Roger Moe, (DFL, Ada)

Senate Minority Leader: James Ulland, (IR, Duluth)

Education Committee, 21 members, Senator James Pehler, Chair,
(DFL, St. Cloud)

Education Aids Subcommittee, 12 members, Tom Nelson, Chair,
(DFL, Austin)

Barbara Martin, Committee Secretary

Tax Committee, 25 members, Doug Johnson, Chair, (DFL, Cook)

Finance Committee, 25 members, Gerald Willette, Chair, (DFL, Park Rapids)

House 77 Democrats, 57 Republicans

Speaker of the House: Harry Sieben Jr. (DFL, Hastings)

House Majority Leader: Willis Ekan, (DFL, Twin Valley)

House Minority Leader: David Jennings, (IR, Truman)

Education Committee, 29 members, Bob McEachern, Chair, (DFL, St. Michael)

Education Finance Division/Education, 8 members, Ken Nelson, Chair
(DFL, Minneapolis)

Tax Committee, 31 members, John Tomlinson, Chair, (DFL, St. Paul)

Appropriations Committee, 37 members, James Rice, Chair, (DFL,
Minneapolis)

1985-1986 Seventy-fourth Session (Democrats had majority in the Senate, Republicans had majority in the House)

Senate 42 Democrats, 25 Republicans

Senate Majority Leader: Roger Moe, (DFL, Ada)

Senate Minority Leader: Glen Taylor, (IR, Mankato)

Education Committee, 21 members, Senator James Pehler, Chair,
(DFL, St. Cloud)

Education Aids Subcommittee, 14 members, Tom Nelson, Chair, (DFL, Austin)

Tax Committee, 25 members, Doug Johnson, Chair, (DFL, Cook)

Finance Committee, 25 members, Gerald Willette, Chair, (DFL, Park Rapids)

House 69 Republicans, 65 Democrats

Speaker of the House: David Jennings, (IR, Truman)

House Majority Leader: Connie Levi, (IR, Dellwood)

House Minority Leader: Fred C. Norton, (DFL, St. Paul)

Education Committee, 29 members, Wendell Erickson, Chair, (IR, Arden Hills)

Education Finance Division/Education, 10 members, Sally Olsen, Chair,
(IR, St. Louis Park)

Tax Committee, 31 members, William Schreiber, Chair, (IR, Brooklyn Park)

Appropriations Committee, 38 members, Mary Forsythe, Chair, (IR, Edina)

1987-1988 Seventy-fifth Session (Democrats had a majority in Senate and House)
Senate 47 Democrats, 20 Republicans
Senate Majority Leader: Roger Moe, (DFL, Ada)
Senate Minority Leader: Duane Benson, (IR, Lanesboro)
 Education Committee, 21 members, Senator James Pehler, Chair,
 (DFL, St. Cloud)
 Education Aids Subcommittee, 14 members, Randolph Peterson, Chair,
 (DFL, Wyoming)
 Tax Committee, 26 members, Doug Johnson, Chair, (DFL, Cook)
 Finance Committee, 28 members, Gene Merriam, Chair, (DFL, Coon Rapids)
House 83 Democrats, 51 Republicans
Speaker of the House: Fred C. Norton, (DFL, St. Paul)
House Majority Leader: Robert Vanasek, (DFL, New Prague)
House Minority Leader: William Schreiber, (IR, Brooklyn Park)
 Education Committee, 32 members, Bob McEachern, Chair,
 (DFL, St. Michael)
 Education Finance Division/Education, 12 members, Ken Nelson, Chair
 (DFL, Minneapolis)
 Tax Committee, 34 members, Gordon Voss, Chair, (DFL, Blaine)
 Appropriations Committee, 38 members, Glen Anderson, Chair,
 (DFL, Bellingham)

