

## CAPITALIZING ART EDUCATION: MAPPING INTERNATIONAL HISTORIES

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Histories of visual arts education may be framed in various ways. Historical periods, geopolitical entities, nationalism, networks of international influences, topics, or themes each might provide a framework or be combined to shape international history. Following Pearse's (1997) speculation about the history of Canadian art education, one might use a geographical, political scheme (examining art teaching and learning in turn in European, North and South American, Asian, Australia and Pacific Island, and African countries) or structure a story into historical periods. Such periods might include: (1) a prehistory of informal means of art education up to the Renaissance in European-dominated nations, roughly ca. 100 BCE-ca. 1600, later in the Pacific Rim or tricontinental sites (Young, 2001, 2003)<sup>1</sup>; (2) artist education and liberal art education for elite amateurs in the context of national formation, ca. 1600–1800; (3) emerging capitalism and middle-class aspirations, ca. 1800–1850 and later; (4) industrial drawing systems, dominated by South Kensington in English-speaking countries and colonies, ca. 1850–1910; (5) ideology of the self-expressive child artist, ca. 1910–1960; (6) turn toward intellectual rigor, ca. 1960 to the present. A third way of framing an international history of art education might be in relation to forming or maintaining national identity, a theme found in a number of written histories (Araño, 1992; Boschloo, 1989; Kraus, 1968; Masuda, 2003; Petrovich-Mwaniki, 1992). A fourth approach might be to map the complex web of influences from Western to the Pacific Rim and tricontinental countries, and, in some cases, back again (Barbosa, 1992; Boughton, 1989; Chalmers, 1985, 1992b; Foster, 1992; Okazaki, 1987, 1991, 1992; Rogers, 1992; van Rheeden, 1992). Freedman and Hernandez identify several waves of European influence on international art education, and, like Efland, position art education as a school subject, making history of art education a subset of curriculum history (Efland, 1990; Freedman & Hernandez, 1998).

## Projection and Coordinates for One Historical Map

This chapter will treat the development of art education as an international professional field in contexts of cultural change and social factors that include technological and institutional development. Drawing on theoretical work by the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, I will map visual art education history in terms of the formation and transmission of capital – human capital, cultural capital, social capital, and economic capital (Bourdieu, 1983, 1984, 1996; Bourdieu & Darbel, 1990; Fauconnier, 1997; Storr, 1994).<sup>2</sup> Given that this framework privileges Western, developed nations, I will draw on postcolonialism as a way to give art learners a stronger voice while reminding myself and readers that art education can be found outside formal, state-supported schools, meeting individual desires as well as social needs.

Bourdieu (1983) defines capital as a force or power inscribed in the objectivity of things. In its primary usage, capital refers to an objectified or embodied potential capacity to produce financial profits, but Bourdieu uses it metaphorically, as in references to social capital or educational capital, both of which may be allied with possession of economic capital and enhanced life chances. Bourdieu asserts that “it is in fact impossible to account for the structure and functioning of the social world unless one reintroduces capital in all its forms and not solely in the one form recognized by economic theory” (1983, p. 242). He analyzes dynamics of four types of capital: economic, cultural, social, and symbolic. Works of visual art become economic capital when they are created, sold to collectors, then re-sold to other collectors or donated to a museum. Art objects can be converted to money (economic capital) and institutionalized in the form of property rights or ownership.

As cultural capital, visual arts contribute to the class status of those who not only own art objects, but, more importantly, respond to art works and consume works of visual culture. From Bourdieu and Darbel’s (1990) sociological perspective, reception of art works depends on the complexity and sophistication of artistic codes in relation to an individual’s mastery of social codes. Cultural capital signified economic capital, for example, when a young woman who received an ornamental education in the arts married a man of higher socioeconomic status. Educational qualifications, which can also be described as educational capital (and considered a subset of cultural capital), include the amount of formal schooling and number of diplomas or degrees one has. Thus, someone with greater expertise in the arts has higher cultural capital. Formal schooling institutionalizes cultural capital. Art education builds cultural capital whether it is part of formal or informal education. However, cultural capital can also be inherited and transmitted through families which engage with the arts, in such a way that it becomes a taken-for-granted part of one’s identity.

Social capital refers to a network of friends or acquaintances; it can be converted into economic capital if a friend makes a loan and may be institutionalized through nobility or hierarchical social ranking. Participation in professional associations builds social capital in a specific field. Symbolic capital is, from Bourdieu’s (1996) perspective, a kind of capital that denies its potential economic value, instead asserting its power as art for art’s sake. Although an artist might earn a living producing art, some works have value beyond their material costs. Within a broad context of twentieth-century

visual culture, Duchamp's *The Large Glass* has high symbolic capital, but popular magazine illustrations are generally regarded as more closely tied to economic capital than to symbolic capital. Child art has functioned as symbolic capital signifying humanistic values of free self-expression in the educational systems of modern capitalist societies.

A fifth type of capital discussed in histories of education is human capital (Spring, 2004). This term refers to the functions of education, often exercised through formal schooling, that select people for particular occupations but also transmit skills to make individuals more productive in their work. Leaders of capitalist nations in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries argued that development of human capital is a major function of state-supported schooling. While one view of human capital, a sometimes dehumanized perspective, is top-down, individuals themselves seek skills and credentials that will enable them to get a job or find a better one. Thus, potential workers are interested in developing themselves as human capital. Art education functions to develop human capital and transmit cultural capital, purposes that sometimes seem to be at odds with each other, but that also touch on other forms of capital.

One more set of concepts from Bourdieu's work will serve as coordinates<sup>3</sup> for this chapter, four concepts to be considered in examining the development of an intellectual or artistic field: autonomy, heteronomy, dualism, and temporality. Artistic/intellectual fields exercise both autonomy and heteronomy. Autonomy refers to claims that the field exists independently of social forces and is staffed by disinterested practitioners, that is, people who create art for the sake of creating art, not for personal power or celebrity or wealth. Bourdieu (1996) argues that attaining autonomy is a necessary step in the emergence of an intellectual field such as nineteenth-century French literature. At the same time, the field faces pressure toward heteronomy, demands that the field be sensitive to external demands. The visual arts, like literature, experienced both autonomy and heteronomy in the nineteenth century. Artworks were created specifically to be displayed in the museums which developed during this era, but artists also contributed to beautifying cities, decorating structures that housed art collections, planning parks to surround cultural destinations, and designing posters to tell visitors what they might see. Bourdieu (1996) argues that most artistic fields have a dualistic structure, encompassing both high forms that appeal to elite tastes and popular forms more likely to be enjoyed by a mass market. As we will see, art education has been dualistic in other ways as well. Finally, temporality refers to changes in position over time. Painters, for example, who constitute one generation's avant-garde become traditionalists to their grandchildren. Expressionism and Fauvism were wild and shocking in the first years of the twentieth century; by the 1960s, variations on colorful, expressive paintings were the expected art-school style.

## **Artist and Artisan Education: Pre-History of Art Education**

As Efland wrote in his social history of art education: "as long as the arts have existed, artists, performers, and audience members have been educated for their roles" (1990, p. 1). In small-scale societies visual arts might play varied roles in culture. Objects

could be created in ways that enhanced both beauty and function. Images might inspire and symbolize spiritual beliefs, guide actions, or recall past people or events. Ownership of artfully made objects might denote political power. Art learning in such societies was typically informal. Art-making abilities could be equated with spiritual power and taught to selected students by a religious leader. Parents might teach their own children, or young people with interests in particular skills could be apprenticed to an experienced worker, typically of the same gender, whose abilities might have led to special status (Teaero, 2002). Media came from the natural environment. Traditional Nigerian art forms included carving, mostly with wood; modeling vessels or sculpting figures with clay; body painting and wall decoration; calabash decoration; all types of weaving; and work in metals such as brass or bronze (Onuchukwu, 1994). In Oceania, groups who lived on islands able to sustain trees carved dugout canoes; those on coral atolls made vessels by lashing planks together (Teaero, 2002). While intra-Oceanic exchange of art forms or visual languages might influence tattooing or pottery, conformity and continuity characterized indigenous arts and other aspects of culture until contact with colonizers. Although capitalist interpretations of small-scale cultures are anachronistic, such societies typically ascribed high cultural, social, and symbolic power to practitioners of valued arts.

