The Journal of Social Theory in Art Education

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to promote the use of theoretical concepts from the social sciences—which include, but are not limited to, anthropology, sociology, and political science—to study visual culture and the teaching of art; to inform art educators about theory and practice in the social sciences, thus acting as a liaison between social scientists and art educators; to encourage research into the social context of visual culture and teaching art; and to develop socially relevant programs for use in the teaching of art.

The editors invite formal and informal contributions on all matters relating to social theory in art education. Correspondences, book and exhibition reviews, and performance pieces are welcome. Original manuscripts, together with three copies should be prepared according to an internally consistent publication style. Membership is not a precondition for submission. Deadline for submission for JSTAE No. 15 is July 15, 1995. Send relevant articles and images to:

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The Green Quilt:
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The Gallery
This editorial is a model of the kind of collaborative process shared by Chuck, Elizabeth and myself throughout the growth of JSTAE 14. In this instance, given a suggested structure, Chuck wrote his portion of the editorial focusing on issues arising from the two articles where he lead the editorial team. He then sent his work to Elizabeth who wrote her editorial with reference to the articles where she took the lead, but also in response to Chuck's writing. As the third in line I have the opportunity to comment on the articles for which I had final responsibility as well as being able to springboard off of both Chuck and Elizabeth's efforts in commenting on the journal as a whole. I know that we could easily continue to pass our comments around the circle until we had a book length editorial. Clearly, this is an unfinished work, which means that it, like the publication at large remains open to question. M.E.

Charles Weider

Taking my lead from the Gaudelius article printed within these pages, I'd like to explore a couple of seemingly intractable questions—questions more about our methods of inquiry rather than any particular research findings. The kind of answers I'm seeking here are more for the sake of checking my bearings and how I go about sorting through all of the claims to knowledge and the grounds offered to support this body of information. It's
not just a matter of my being uncomfortable with what are often rather basic inconsistencies of the knowledge claims in art and art education, its as much to do with my sense of a reluctance among many to reflect upon that body of information and to check out the assumptions on which it rests.

A year ago, in this same space, I wrote of taking a step back to try to see what needed further attention based on my reading of the articles that made up JSTAE 13. In my stepping back an analogy to the art making process was drawn. That work, artful or not, continues. Except this time I think I'm ready to move forward in my effort to question the subject matter of the arts and the kinds of questions that we are asking and how. I want very much to know how different forms of art affect us personally and affect the forming of culture—but also who decides which forms will count most and how they know what will hold meaning for me and others who might see things differently. And above all I want to be able to raise questions concerning who this art education is for and for what purpose.

Guiding my inquiry, Gaudelius has pointed to some places to look that I hadn't thought of. The language at first appeared different, causing some apprehension. But the clarity and truthfulness were reassuring, and I began to find in the writing a means of gaining a new perspective on what I was looking for. Drawing upon the work of Luce Irigaray, Gaudelius not only raises the sort of core questions that I agree we all must face, it is her approach to inquiry that I found compelling. A fundamental part of the method entails probing "how questions...that questions themselves...shape our inquiry." It's not a simple course that Gaudelius sets. But I felt I could trust that I wouldn't get (too) lost. (And to be honest, editorials aren't the riskiest sort of explorations anyway.)

Another compass for my journey came from the Lackey article also appearing in these pages, which seemed to be pointed in the same direction. The timing was right for me to get away, to step back from my day-to-day efforts observing student teachers in public schools working with certified, mentored, and re-assessed master teachers teaching tried-and-tested, accredited, art-like courses. From the distant place that Lackey and Gaudelius had taken me I saw things that I'd never quite known to look for. Lackey's probing into relationships between formal and non-formal educational approaches, between K-12 and lifelong conceptions of art learning, between standardized curriculum and community-based cultural values helped me see my own work with the Connecticut public schools more clearly. And upon returning from the excursion I feel I had gained a deeper appreciation for what's back home.