1989-1990 Seventy-sixth Session (Democrats had a majority in the Senate and House)
Senate 44 Democrats, 23 Republicans
Senate Majority Leader: Roger Moe, (DFL, Ada)
Senate Minority Leader: Duane Benson, (IR, Lanesboro)
 Education Committee, 21 members, Senator James Pehler, Chair,
 (DFL, St. Cloud)
 Education Aids Subcommittee, 14 members, Randolph Peterson, Chair,
 (DFL, Wyoming)
 Tax Committee, 25 members, Doug Johnson, Chair, (DFL, Cook)
 Finance Committee, 30 members, Gene Merriam, Chair, (DFL, Coon Rapids)
House 80 Democrats, 54 Republicans
Speaker of the House: Robert Vanasek, (DFL, New Prague)
House Majority Leader: Ann Wynia, (DFL, St. Paul)
House Minority Leader: William Schreiber, (IR, Brooklyn Park)
 Education Committee, 36 members, Bob McEachern, Chair,
 (DFL, St. Michael)
 Education Finance Division/Education, 15 members, Ken Nelson, Chair
 (DFL, Minneapolis)
 Tax Committee, 35 members, Dee Long, Chair, (DFL, Minneapolis)
 Appropriations Committee, 41 members, Glen Anderson, Chair
 (DFL, Bellingham)

Appendix I

Path of Education Bill in the Minnesota Legislature

The Idea

Anyone can propose an idea for a bill – individual, interest group, professional association, a governmental unit, the governor, or members of the Legislature. Each bill is introduced in each chamber as House File and Senate File

Legal Form

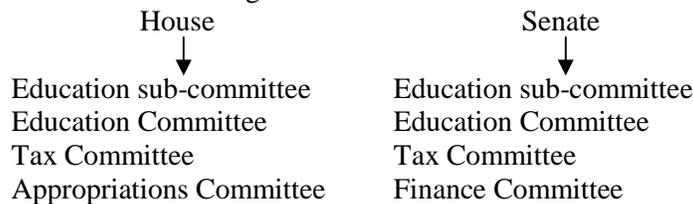
The Revisor of Statutes puts the idea into the proper legal form as a bill for introduction into the House of Representatives or the Senate, usually both.

Chief Author

Each bill must have a legislator to sponsor it and introduce the bill in the Legislature. The chief author's name appears on the bill with the bill's file number. The file number indicates the chronological order of the bill's introduction in the House and Senate. The introduction of the bill is called the *first reading*.

Committee Consideration

All committee meetings are open to the public. A committee may, recommend passage of a bill in its original form, recommend passage after amendment by the committee, make no recommendation, in which case a bill may die when the session ends. The committees with oversight of educational bills are:



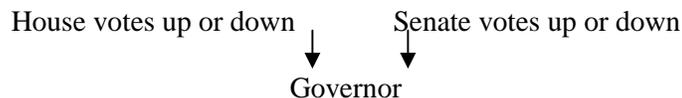
Floor action in the House and the Senate

After the full House or Senate accepts the committee report, the bill has its *second reading*. Following this the bill is placed on the agenda, called General Orders. From here, the bill is placed on the Calendar. The Calendar is a list of bills the full House and full Senate vote on. At this point, the bill has its *third reading*. If the House and Senate versions of the bill are different, they go to a Conference Committee. An equal number of senators and representatives meet to reach agreement on the bill

House and Senate Conference Committee produce final version of the bill

Final Version of Bill

House and Senate vote separately on the bill in its final form. No changes are accepted at this point.



When a bill arrives at the governor's office, he may, sign it, and the bill becomes law, veto it and return it stating his objections, pocket veto the bill by holding the bill until the Legislature adjourns, or exercise his right to veto portions of the bill.

The revisor updates Minnesota Statutes to include new laws.

(House Information Office, undated: Graphic depiction, Hainlen, J., 2009)

Appendix J

Minnesota Center for Arts Education Funding History 1985 to 1990

Fiscal Year	Capital	Operating	General Fund Supplement	Other State Funding	Other Federal Funding
1985		\$150,000			
1986		\$491,999			
1987		\$2,170,000			
1988	\$4,000,000 (1)	\$2,201,000	\$8,100		
1989		\$2,649,500	\$16,700		
1990	\$250,00 (2)	\$5,800,000	\$79,500		

(1) Purchase of St. Paul Site

(2) Demolition costs of St. Paul Site

Source: Minnesota Center for Arts Education, undated summary 1985 to 1999

Appendix K
Contact Summary Form

Contact Type:

Visit:

Site:

Phone Number:

Date:

1. What were the main issues or themes?

2. Summarize the information you got (or didn't) on each target question.

3. Other interesting points from this interview.

4. What new questions or directions for research were revealed in this interview?

5. What issues need to be revisited with this informant?

Appendix L

Committees to plan for Minnesota School for the Arts, 1979 Feasibility Conference