Europeans and North Americans of European heritage have traced their artistic lineage to ancient Greece and Rome, looking to classical forms of art, discussions of aesthetic values, and models of education as precedents for visual art (Bennett, 1926; Efland, 1990; Macdonald, 2004). Dual attitudes toward the visual arts appear in the Greek separation of craft or manual arts from liberal arts, those suited to a free man or member of the ruling class. In Plato's republic, music and poetry enjoyed higher status than visual art. The philosopher argued that, because physical objects were imitations of ideal forms, a painter who imitated in two dimensions the bed a carpenter created in three-dimensional form offered an imitation of an imitation that might show sensuous form but could never give reliable knowledge. The arts were expected to contribute to morality, as they did in small-scale societies, but their emotional appeal was, like their status as knowledge, suspect for its irrationality. Thus, art making was typically reserved for slaves and lower classes. Discussions about artistic and aesthetic qualities were the province of elite males, while women of all classes likely participated in textile arts, although documentary evidence for such work only exists from the European Middle Ages.

In China two classes of painters existed: professional painters who were court artists or artisans, and literati or scholar-officials.<sup>4</sup> According to Chinese sources, the first imperial art academy was established by the Song emperor, Huizong Zhao Jie in 1104 (Pan, 2002). In imperial art academies, as in later European art academies, copying from models was a primary method for teaching and learning; development of skills and technical competence were emphasized. The literati, on the other hand, were amateur painters who learned from peers or through self-study in their leisure time, simultaneously pursuing the Three Perfections – poetry, calligraphy, and painting. Original self-expression was more important for early literati painters than rendering a likeness. Proper attitude or Tao was more valued than skill; once the painter attained Tao, artistic creation would proceed unconsciously (Bush, 1971). However, by the late Ming dynasty (late fifteenth-early sixteenth century), the literati style had become more

formalized and literati painters learned by faithful tracing or free-hand copying, as court artists did.

Like the literati, many seventeenth-century British aristocrats were amateur artists who found drawing an enjoyable and useful way to document their travels or estates, plan gardens or buildings, record scientific experiments or objects collected. As virtuosi, a label borrowed from Italian, they were expected to collect objects of *virtu*, demonstrating connoisseurship and innate artistic taste but not the technical proficiency professional artists acquired through hard work (Sloan, 2000). Early evidence that European children drew comes from the Sixth Day of Boccaccio's *Decameron*, written about 1350 (Brown University Department of Art, 1984). A storyteller compares the face typical of one particularly old family to "faces that little children make when they first learn how to draw" (p. 11). In medieval England, during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, architecture, sculpture, painting and artistic crafts were not taught in schools but through guilds which provided training for boy apprentices (Sutton, 1967). Similar patterns can be found on the Continent as well. In France, the Church controlled training for artists who, seeking to exercise more self-control over their work, gradually formed guilds which eventually would be replaced by a state-sponsored academic system (Boime, 1971).

Grammar schools, often staffed by male clergy, were exclusively male institutions, while nunnery schools taught weaving and sewing to female boarders from good families as well as to their own novices. Schools organized by religious orders typically served elite young people, although many had private tutors and education was not systematized. Writing, for example, was taught in schools for young boys as well as by traveling writing masters. In the late fifteenth century, Erasmus recommended that writing, because it was initially a form of drawing, be taught later than reading (Sutton, 1967). In 1531, Sir Thomas Elyot published *The Boke named the Governour*, the first English-language printed book on education. Focusing on education for noble children (those who might grow up to be governors of public welfare), Elyot recommended that children with a natural interest in drawing, painting or carving be allowed to develop it, not to become artisans, but to learn a skill useful in military campaigns, for illustrating math and science or history. Having developed this skill, the noble child would have better critical judgment and be able to adapt what was learned in art to support other subjects. Castaglione, whose book of dialogues on the proper education of courtiers was translated from Italian into English in 1536, recommended that a gentleman's children learn painting as an initial step into the liberal arts, a means to follow the hand of the First Artist, and a study that required knowledge of many things. By the mid-sixteenth century, then, European and English societies were continuing the duality of skilled but menial artisans and elite amateurs found in Greece and China.

## Formalizing Artist Education

About 1488, Lorenzo de Medici opened his gardens for a school of painting and sculpture, laying a foundation for the first Italian academy of art. Florence's Accademia del Disegno was established in 1563 as both a religious confraternity and an association

for teaching painting, sculpture, and architecture (Boschloo et al., 1989). During its first half-century, the Accademia developed a curriculum, taught by master artists and invited scholars, which included five main components: (1) mathematics, the theoretical foundation for perspective and symmetry and a means to train eye and hand in drafting geometric forms; (2) anatomy and life drawing, supported by an annual dissection, usually in winter, so history painters would understand how the body made thoughts and passions visible; (3) natural philosophy, part of the curriculum by 1590, encompassed the theory of humors and physiognomy so that artists might better understand human motivations; (4) study of inanimate forms, that is, how to draw drapery; and (5) architectural principles. In apprenticeship, technique preceded theory, but the Accademia reversed this pattern, in part to raise the status of the artist. The Florentine Accademia was formally incorporated as a guild controlling all matters related to the production of the arts in 1584, when it was already serving as a model for artist academies in other Italian city-states.

By the mid-seventeenth century, Louis XIV stopped importing Italian-trained artists, establishing a French royal academy to create an authoritative symbolic visual culture. Desires for national styles led artists in Britain, Mexico, the United States, and elsewhere to establish art academies as schools for professional and amateur artists during the eighteenth century. The central principle of the French academy, “Control instruction and you will control style,” continued well into the nineteenth century (Boime, 1971, p. 4). Following the French Revolution and rise of the bourgeoisie, royal patrons would be replaced by wealthy collectors from the upper middle class. Responding to the rise of Romanticism with its spontaneous, sketch-like execution and privileging of originality, leading French artists after about 1830 adopted a middle-of-the-road style that balanced painterly aspects of Romanticism with more linear academic classicism.

Varied forms of art education existed in many parts of Europe and European colonies by late eighteenth century. Artist education had been formalized from apprenticeship to academic study, contributing to a rise in prestige for master artists. Formal and informal education for elite boys and girls typically included drawing as part of a liberal education, both enhancing and signifying their cultural capital. Male and female amateurs, again usually elites with both leisure and wealth, engaged in producing and consuming visual arts. The ability to talk critically about aesthetic qualities and issues was one mark that a gentleman possessed cultural capital; ladies, on the other hand, demonstrated their genteel femininity by drawing, painting in watercolors, or needlework. Lower class men and women might contribute to the production of artworks as skilled or semiskilled artisans, but were neither expected to appreciate the fine arts nor to possess cultural capital.

## **Emerging Capitalism and Middle-Class Aspirations**

In late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century England, but with parallels in other nations struggling with industrialization, urbanization, and development of capitalist economies, definitions of what it meant to be an artist were changing (Birmingham, 2000).<sup>5</sup> Professional artists earned a living through painting, sculpture or another form

of fine art; they had been educated in theory and practice through academic methods; their work met cultural expectations for originality. Workers in lower art forms, such as engraving or other craft practices, did not merit the label artist. Amateur artists tended to come from upper or middle classes, drawing or painting during their leisure time (Sloan, 2000). Although they might be taught by or exhibit with professional artists, they did not support themselves by making art, but, nonetheless, tended to have more cultural capital than professional artists did. By the latter part of the nineteenth century, however, amateur artists were stereotyped as female. Earlier male amateurs joined professional artists to establish local art societies for discussions, exhibitions, and education – something between a men’s club and a fraternal association that built members’ social capital. In these groups, self-interest dominated and instruction was for members, unlike the mechanic’s associations which opened lectures and discussions to working-class men as well as gentlemen.