Others within the Social Theory Caucus ranks have written on the critical import of critical inquiry, of raising honest questions about what really matters to us. This, over and above my shared interest in theory, is what brought me to the caucus over a decade ago: The willingness to question what others take for granted, whether matters of practice or policy, curriculum design or the latest recipe for some computer graphics program. In the pages of this journal Caucus members have taken on the most nagging questions and more than a few sacred cows and bulls. In these uncertain times we were certain that this was not the time to be timid about the questions we asked. What was often most discouraging to many of us was the sense that so many others in the field seemed to have given up asking the hard questions, or had conceded that the problems were beyond our reach, and had preferred instead to work on damage control. What these individuals seemed prepared to give up on were the meanings and the visions that give our work direction.

What was the alternative?—conceding our status as educational frills?—or worse, that of unabashed romantic idealists? For the Caucus this complacency and being defined by others who don't know us very well became a call to action. We stood up to defend the fringe, the margin, the decorative detail; and try to bring renewed meaning and value to the educational process. Above all we sought to hold those accountable who have taken it upon themselves to set the policies and the goals against which they would assess us.
In a way being called a frill frees us up to take stock, to check our course, to seek more honest truths than those who relegate that stuff to presidential commencement speeches. We don't have to wait to be told when to bow and applaud, but can live daily with the images in and on the fringes and the frills of the decorative surfaces, which are probably closer to what matters in human life than the more traditional annual ceremonial symbols ritually paraded before us at conferences and on official holidays.

In our journeys through stormy seas and over mountains and across deserts and down the corridors to the offices of principals and department heads, let us continue questioning—questioning as we go our own efforts, assumptions, and tactics. Isn't that what we ask of our students? Asking not just for the sake of shaking others from their complacency, but because as teachers our concern is more to help others gain confidence in their questions and learn the skills of raising ever more incisive questions and the ability to check out their answers as well as those they've been given.

There is but one question that needs not be asked, and that is how much I've benifitted from having Mike and Elizabeth working alongside me (as close as a fax or phone call away) in putting together JSTAE 14.

Elizabeth Garber

Over the course of the past two years of our collaboration as an editorial team for the Journal, Chuck, Mike and I have often exchanged our thoughts on what it might, could, or should mean to be a journal of social theory in art education. Does it mean that all articles published should be socially oriented? or that theory should always be present? Does it mean that the relationship of the contents of the journal to the field of art education must be integral? We have come to grips with the first question—that of social orientation, and the third question—that of educational relevance, not only because of our personal, professional, and political convictions, but because of the title of the journal and its stated purpose. It is the question of theory to which we returned again and again. Chuck particularly has kept the embers of this discussion alive in responding to the various manuscripts submitted not by drawing conclusions or definitions, but by bouncing off the manuscripts as possibilities of social theory.

Theory being nothing more than "a coherent group of general propositions used as principles of explanation for a class of phenomena" it strikes me as curious to think only intellectuals in academia might be involved with theory. But then, who are our intellectuals? As many of you will recall, in his Prison Notebooks Antonio Gramsci distinguished between two types of intellectuals. He charged what he termed "traditional intellectuals" with reinforcing social hierarchies because they served as "experts in legitimation." Arguing that intellectuals are not characterized simply by the activity of thinking, which is intrinsic to all people, but by the function that they perform, he coined the term "organic intellectuals" to refer to individuals within groups who work to create a "counter-hegemony" to subvert the existing power relations. Out of every class, he argued, come intellectuals who function as agents of change. These people actively participate in practical life not simply as orators, but as organizers, persuaders, and constructors. Organic intellectuals must be part of the people and are important to the organization of constituent groups for change.

While I do not want to label the writers in our journal, I see them as acting in this capacity of organic intellectuals. Let me clarify by discussing the two articles I coordinated for JSTAE 14. In "The Green Quilt: An Example of Collective Eco-Action in Art Education" Doug Blandy, Kristin Congdon, Laurie Hicks, Elizabeth Hoffman, and Don Krug describe a kind of passion that developed as participants in their NAEA sessions on Green

1Random House Dictionary, 1992


3Gramsci used the Italian word commessi meaning agent or commercial traveler (Roger Simon, Gramsci's Political Thought [London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1982], 96).
Quilts hung their squares on the NAEA quilt. As a participant in their project, I felt this rise of communal passion. Much later in his Prison Notebooks, Gramsci discusses how “feelings and passion become understanding and thence knowledge.”¹ I know (because I heard them deliver it at the NAEA Conference in Baltimore) that there is a more traditionally academic component in the development of their project,² and yet I understand the Green Quilt project as an action that stands on its own, one that began the process of bringing constituents together to form the “historical bloc” that Gramsci talks about—a coalition of people who are both leaders and workers acting together for change. I hope readers of Doug, Kristin, Laurie, Elizabeth, and Don’s article will find in the written word the excitement to join the coalition for change by producing their own quilts and working in the struggle for a just and sustainable world.