Planning committee membership (with organizational affiliation when given)

Mary Honetschlager, Art Education Specialist, Minnesota Department of Education
Lila Jacob, Former Education Director, Children's Theatre
William Jones, Director, Greater Twin Cities Youth Symphonies
Linda Nyvall, Bush Foundation, Formerly the Education Director, Walker Art Center
David Price, Music Educator, Former Music Specialist, State Department of Education
Eugene Young, Principal, Chippewa Middle School, Mounds View Schools

Program committee membership (with organizational affiliation when given)

Eugene Young, co-chair
William Jones, co-chair
Carol Sirrine
Eileen Hock
Roger McGaughey, Apple Valley High School
Robert Berglund
Lloyd Ultan, University of Minnesota
Betty Jo Zander
Jerry Hausman, Minneapolis College of Art and Design
Diane Levy
Don Johansen, Resource Person, State Department of Education
Laurie Stroope, Minnesota Orchestra, Education Coordinator
Joanna Cortright, MacPhail Center
Henry Charles Smith, Minnesota Orchestra, Associate Conductor
Frank Bourman, Hennepin Center for Dance
Susan Jones, MacPhail Center
Scott Helmes
Marcia Chapman, Minnesota Dance Theatre
Bev Semon
Neal Luebke
Frank Plut

Funding committee membership (with organizational affiliation when given)

Lee Gutteter, Central Minnesota Arts Council
John Humleker, Minnesota State Arts Board
Linda Nyvall, Bush Foundation
Cynthia Gehrig, Jerome Foundation
Mary Honetschlager, Art Education Specialist, State Department of Education
Gene Kairies, Council on Quality, State Department of Education

Don Johansen, Resource Person, State Department of Education

Site committee membership (with organizational affiliation when given)

David Price, co-chair

Lila Jacob, co-chair

Woody Hoiseth, Osseo School District

Beverly Semon, Hennepin Center for the Arts

Al Fischer

Appendix M

Feasibility Conference, Participants 1979

Carol Bly, Poet, Madison, MN
Willard Budnick, Wayzata Public Schools
Carol Calloway, Metropolitan State University
Joanna Cortright, MacPhail Center for the Arts
Evelyn Fairbanks, Metropolitan Cultural Arts Center
Eleanor Fenton, MacPhail Center for the Arts
Cynthia Gehrig, Jerome Foundation
Jan Gilbertson, Minnesota Music Educators Association
Janet Hall, Chimer-Edyth Bush theatre
Mark Hansen, Arts Educators of Minnesota
Nancy Hauser, Guild of Performing Arts
Jerome Hausman, Minneapolis College of Art and Design
Arnold Henjum, University of Minnesota – Morris
Lorraine Hertz, Gifted Education, State Department of Education
Mary Higley, Minnesota Association of Elementary School Principals
Arthur Himmelman, St. Paul Foundation
Eileen Hock, Minnetonka Center for Arts and Education
Linda Hoeschler, Dayton-Hudson Foundation
Mary Honetschlager, Art Education, State Department of Education
Lila Jacob, Children's Theatre School
William Jones, Greater Twin Cities' Youth Symphonies
Joyce Juntune, National Association for Gifted Children
Eugene Kairies, Council on Quality Education, State Department of Education
Marshall Kaner, Minneapolis Public Schools
Jeanne Keller, Guthrie Theatre
Donna Kramer, MAHPER, Dance
Joyce Kraulik, St. Paul Public Schools
Joyce Lake, White Bear Lake
Roger LeClercq, St. Louis Park Public Schools
Jon Lillemoe, North Branch High School
Margaret Morris, Minneapolis Tribune
Roger McGaughey, Apple Valley High School
Christine Nelson, Greater Twin Cities' Youth Symphonies
Neal Nickerson, University of Minnesota
Linda Nyvall, Bush Foundation
Alvina O'Brien, Minnesota State Arts Board
Mary O'Neill, Chimera-Edyth Bush Theatre
Andrew Ostazeski, Minneapolis Public Schools
William Phillips, Curriculum Coordinator, Minneapolis Public Schools
David Price, University of Minnesota, Duluth
David Samuelson, Children's Theatre School