Many professional artists depended on the interests of amateurs for their livelihood, notably drawing masters whose primary source of income came from teaching. Drawing masters often began as itinerant artist-teachers, traveling about to take on commissions and offer lessons. Some of these itinerant drawing masters settled in towns large enough to support them, establishing drawing schools of their own or offering services to families or private schools. Many taught by making drawings or paintings for students to copy. Some drawing masters published collections of drawings, with or without instructional text, extending their reputations and pedagogy beyond immediate reach (Marzio, 1976). Beginning about 1800, British drawing masters developed progressive drawing books with sequenced drawings from simple to complex or demonstrations of stages from line drawing to finished watercolor. Beautifully engraved drawing books were aimed at leisure classes; other books, published by manufacturers, encouraged users to buy art materials. These drawing books reflected new, sequential printmaking processes as well as educational ideas from the Swiss theorists Rousseau and Pestalozzi. The drawing masters who wrote them were ancestors of professional art educators whose consciousness of their hybrid status would emerge late in the nineteenth century.

In *Emile*, Rousseau suggested that an adult and a single, privileged child draw together, so that the child would improve from working with the more sophisticated adult. Rousseau also asserted that nature should be the primary teacher, eschewing drawing masters and their paper copies, in favor of drawing from observation to build a mental store of images (Sutton, 1967, p. 26). Rousseau’s ideas supported belief in natural talent and innate good taste, obscuring dynamics of cultural capitalization beneath a Romantic veil. Pestalozzi, on the other hand, developed instructional methods that could be used by relatively untrained teachers, including mothers and other women, who worked with large masses of children displaced by war, economic depression, or effects of the industrial revolution (Ashwin, 1980). Pestalozzi’s methods were based on his analysis of drawing as simply lines, angles, and curves. He believed that just as these elements could be combined to write letters and words, so also they could be used to convert weak sense impressions into clear ideas. Thus children would begin by imitating a teacher’s straight line, gradually building line segments into outline drawings of common objects printed in the drawing book. Pestalozzi argued that

drawing was a necessary part of general education, crucial to harmonious development of the whole child.

Rousseau and Pestalozzi, influenced by growing romanticism in art and ideas, emphasized the importance of educating the eye, training children to see clearly and accurately. In London, then competing with Paris as an international cultural capital, residents and visitors encountered “a visual culture full of diversions” (Bermingham, 2000, p. 134). Eighteenth-century ideals of civic humanism were giving way to a utilitarian philosophy that defined happiness in terms of wealth rather than political self-determination, favoring material progress over moral improvement. The visual arts continued to be used for civic improvement, but more and more politicians and policies encouraged national pride in manufactures and individual pleasure in consumption of goods. Cultural and economic capitals were intertwined. When faced with civil disturbances, upper-class political leaders renewed older notions that exposure to art encouraged morality, thus *goods* ambiguously connoted material and moral benefits. When discussed in relation to working classes, consumption of fine art became a tool for civic reform.

Although the ideology of early nineteenth-century Britain created a supportive climate for professional work in art and design, Bermingham’s (2000) analysis emphasizes the social and material conditions for growing amateur interest in art. Galleries and shops in London displayed paintings, sculptures, ceramic wares and beautifully designed furnishings. Middle-class men and women in outlying areas read books and especially illustrated magazines that disseminated urban chic and taught good taste, encouraging desires for new fads and fashions. Not only did these publications create a market for British manufacturers, but they illustrated a new role for middle-class women as virtuous consumers. In Bourdieu’s (1996) terms, male professional artists exemplified autonomy of art expertise while female amateurs and consumers, for whom art education was a means to display patriotic responsibility as well as a fashionable pastime, illustrate heteronomy, the social dependence of art. Cycles of styles in painting and sculpture, architecture, and decorative arts demonstrate temporality, the fashionable style of one year becoming outdated and then revived. A number of dualities contributed to this art educational climate: producing art vs. consuming art; expert male professionals or dedicated connoisseurs vs. female amateurs and dilettantes; upper classes vs. lower, working classes.

One of the most subtle dualities was the ability of participation in the arts to both affirm social expectations for feminine behavior and to subvert femininity. On the one hand, the arts were expected elements of female education and domestic life. Embroidery disciplined female bodies, focusing the senses and emotions (Parker, 1984). Responding to art offered intellectual stimulation and moral inspiration. Simultaneously, making art offered apparent self-determination and freedom, a chance for personal expression, while responding to art might expand the narrow female world. Women’s involvement with visual arts fell between professionalism and capitalism, the two major male discourses of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, according to Bermingham (2000, p. 180). Art works created by women were not commercialized; they entered a gift economy which was, nonetheless, embedded in the dominant culture of capitalism. Women’s art was supposed to be created out of affection for family and home. Female fancy work relied on decorative techniques that had vanished from manufacturing.



The rhetoric of fancy work emphasized that it could be done in a short time, in brief moments snatched from other tasks; required minimal effort but gave rapid results; was imaginative rather than intellectual. Many forms of fancy work, like schoolgirl embroidery, depended on copying from prints, marking the woman amateur as a copyist, not an originator, and defining self-expression in terms of consumption. As more women became primary school teachers, these assumptions about femininity and art molded mass art education.

Another duality pitted romantic ideals of the autonomous artistic genius against arguments that framed government support of art in terms of competition with manufacturers of other nations and dissemination of useful knowledge. Beginning about 1823, the British history painter Benjamin Robert Haydon petitioned Parliament for government support of visual arts, specifically historical paintings for public buildings (Bermingham, 2000; Macdonald, 2004). Haydon's arguments grew out of his belief in male artistic genius (including his own) as well as his disdain for what he saw as commercialism and excessive self-interest in the Royal Academy of Art. He sought disinterested support of serious art, state encouragement of originality and autonomous genius, as opposed to economic self-interest. Ironically, eventual government authorization of government-funded art education was framed as supporting industrial competition and mass education.

## **Industrial Drawing Systems**

England approved establishment of a government-funded School of Design in 1835, providing a foundation for establishment of the Department of Science and Art in 1853 under the direction of Henry Cole. Most industrialized nations followed a similar pattern in disseminating drawing instruction through schools, developing state-supported schools to supplement or replace mixtures of church-supported and privately funded schools. Governments readily supported development of human capital to produce art goods and manufactures that could expand both economic and symbolic capital for nation-states. In Hungary, the 1777 legal code, the first to systematically describe the structure and content of education, included drawing as a compulsory subject at all levels of schooling (Karpati & Gaul, 1997). The second Austro-Hungarian educational code in 1806, however, abolished drawing from secondary grammar schools. Such schools, serving more elite students, offered art history, often taught by history or religion teachers, for knowledge and good taste, that is, cultural capital. Drawing schools were established from 1778 for visual rendering, but in state schools drawing was limited to the primary level only. Major motives in forming state systems of education were the need to educate poor children, to train workers for industry, and to control urban masses. Middle-class parents, acting out of self-interest, often supported the new public, common, or state schools as a way to maximize access to educational capital for their own children while stretching family economic resources.

Elementary schools typically served the most children, often, as in the United States, under a rhetorical umbrella of equalizing opportunity for all. Secondary schools were more likely to serve middle-class needs for advanced schooling in preparation for

business or higher education and as a source of cultural capital. An articulated school system trained docile, literate workers for industry as well as educating managers for business and home. Most nations, like England, Japan, European and South American countries, centralized control of education. In North America and Australia, most of the responsibility was exercised by provincial or state governments (Chalmers, 1993; Dimmack, 1955; Efland, 1990). As various nations established school systems, governments often sent a representative to other countries to compare school organization and curriculum. Uno Cygnaeus, Finland's father of elementary schooling, traveled to Switzerland, Germany, Holland, Austria and Sweden to prepare an 1859 report (Laukka et al., 1992). His 1861 report brought ideas from Pestalozzi and Froebel to Finnish schools along with his arguments that drawing could teach planning and that handicrafts could educate the whole person through a work school (Pohjakallio, 1992). Drawing was listed among required subjects in the first Finnish elementary education act in 1866.

Incorporating linear or industrial drawing in state schools was often part of a rationalization of education, an attempt to provide technical literacy that would meet the needs of industrial capitalism (Stevens, 1995). Better designed manufactured goods with more pleasing decorations were expected to improve a nation's ability to compete on world markets. Mixed motives of national pride and economic competition were displayed in the series of international exhibitions of arts and industries, or world's fairs, which began with the 1851 Crystal Palace Exhibition in London. The 1876 Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia provided Walter Smith, the first state drawing supervisor in the United States, with the opportunity to display students' drawings and also to advise Americans on the best examples of household taste (Chalmers, 2000; Korzenik, 1985; Stankiewicz, 2001). The 1893 Chicago World's Fair was the site not only for international displays on education in various nations but also of an International Congress of Art Instruction, the first in a series of international conferences that would enable art educators to share ideas and methods, building professional social capital (Steers, 2001).

After making international comparisons, either through travel and observation by one or more educational advocates or by seeing displays at a world's fair, most nations found a champion for drawing in schools, one person, often an artist or elite amateur, or a small group of influential business or political leaders. In Ontario, Canada, Egerton Ryerson was a prominent advocate for art education, while Samuel Passmore May supplied the organizational genius necessary for developing and implementing systematic industrial drawing (Chalmers, 1993). In the United States, a group of Boston manufacturers and merchants petitioned the state legislature for a law requiring drawing in state schools (Stankiewicz et al., 2004). Walter Smith was brought from England to implement his adaptation of the South Kensington system, also adopted in many parts of Canada (Chalmers, 1992b, 1993; Stirling, 1997). As each nation created its system of art education, these champions had to answer two big questions: what should be taught and who would teach. In Japan, the art curriculum was almost identical with government-authorized and issued textbooks (Masuda, 1992, 2003; Okazaki, 1991; Yamada, 1992). Smith entered a partnership with the American publisher Louis Prang to provide textbooks used across North America (Chalmers, 2000; Korzenik, 1985; Stankiewicz, 2001; Stirling, 1997), while other art teachers developed their own

texts which were sometimes officially adopted (Chalmers, 1985; Rogers, 1992; Soucy & Stankiewicz, 1990). Female teachers typically taught art to younger children; secondary art specialists were expected to have more specialized artistic training.

How teachers of art were prepared, whether art specialists or generalists who also taught drawing, depended on goals for art education. In Finland, art education was divided by political factions that emerged during the 1870s, after Finnish timber had become a valuable commodity. Fennomans, members of the nationalistic political movement to make Finnish the official language, with the clergy and peasants valued nationalism and agriculture. They followed German idealism, seeking art for art's sake within a context of tradition. Liberals included nobility and bourgeoisie who supported stronger international relations, commerce and industry. They asserted the importance of industry to produce refined goods that could compete with those from other countries, citing British models for art education. A craft or Sloyd school was established in 1871 and the Society for Industrial Arts in 1875. The Liberal approach, tied to a desire for social change, dominated into the 1880s; art teacher training was connected to design education in Finland and remains so even today. During the 1890s, however, when the Fennomans led intellectual life and sought a national identity, artists created rural landscapes, waterfalls, and scenes of idyllic nature (Pohjakallio, 1992).

Many countries experienced similar dualities (Kraus, 1968; Masuda, 2003; Onuchukwu, 1994; Thistlewood, 1992; Toren, 2004). Spanish guilds retained control of artist education longer than guilds in other nations, thus that nation did not develop as strongly unified an academic tradition as other countries (Boschloo, 1989). The first legal regulation of art teaching, the Royal Decree of 24 September 1844, defined painting, sculpture, and architecture as fine art subjects and described a system of competitions and prizes which rewarded artistic technique (Araño, 1992). Official art education tended to be conservative, serving the needs of church and state for art workers with reproductive skills (Freedman & Hernandez, 1998). On the other hand, a range of reform movements attempted to position expressive approaches to art teaching within visions of new human beings.

In England, drawing instruction for secondary students was considered a higher discipline than elementary art education which connoted play and little learning. Men in the National Society of Art Masters (NSAM), founded as the Society of Art Masters in 1888, encouraged high levels of technical accomplishment (Thistlewood, 1988, 1993); the predominantly female Art Teachers' Guild (ATG), on the other hand, sought to encourage creativity in children who might not pursue careers in visual arts as adults, following the beliefs of Ebenezer Cooke and others that art was an aspect of human development. To NSAM members, who held what Thistlewood refers to as a "classic thesis" of art education (1993, p. 149), the work of the ATG was peripheral and preparatory to the major tasks of teaching drawing and design. Drawing education addressed needs of industry for human capital and served national well-being. The ATG served individual needs with Marion Richardson as the heroine who discovered innate, unstructured creativity in adolescents, linking it to avant-garde art. Thistlewood refers to this as the "romantic antithesis" of twentieth-century art education (1993, p. 150).

Although political affiliations might differ from country to country, dual approaches to art teaching emerged in many nations during the last decade of the nineteenth century

and the early years of the twentieth. Some version of the classical thesis continued as the official form of art education, while seeds were planted for a romantic antithesis. Specialist art teachers identified themselves as artists or artist-teachers, not simply as teachers. Their personal experiences with the contemporary art of the day reflected more extensive studio education as well as opportunities for continuing professional development through artist-led summer school, university, or art school courses (Stankiewicz, 2001). The art specialist encouraged children to draw from memory, imagination, or observation of real objects, not simply to copy from flat examples. Nature study in part reflected nostalgia for a rural past, but also the popularity of impressionist landscapes and scientific study of the natural world. Some drawings from nature could be adapted for ornamental decoration; however, *design* no longer meant only ornament. The term could refer to theories about elements and principles of pictorial composition. The Prang texts, used in North America and influential as far away as Japan, discussed three functions of visual art: constructive, representational, and decorative work (Foster, 1992; Masuda, 2003; Pearse, 1997; Stankiewicz, 2001). No longer restricted to chalk or pencil, children were encouraged to use more fluid media as well as clay, cut paper, and other materials derived from Froebel's gifts and Victorian fancywork. Color interested art educators and students from North America to Egypt and Japan (El-Bassiouny, 1964; Masuda, 2003), as more and more art teachers recognized the charm of paintings produced by children outside the rigid bounds of the classical thesis of art education.

The classical thesis continued to be strong, particularly in colonial societies (Fennessy, 2005; Seibert, 1996; Stokrocki, 1997; van Rheeden, 1990, 1992). Students in British colonies followed the South Kensington system and into the twentieth century were subjected to drawing exams originally developed for admission to English universities (Calhoun, 1993; Carline, 1968). The classical thesis, the South Kensington system and its descendents, tended to be associated with art education for social control, art instruction that served the economic needs of the dominant culture and treated learners in state schools as future workers, human capital that needed to be civilized through acquiring a patina of cultural capital. Thus, art education contributed to cultural imperialism by teaching young people in colonial societies or indigenous groups that their traditional arts were not as highly ranked in an aesthetic hierarchy as European arts, nor their artistic taste as finely cultivated as that of European experts (Kosasa, 1998; Smith, 2003). Art educators transmitted racist beliefs through their assumptions that true art was solely a product of Greco-Roman traditions and that white males from northern nations possessed the best aesthetic taste and most genuine artistic genius (Chalmers, 1992a), devaluing the art forms and informal art education methods of pre-colonial societies.

## **Self-expression and Child Art**

What Thistlewood described as the romantic antithesis of art education spread internationally during the years following the World War I. This romanticism differed from earlier romantic idealist influences on art education in several respects (Efland, 1990; Stankiewicz, 1984). In the context of nineteenth-century romanticism, art was generally

heteronymous and integrated with morality. In modern romanticisms, artists staked strong claims for the autonomy of art even as art was used to symbolize nationalism and modernity. This tension and paradox would increase during the years between the two world wars.