Beverly Semon, Minnesota Dance Theatre and School
Gloria Sewell, Minnesota Public Radio
David Shough, Guthrie Theatre
Henry Charles Smith, Minnesota Orchestra
Larue Stroope, Minnesota Orchestral Association
Mark Swanson, MacPhail Center for the Arts
Susan Vaughan, Music Education, State Department of Education
Eugene Young, Mounds View Public Schools
Betty Jo Zander, St. Thomas College

Appendix N

The Commission on the Economic Vitality of the Arts – Members, January 1984

David Speer, Chairman of the Commission, President of Padilla and Speer
Lola Perpich, Wife of Governor Rudy Perpich, Honorary Co-chair of the Commission
Alber Andrews, Jr., Wayzata, lawyer, former chair, Guthrie Theatre Foundation
Arthur Ballet, Minneapolis, theater professor at the University of Minnesota
Ann Barkeley, Minneapolis, Dayton-Hudson Corporation
Lou Bellamy, Excelsior, actor and theater instructor, University of Minnesota
Odell Bjerkness, Moorhead, Director of Minnesota Language Camps, Concordia College
Patricia Bratnober, St. Paul, board member, Jerome Foundation
Phillip Brunelle, Golden Valley, Minnesota Opera Company
John Cowles, Jr., Minneapolis, former publisher of the Minneapolis Star Tribune
Donald Gillies, Minneapolis, Campbell-Mithun Advertising
Roberta Davis, St. Paul, jazz singer and teacher
Cheryl Dickson, St. Paul, executive director, Minnesota Humanities Commission
Lois Gibson, Golden Valley, consultant, Midwest Arts Management Associates
Karen Gray, Spring Grove, member of the Minnesota Arts Board
Patricia Hampl, St. Paul, poet and author
Gail Hanson, Hallock, member of the Region One Arts Committee
David Hawley, St. Paul, music critic for the St. Paul Pioneer Press and Dispatch
Marjorie Hayden, Little Falls, retired banking executive
Arlene Helgeson, St. Cloud, past president of the St. Cloud Community Arts Council
Eleanor Hovda, Duluth, president of the Minnesota Regional Arts Forum
Kathryn Jensen, Grand Rapids, arts funding administrator, Blandin Foundation
William L. Jones, Minneapolis, director, Greater Twin Cities Youth Symphonies
Philip Kaufman, Duluth, Professor, University of Minnesota-Duluth
Kathryn Kjellsen, Edina, arts teacher
Tony Kuznik, Crookston, Assistant provost, University of Minnesota-Crookston
Elizabeth Masiee, Edina, D.G. Rein Galleries
Mary McKee, Wayzata, free lance artist
John Meyers, St. Paul, board member, St. Paul Chamber Orchestra, Minnesota Orchestra, Metropolitan Opera Association and the Minnesota Opera
Franklin Michaels, Rochester, attorney
David Moore, Minneapolis, WCCO television anchorman
George Morrison, Minneapolis, visual artist
Larry Redmond, Minneapolis, legislative liaison for the Minnesota Citizens for the Arts
James Sitter, St. Paul, executive director, Minnesota Center for the Book Arts
Mike Steele, Minneapolis, critic for the Minneapolis Star Tribune
Taeko Tanaka, Golden Valley, potter and instructor
John Taylor, St. Paul, director, Northwest Area Foundation

(This was the announced commission, in the end, not all members agreed to serve)

Appendix O

Minnesota Arts Education Task Force Members – February, 1984

David Speer, Chairman of the Task Force and President, Padilla and Speer
Lola Perpich, Wife of Governor Rudy Perpich, Honorary Co-chair of the Task Force
Ellie Crosby, Long Lake
Judy Dayton, Wayzata
John Donahue, Artistic director, Children's Theater
Mary Kay Dougherty, Hibbing
Elizabeth Ford, Minneapolis
Margaret Hasse, Arts education consultant, St. Paul
Loyce Houlton, Artistic director, Minnesota Dance Theater
Charlyne Hove, Minneapolis
William L. Jones, Music director, Greater Twin Cities Youth Symphonies
Richard Kostohryz
Nancy Lokken, Suzuki String Program director, University of Minnesota-Duluth
Barbara Martin, Staff member, Senator Tom Nelson
Kingsley Murphy, J., Minneapolis
Ruth Randall, Commissioner of Education, Minnesota Department of Education
Betty Jean Shigaki, Director, Rochester Arts Center
Gary L. Zeller, Arts director, University of Minnesota
David Zimmerman, President of the Minneapolis Orpheum Theater