The nineteenth-century romanticism of John Ruskin and his disciples in England, North America, and elsewhere contributed to an anti-modern critique of industrial societies (Lears, 1981). Although Ruskin and William Morris argued for art as a means to social change, their message was dissipated and distorted by the increasing separation of fine art from daily life. Ironically, Arts and Crafts designs were transformed into a preferred middle-class style for mass-marketed consumer goods. Morris's socialist politics were submerged into workforce education through manual training, which evolved into general enculturation intended to make workers satisfied with their lot in life (Soucy & Stankiewicz, 1990). As Lears explains, anti-modernism "was not simply escapism; it was ambivalent, often coexisting with enthusiasm for material progress" (1981, p. xiii). As a reaction against perceptions that modern life was overcivilized, alienating, and inauthentic, the upper-middle-class men who dominated this intellectual and artistic movement sought intense experiences, embracing premodern symbolism, spiritual and martial ideals, therapeutic self-fulfillment, and sensuous irrationality. The anti-modern symbolic culture they claimed offered a refuge from a complex, threatening world where wars, technocratic rationality, and capitalism threatened individual freedom even as these phenomena offered progress and the expanded opportunities of modernism.

Macdonald (2004) has identified three factors that contributed to the construction of child art: psychological studies; interest in art from small-scale societies; and appreciation of modern art. Anti-modernism created an intellectual climate where these elements could flower. The feminization of education and culture through ideals of women as social housekeepers contributed willing workers to nurture the child artist (Dalton, 2001). The rise of psychology led not only to research on child development but also to Freud's and Jung's psychoanalytic theories that uncovered the unconscious and revealed apparently universal archetypes. Tensions between unique individualism and universal forces contributed to new views of the child; each child was a unique personality, but also passed through universal stages of development. Children were no longer blank slates where adults could write the lines, angles, and curves of accepted artistic conventions. Like flowering plants, children unfolded with creativity at the heart of every blossom. Child art came from inside the budding infant, not from copying external models (Wilson, 2004).

If psychology contributed one-third to the child art equation, the art world contributed the balance. The child was equated with adults in preindustrial cultures, such as those colonized by European and American imperialism.<sup>6</sup> Both were regarded as potentially capable of creating expressive art spontaneously without the intellectualization characteristic of trained adult artists. Words such as natural, expressive, fresh, spontaneous, colorful, or organic characterized the discourse surrounding child art, so-called primitive art, and modern art. Spontaneity, natural development, and fluid self-expression were privileged over the slow mastery of conventions found in the classical thesis of art education. A number of modern artists collected examples of child art (Fineberg, 1997). Laslo Nagy organized the first exhibition of child art in Hungary in 1907 (Karpati &

Gaul, 1997). Ten years later in England, Marion Richardson met Roger Fry who included works by her students from Dudley Girls' High School in an exhibition at the Omega Workshops (Holdsworth, 1988). Fry was a leader among sophisticated critics, like Alfred Stieglitz in the United States, who displayed child art in galleries that also pioneered exhibitions of avant-garde painting and African sculpture.

Nagy, Richardson, Artus Perrelet in Brazil (Barbosa, 1992), and Kanae Yamamoto, who introduced the Free Drawing Movement in Japan (Okazaki, 1991), were among the professional heroes and heroines who emerged in the early twentieth century. Arthur Lismer, who immigrated to Canada in 1910, learned to teach on the job, forming the goal of teaching appreciation to everyone (Grigor, 2002; Pearse, 1992). Lismer believed that an artist is "a child who has never lost the gift of looking at life with curiosity and wonder" (Pearse, 1992, p. 88). Perhaps the most important professional hero of the early twentieth century was Franz Cizek of Austria, internationally recognized as "the father of child art" (Wilson, 2004, p. 308). A product of the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna, Cizek reportedly observed that images created by children drawing on a fence near his lodgings followed what his disciple Viola termed "eternal laws of form" (Sutton, 1967, p. 263). In 1897 Cizek began offering private art classes for children with the goal of allowing them simply to grow, develop, and mature. Observers visiting these classes recorded his conversations with the children, marveling at how freely he encouraged children to draw what they felt. More critical interpretations, however, argue that what appeared to free the child was really adult intervention that mediated the child's experience, in effect colonizing the child's imagination to suit adult goals and aesthetic preferences. By limiting the materials available and using language to shape the child's mental images, Cizek generated what he saw as "pure style" that reflected the child's personality (Sutton, 1967). The child art style, symbolic capital for charismatic artist-teachers with idiosyncratic methods, became institutionalized as a "school art style" that humanized factory-like schoolrooms and hallways (Efland, 1976). Child art made school more enjoyable by offering art-like activities that could be completed in brief moments sandwiched between the real work of schools; required minimal effort but gave rapid, colorful results; and was imaginative rather than intellectual. Both the child and the indigenous artist, like nineteenth-century amateur women artists, were dominated by adult experts who directed them to make art that fit a desired look (Stokrocki, 1997).

Art educators around the globe embraced child art as a positive way to heal a world racked by war and economic depression (White, 2004). Child art celebrated individuality as well as universally shared human qualities. Child art was symbolic capital representing peace, access to education, freedom, and democracy. During the years preceding World War II, however, German and Japanese educators used art in schools to cultivate nationalism, ideals of patriotism and martial character (Petrovich-Mwaniki, 1987, 1992; Tatsutomi, 1997; Yamada, 1992). In the United States, art education helped create the image of a modern homeland, teaching good taste in selection of home décor and furnishings, instilling ideals of civic beauty, while also selling art materials and professional services (White, 2004). Following World War II, the Austrian immigrant, Viktor Lowenfeld, found a receptive audience for his particular approach to child art as indicator of creative and mental growth. During the Cold War of the 1950s, allied occupation

of Japan, and to a lesser extent Germany, brought American perspectives on art education to other nations, consolidating trends toward a global ideology of child art in art education.

Art education in countries under Soviet control, such as Hungary from 1950 to 1961, was mostly practical, geared to the success of communism, with realistic representation as the accepted style. The approved canon was disseminated from Moscow and Leningrad throughout Eastern and Central Europe. Future workers were taught to read plans, make signs and posters. Displaced as a form of cultural capital, art “*lost its traditional popularity as transmitter of high culture* that middle class families considered traditionally as an important quality of the erudite person” (Karpati & Gaul, 1997, p. 298, italics in original). During the 1960s, when communist dictatorship relaxed in Hungary, modern art experienced a rebirth with exhibitions by previously censored artists and publication of critical writings on the visual arts. Although the USSR looked to the west for approaches to art teaching, Soviet art educators criticized western permissiveness, emphasis on art as psychological therapy, and casual attitude toward teaching techniques and skills. In the Soviet Union, diverse institutions provided opportunities for art education, including special art schools for the gifted (Beelke, 1961a, 1961b; Morton, 1972; Pirogov, 1960a, 1960b).

## Turn toward Intellectual Rigor

During the later part of the twentieth century, many nations enlarged school systems to provide greater access to education. Art education was once again advocated as a way to develop human capital. Art educators gained status when more extensive educational credentials were required for teaching. Tricontinental nations, such as Morocco, Nigeria, and Pakistan, saw art education as a means toward economic development, but also a way to reclaim pre-colonial cultural identities (Davis, 1969; Freedman & Hernandez, 1998; Kauppinen & Diket, 1995; Peshkin, 1964, *Prospects of art education*, 1999). National educational goals led to emphasis on art for career education in Germany, where preparation for industrial work was a strong focus (Kraus, 1968), and in the United Kingdom which balanced expressive art with design. England instituted educational reforms intended to improve the status of art education, quality of instruction and accountability. Upgrading what had been diplomas to the status of degrees was one of several results of the 1960 Coldstream report (Ashwin, 1992; Thistlewood, 1992). Both England and Spain connected what had been independent schools of fine art to universities (Araño, 1992, 1997; Freedman & Hernandez, 1998), increasing the professional educational capital of art educators.

Curriculum content and art media expanded to include film, video, and, by the end of the century, digital arts. Finland was a leader in environmental art education (Laukka et al., 1992). In England Postmodern art emerged from the work of Richard Hamilton (Yeomans, 1988, 1992) and other artists who critiqued Abstract Expressionism and consumer society. When conceptual and performance art entered the art world during the 1960s, art became dematerialized, often resisting definition by necessary and sufficient conditions. Conceptual art engaged makers and viewers with intellectual speculation

about relationships between art and life. Even though some artists and critics expected performance and idea art to escape the commercialized world of galleries, documentations of such art quickly became commodified. On the other hand, romantic notions of innate creativity persisted among art educators.

### *Australia in the 1960s*

Australian art educators continued to follow the South Kensington classical thesis longer than their colleagues in most other nations (Boughton, 1989). Separate state educational authorities, a vast geographic area with widely dispersed population, dual school systems (denominational schools plus state-controlled and financed schools), and lack of contact among art educators across state boundaries contributed to disparities in art curricula (Dimmack, 1955). International influences and cross-fertilization among Australian art educators were encouraged by two UNESCO seminars, the first in Melbourne in June 1954 and the second in Canberra in May 1963 (Burke, 1964). At the Canberra seminar, a film portraying how art was taught in rural and urban schools in New South Wales generated controversy, revealing that apparent overlap between the classical and the romantic theses of art education masked a deep ideological division.

Planned to address the purpose of art teaching – how to preserve and train the child’s creativity in an age when technology promoted passive reception of visual culture – the film included a segment where the narrator’s method of teaching memory drawing was intended to guide students’ aesthetic compositions while giving them freedom to express their own ideas (Peers, 2002). “Anti-methodists” saw even the slightest teacher intervention as cramping innate creativity, arguing that a good art educator refrained from any interference with natural self-expression (Peers, 2001). They asserted that the filmed teacher was likely to foster “parrot-like imitation” (Burke, 1964, p. 6), confounding modernist guidance with the restricted sequence of instruction derived from South Kensington and still used in many Australian art classes. “Methodists” pointed out that notions of free expression could be as dogmatic and stereotyped as teaching methods focused on accuracy and correctness. From the perspective of leading art educators, such as John Dabron, creative freedom for students, art education that taught tolerance for diversity, and art teachers who held definite goals for their students were not incompatible (Peers, 2002). This controversy highlights the dualism between *laissez-faire* art education and emerging use of more didactic methods, while revealing how much the romantic ideology had obscured dynamics of art education as acquisition of cultural capital.

### *Quebec in the 1960s*

In North America, reforms generated by Quebec’s Quiet Revolution of the 1960s modernized and secularized art education, giving greater professional autonomy to art educators, within a social context of political liberation, secularization, urban industrial and economic growth, educational reform, development of a counter-culture, and art world expansion (Lemerise, 1992; Lemerise & Couture, 1990). Conservative ideologies were



defeated in favor of ideas advocated by artistic and intellectual groups; political power was claimed by liberal bourgeoisie, and the state intervened in areas of culture, social affairs, and education previously controlled by the Catholic Church. Early in the decade the provincial government created a contemporary art museum and ministry of cultural affairs, institutionalizing cultural capital. New galleries exhibited contemporary art; artists formed professional associations, asking the state to support creativity and a democratic culture.

Between 1963 and 1966, the five-volume Parent Commission report recommended educational reforms for democratization, cultural sensitivity and active pedagogy in preparing flexible future-oriented Québécois. A technocratic ideology, based on the needs of a market economy, contributed a capitalist subtext to these reforms. The commissioners declared that the arts were often neglected in the context of modern knowledge, endorsing the point of view of artist-teachers who, since 1940, had been trying to redefine art teaching based on child-development and modernism. The commissioners rejected instruction in technical skills that might impede development of creativity, advocating film as expressive language and a synthesis of the arts. In 1965, Quebec established a ministry of education; Sir George Williams University (now Concordia) established a fine arts faculty, offering a master's degree in art education which attracted some Francophone teachers thereby spanning the two cultures.

Following 1966 strikes by art students, the Rioux Commission was formed. The commission's 1969 report proposed "a unified vision of society in which art and art education are active participants" (Lemerise, 1992, p. 80), but was better received in the art world than by government authorities or school people. Although debate stimulated by this report supported efforts of art educators and avant-garde artists to bring arts and culture to a wider public, thereby increasing heteronomy, many art teachers developed autonomous school programs geared toward school culture with its focus on disciplinary knowledge and "objective evaluation of learning" (Lemerise & Couture, 1990, p. 233). This period of restructuring corresponded with growing professional autonomy for art educators, including a specialized diploma for public school artist-teachers, a new credential recognizing their hybrid status and amplifying their educational capital.

By the end of the decade, elementary art education in Quebec centered on expressive and creative capacities of children. Secondary programs offered two options, visual arts or visual arts and mass communication, each of which encompassed two- or three-dimensional ideas and techniques as well as themes or periods from art history. The goal of the visual-arts-only track was overall personal development; the second track sought to insert art and artists into mainstream society by defining mass media as arts. Although some artists "attacked the concept of autonomous art" and "criticized the marginalization of art, the myth of the solitary artist, and the artist's separation from industrial or technological culture" (Lemerise & Couture, 1990, p. 230), few art teachers brought contemporary art practices into their curricula or connected art with social reforms. Most viewed art education as compensation for excessive rationality in school learning. Some exhibited their own art, entered art-world dialogues of the period, and perceived a golden age where art educators were innovators in a context of modernist aesthetics focusing on abstraction. Their goal was to involve students "in *an artistic experience* and not in a knowledge of art" (Lemrise & Couture, 1990, p. 230,

italics in original). The notion of a work of art was replaced by emphasis on experiencing art; viewers became participants at happenings and multimedia environments directed to a broad audience. Critics were divided between those who saw avant-garde boundary-blurring as a threat to art, and those who perceived renewal for art through games, imagination, and creativity, concepts borrowed from Progressive Education. As Lemerise and Couture conclude:

The depth of the relation between society, the schools, and art in Quebec society of the 1960s puts it [art education] at the heart of debates and problems that are emblematic of Western culture, whether it be an industrial society hesitating between participatory democracy and liberalism, an artistic tradition oscillating between consolidation of modernism and its destabilization by the avant-garde, or a school system that is ideologically humanistic and democratic, but technocentric and selective in its functioning. (1990, p. 233)

### *Authority and Creativity*

Trends toward systematic, sequential national curricula and more attention to assessments for accountability have been interpreted as reversions to the nineteenth century, classical thesis for art education (Boughton, 1995; Steers, 1995; Swift, 1995). The movement to encompass not only newer media and contemporary art, but also criticism, history and questions of aesthetic values, was termed Critical Studies in the United Kingdom and Discipline-based Art Education (DBAE) in the United States, where the J. Paul Getty Trust contributed to its dissemination. DBAE's greater breadth of art content (drawn from four art disciplines), desires for more academic rigor and higher status for art education, and focus on art as component of general education resonated with other nations, so that DBAE was adapted for use in Taiwan, Hong Kong, and elsewhere.

This continuation of the classical thesis of art education as cultural capital crossed with streams of romantic antithesis that emphasized art education as critical pedagogy (Efland, 1990). Subject-centered approaches to art education were criticized by child-centered art educators and by those who argued that art education should function as a means to social reconstruction through greater attention to diversity and pluralism. Although art education became more intellectual in western nations, development of technical skill through careful teacher guidance dominated art curricula in many Asian countries, for example, in China where adult control and learned self-discipline were stressed in child-rearing (Pan, 2002; Tatsutomi, 1997; Winner, 1989). The many reforms experienced by Korean art educators, on the other hand, illustrate effects of political instability on art education as well as on education in general (Kim, 1997).

Toren has described how this duality plays out in early childhood art education in Israel:

The authoritative approach includes characteristics that are suited to working class laborers of the middle to lower classes. The creative approach befits the

future researcher, manager and designer of the middle to higher classes. In this manner, kindergarten may prepare the children under its care towards their future anticipated lifelong profession, relying on the social class to which they belong. (2004, p. 214)

Referring to Bourdieu's argument that "schools valorize upper class cultural capital and actively depreciate that of the lower classes" (p. 215), Toren explains that European artists and artworks are the focus of instruction in Ministry of Education and Culture materials; no Arab or Sephardic-style art is shown. Recognized Israeli artists are of European ancestry. The cultural capital of the middle and upper classes is reinforced, while school omission of cultural capital from lower classes teaches lower class and ethnically diverse young people that they have no worthwhile culture. When art education is pursued without critical analysis and reflection, it may contribute to continuing inequalities.

## **Conclusion**

Although histories of art education can be framed in various ways, this essay has mapped coordinates of the professional field in relation to national development and the desires of both nations and individuals to build human and cultural capital. As a map-maker, I have selected and abstracted features that another writer might have depicted in landscape view. The motivating force for development of art education has often been the need of a dominant culture to retain or expand symbolic capital, sometimes subordinating the agency of the learner. British, European, and North American modes of art education developed with the rise of capitalism and emergence of a middle class; they have been disseminated through cultural imperialism and economic globalization. My interpretation asserts that Bourdieu's theories of cultural capital resonate with the existing discourse of art education's histories. Writing in the early 1960s, the Curator of the Museum of the History of Education in Paris explained how clear, logical displays of artworks gave "the child the opportunity of reaping maximum profit from his visit to a museum" (Rabec-Mailiard, 1964, p. 63). Learning to respond to works of art and images from visual culture, both forms of symbolic capital, transmits cultural capital valued by individuals and nation-states. Learning socially valued aesthetic attitudes and art-making techniques develops human capital necessary to global economies and national identities. Art educators may possess more cultural capital than economic or political capital, but gain social capital when they work together in national or international professional associations (MacGregor, 1979; Michael, 1997; Steers, 2001). Across national boundaries, art education has developed in tension between a classical thesis found in England's South Kensington system and a romantic antithesis celebrating individual expression and creativity (Thistlewood, 1993). Although peoples around the globe have had indigenous artistic traditions, developments in capitalist nations have influenced art education elsewhere. Theories or practices that have worked for the West should be fully examined in the context of other nations before being implemented (Hyeri Ahn, personal communication, 19 June 2005).

## Notes

1. Young (2001, 2003) uses “tricontinental” to refer to the postcolonial world, that is, what was left over after the division of the first and second worlds of capitalism and socialism.
2. My use of the geographical metaphor of mapping is intended to work on two levels; first, as a projective mapping of geography on international history of art education, and second, as a cognitive tool for constructing a meaningful account of a complex topic (Fauconnier, 1997). As a map, my account combines representation and abstraction (Storr, 1994, p. 13). Bourdieu’s theory of cultural capital serves as the projection for this map, privileging certain features or continents in the way a Mercator projection distorts the northern hemisphere at the expense of the southern. This projection has been used to organize the mainly secondary sources used in this account.
3. Storr (1994, p. 9) explains the coordinates of a map as reference points defining earth’s position in space. These four concepts define a field’s relationship to the larger universe of social forces over time.
4. This information on Chinese art education and the literati tradition was provided by Yujie Li, whom I thank for assistance with this research and for translating Pan (2002) for my use.
5. Much of this section is based on Chapter 4 in Ann Bermingham’s (2000) analysis of drawing in England, a study informed by theories from Bourdieu and critical social theory.
6. The word *primitive*, which was used by MacDonald (1970), tends to rub postmodern readers the wrong way, but indicates the cultural hierarchies of the era and the ties between colonialism and cultural imperialism. Note that equating children with indigenous adults was less a means to frame the child’s work as sophisticated and more a reflection of racist constructions of exotic infantilized others.

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# INTERNATIONAL COMMENTARY

## 2.1

### France

#### **Bernard Darras**

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By choosing a theoretical framework influenced by the thoughts of Pierre Bourdieu on one hand and Cultural Studies, on the other, Mary Ann Stankiewicz manages to establish a rich and audacious version of the social history of an educative field in the process of being structured. This contribution attempts to augment this history in adopting a cultural perspective (Ory, 2004).

#### **Division, Specialization, Autonomy and Elitisms in Europe**

The European situation is interesting to study because of the conflicts that take place here and because of its international influence.

The Latin world divided human activities (and humans) into two categories which have durably structured Western society, on one hand the category of *artes liberales*, dedicated to the culture of the spirit of free men, and on the other hand, the *artes illiberales, sordidae, or mechanichae* which concerned manual activities reserved for slaves and employees. Music, associated with mathematics was a liberal art while painting and sculpture were mechanical arts. The values of Christian education were based on the liberal arts. This distinction between liberal and mechanical arts was cultivated throughout the Middle Ages.

It is in this context that were created the corporations and guilds, notably that of “imagers, painters and three-dimensional image makers” which gathered together a number of professions more or less related to image (the one in Paris was created in 1121). These image artisans were in charge of selling their products and had the right to have servants and apprentices who learned skills by copying their master and then making a Masterpiece to become an artisan too (Heinich, 1993).

The prestige that surrounded image was also progressively attributed to its producers. The elite members of corporations aspired to climbing the social scale and rejecting the corporate constraints. The practices and production became consequently

hierarchized and some painters wished to leave the depreciated world of the mechanical arts to access the status granted by the liberal arts and the freedom they authorized. Their practice changed and became intellectualized accordingly. This is how, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, academies of painting and sculpture appeared in Italy, then in France.

The activity of the Academy members did not consist only in the production of works of art, they also had to teach, organize and direct festivities, processions and triumphal marches.

The focus on the elite and on the first steps of the triumphal march of art and artists (these terms did not exist then in their current meaning), must not make one forget that the majority of imagers (92%) were organized in corporations of artisans who continued to produce, ply their trade and train apprentices. (In France, the corporations were dissolved in 1791).

The arrival of painters and sculptors in the liberal arts was therefore the result of a long disputed power struggle, but that managed to impose itself only because of a change of practice and the weakening of the distinction between mechanical and liberal arts. (Heinich, 1996). To deserve their new “intellectual” position, the academies promoted a teaching method divided into two parts “one regarding reason or theory, the other regarding the hand and practice” (Batteux 1747, in Heinich, 1993, p.93). The echoes of these divisions still resonate in the twenty first century in European education systems where the legitimacy of a manual, technical and practical education is still contested by the “legitimate” inheritors of the liberal arts. To make themselves accepted, the influential players in this domain did not cease to work at raising theoretical approaches (historical, aesthetic, critical, etc.) and valorizing the activities of the spirit (imagination, expression, creation), to the detriment of technical education. As for so-called applied arts, they have been devalued because of their manual activity, their technicality and their usefulness, and have even been confined to technical education with low cultural value.

The nineteenth century invented a new social type which emphasized the values of the liberal arts: the artist by vocation, a genius, singular, exceptional and innovative who despises commissions, honors and the market, and who opposes everything that represents the industrious bourgeois and the alienated worker. For these artists, the concepts of emancipation, independence and freedom developed with a backdrop of political deception and aristocratic nostalgia (in France). In reaction to the economic, political and social order that was then being established, they were going to build a new relationship with success as well as an economy shifting the material values towards spiritual values (Bourdieu, 1992). The absence of success in the present becomes a pledge of success for posterity and economic misery a sign of symbolic wealth. This invention of a new social type, precursor to many attitudes of the twentieth century, finds its roots in the liberal breeding ground of individualization and innovation, but also in an ideological context of disinterest, self-sacrifice and of art for art’s sake. For the radical autonomists, all the forms and marks of interdependence (heteronomy) are assimilated to dependence (allonomy) which leads them to develop sectarian strategies and hermetic productions confined to the small world they fabricate for themselves.

The autonomy of the art of this time and that which followed is therefore relative. But the impact of these ideas on certain educators has been considerable. A gap then

appears between the defenders of an education oriented by the values of art and the advocates of a more utilitarian, scientific, technical and aesthetic education.

## From Opposition to Hegemony

For two centuries, four large educational projects have opposed each other and attempted to impose their contents and their vision of education.

- The functionalists extolled a teaching of scientific and communication drawing as a language for industry and contemporary life.
- The patrimonials defended the great artistic tradition.
- The pedagogues, supported by the psychologists, pleaded for drawing as a tool for individual and social development.
- The avant-garde modernists wanted to promote the works and the values of modern art ... then postmodern. They were supported by the promoters of the democratization of art and of the democratization by artists who practice the paradox of the democratization of elite culture.

In France, the functionalists and patrimonials opposed each other for more than 50 years until the 1920s. The contents of the official educational curricula for teachers reflected the progression and regression of one and the other. The patrimonials finally won. They obtained the support of the pedagogues and the psychologists rather than from the modernists whose ideas were established from 1969 through the creation of a visual art<sup>1</sup> training in the universities, then in 1977 with the publication of new school curricula. In France, education in “The Arts” progressively imposed itself and became a monopoly.

Today, art is hardly taught in primary school, it is mandatory for all levels in junior high school and optional at high school level where, in total, artistic disciplines are practiced by 7.5% of students. However, the success of this method of artistic education is mixed, the changes of orientation and the paradoxical injunctions have fazed a number of teachers and students. The gap is increasing between the values of the art world and the values of a socially and ethnically diversified education system that has a responsibility to teach all children, not only the elite.

The curricula published in France in 2005 (Ministry of National Education, 2005) put an end to artistic hegemony and proposed an important rebalancing between culture and art. Drawing which had been banished from education under the pressure of modernists makes a strong return as a tool of thought and means of communication. Previously it had been replaced by painting whose relationship with art is less ambiguous (Darras, 1996, 1998). The knowledge and the practice of image and media are placed in a central position in the primary school curriculum and are distributed across various disciplines. The hegemony of art is relativized by the cultural approaches. “The access for all to culture seems to win over artistic education for all” (Panier, 2001). It is in a way the return of imagers, of drawing and of a visual culture open to all these facets and everyone’s world. This new discipline is called “Artistic and cultural education”.

## Rule and Practice

One must not forget that a teacher's career lasts about forty years and that they are not all pioneers or volunteers or resistant to change. Between the history of ambitious curricula and that of players in the field, there are large gaps that history does not record, but they nevertheless constitute the daily history of teachers, pedagogic teams, students and their families.

With the advent of modernism in art, the distance between the art of the present and the public has become wider. But in primary and high schools, the very academic, patrimonial and technical education has not perpetuated this break. On the other hand, as soon as the influence of the modernist pedagogues favored the introduction of issues related to modern art (then contemporary), this readjustment provoked considerable shocks. The majority of the teachers trained in academic methods were not ready to integrate the new content and the new teaching methods into their pedagogic practice. In the same way, the majority of students and families were not willing to accept the attitudes and artistic values developed in artistic microcosms, often elitist and hermetic. As for new teachers, trained in the practice of modern and postmodern art, they were not prepared to face an education system ignorant or hostile to issues and objects fashionable in artistic circles. The history of this resistance, these gaps, these daily inventions and "quick-fixes" remains to be written.

## Note

1. *Arts plastiques*: In Latin Europe and in France, the notion of "plastic arts" has been preferred to the terms of "Fine Arts" and "Visual Arts". "Fine Arts" was too influenced by its pre modernist origin, and "Visual Arts" also covered the areas of design and applied arts. In a period influenced by abstraction, it was also a way of highlighting what refers to artwork and its forms to the detriment of what refers to the perceptive and iconic experience.

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# INTERNATIONAL COMMENTARY

## 2.2

### Africa

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One of the areas given marginal analysis in Stankiewicz's analysis of art from a capitalized perspective are the early forms of art that preceded the Western art culture she clarifies. For instance, the hand axes found at the Olorgesailie and Kariandusi historic sites in Kenya, the cave drawings and paintings in Olduvai Gorge in Tanzania, the great Pyramids of Egypt, and great Zimbabwe ruins represent Africa's oldest and most famous art traditions.

Currently, these sites experience a high profile for educational and tourist purposes and turn in immense profits for the various countries. The educational pursuit to understand the antiquities and their purpose is ever current, and the curiosity to encounter these great pieces of art burns within individuals who visit these sites. This underscores the emphasis on the beauty of art as explicated by Abiodun (2001/2).

Art in Africa has thus metamorphosed greatly from a leisure and utilitarian activity to an educational, historic, and political treasure – thereby taking on a highly capitalized function. Today, artists from the African continent produce more sophisticated art, which also bears a multicultural representation in order to appeal to a wide market. Thus the skill level has advanced while the cultural value has multiplied, albeit diluting the ethnic orientation assumed in precolonial times. Presently, reasonable success has been achieved – at every level of education in many African countries – in incorporating sculpture, woodwork, stone carving, ceramics (including pottery), moulding, fine art, dance, music and theater, and embroidery, among others in the curriculum as a strategy to develop the requisite human resources.

More specifically, the promotion of technical drawing in schools and the provision of government scholarships for innovative ideas, waiver of duty on electronic appliances such as computers and their accessories, are among the strategies the government of Kenya has employed in promoting industrial drawing and other forms of art. In Kenya, a special institution – the Kenya Technical Teachers College – in Nairobi is another

initiative to ensure a continuous supply of qualified art teachers who can enhance culture-sensitive but internationally captivating art. As indicated by Flolu (2000) similar effort has been made in Ghana to revamp interest in art education.

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# INTERNATIONAL COMMENTARY

## 2.3

### Sweden

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In the first Swedish Public School Act of 1842 *Geometry and line drawing* was referred to as one of the subjects which the school should provide “some instruction in.” At the end of the 1870s drawing became a separate subject in elementary school in Sweden and for the sake of continuity it was advised that the same teaching method should be used in all schools. The method recommended was devised by Adolf Stuhlmann and was in wide use in Germany at the same time. It was an elaboration of the methodological tradition established by Pestalozzi and his followers in which drawing instruction was based on geometric forms. The teaching methods were designed for mass instruction – that is, all the pupils were to carry out the same tasks at the same time and at a pace set by the teacher (Pettersson & Åsén, 1989; Åsén, 1997)

Toward the end of the nineteenth century, in Sweden and many other European countries, there was a notable increase in the publication of books on teaching methods. One factor in this upswing was the low salaries paid to art teachers. To publish and perhaps receive widespread acceptance of a textbook was one way teachers hoped to augment their income. Thus drawing became the first school subject to generate a textbook industry of its own (Åsén, 1999; cf. Ashwin, 1981).

The 1950s saw the breakthrough of creative self-expression in Swedish art education. In this connection modern art became an important model for art instruction. Reference was often made to Herbert Read who had written that “just as modernism freed the artist, it should also be able to free the schoolchild.” It is paradoxical that when children’s pictures and the importance of pictorial self-expression were mentioned in school texts it was with reference first and foremost to art. Earlier children’s art had served as a model for artists – now almost 50 years later, it can be said, if with some exaggeration, that children are required to imitate artists, who earlier had imitated children (Åsén, 1997).

Political changes in the 1960s transformed Swedish art education. Cultural experimentation, popular culture and environmental concerns were first included in the national art curriculum in 1969 after art education scholars voiced opposition to the old traditions in art education. The field of art education was expanded to contain pictorial

analysis and criticism as well as visual communication. For the past thirty years, Swedish art education has continued to embrace social and environmental concerns. Today, one major theme in Swedish art education curricula is the study of semiotics and visual culture (Karlsson, 1998, Lövgren & Karlsson, 1998).

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