Carol Becker, in a recent talk at Penn State, extended Gramsci’s organic intellectuals to activist artists.³ Among them I would include the artists Mary Wyrick describes in her article “Truth that Sells: Broadcast News Media in Video Art and Art Education.” Mary communicates well the passion and conviction conveyed by these artists in their work, and begins herself to construct that bridge from passions and feelings to understanding and knowledge. Beyond reading Mary’s overview as a catalogue introduction to the many artists working with the subject of broadcast news, I found myself making connections between Mary’s implications of this catalogue for art educators and Stanley Aronowitz’s and Henry Giroux’s concept of teachers as “Transformative intellectuals” that relates to Gramsci’s organic Intellectuals.⁴ In seeing education as a site for cultural change they (and other radical educators) argue that teachers, rather than indoctrinating students into a system that is inherently undemocratic, should reject their roles as facilitators of predetermined content and instructional procedures and work to understand the legacies of high culture as well as popular culture, leading their students to critique both and look for possibilities for change. This is how they conceive of teachers as transformative intellectuals. This vision is one that includes the relationship between theory and practice, with the intellectual being understood as the agent of change. Mary conveys an optimism that schools can be sites of social change and that teachers and artists can be agents in that change. Again, I am excited about the possibilities she presents us.

While I find room in the Journal for (and indeed welcome) what is more widely Accepted in academic circles as theory (some of which I have participated in here), I find the negotiated space of a more practiced theorizing has its place in the journal as well. I fully hope that we are up to the challenge that such theory presents us with.

¹ Gramsci, Selections from the Prison Notebooks, 418.
³ Carol Becker, “Art, Pedagogy, and the Struggle for Life,” paper delivered as part of the Waterbury Forum for Education and Cultural Studies, Penn State University, 16 February, 1995. George Lipsitz has similarly developed the idea that Chicano popular musicians have acted as organic intellectuals in forming an historical bloc to challenge the “ideological hegemony of Anglo cultural domination.” He argues that they have been at least partially successful in influencing change in popular music (see George Lipsitz, “Cruising Around the Historical Bloc—Postmodernism and Popular Music in East Los Angeles,” Cultural Critique, vol. 5 (Winter 1986-1987), 157-177.
⁴ Although these theories are laid out in several places, for a highly readable version, see Stanley Aronowitz & Henry A. Giroux, Education Under Siege: The Conservative, The Liberal and Radical Debate over Schooling (South Hadley, MA: Bergin & Garvey, 1985).
Michael J. Emme

One of the challenges of relating to the natural environment with a mind framed by the educational systems of the late 20th century is being able to acknowledge and even live comfortably in an environment that is complex beyond comprehension or control. In proposing ECO-TECHNO as a theme for JSTAE 14, I hoped to draw together a wide variety of works that both reflected and explored this complexity. Three works in this journal explicitly pursue the theme. Daniel Collins and Charles Garoian’s discussion of the art and issues of the Deep Creek School allows us to observe the melding of theory and practice, and of ecology and technology through the works of a number of young artists. Elizabeth has already commented on The Green Quilt: An Example of Collective Eco-Action in Art Education which draws further attention to the knowledge and passion that art making can bring. And finally The Gallery is an explicit acknowledgment that we can form questions and propose understandings on an issue as central to our survived existence as the relationship between our technologies and the environment through our experience of art.

Clayton Funk’s exploration of the Committee on Public Information, and Paul Duncum’s essay on the potential costs of intellectual nostalgia are more obviously anchored in more ‘traditional’ theoretical concerns. Funk describes in detail the ways in which early concepts of information management were used to frame the visual information and education in the US. Duncum revisits the elitist assumptions of theorist considered to be sympathetic references in our field and describes how these theoretical frames limit our capacity to engage our whole cultural environment. The concept of cultural geography proposed by Lucy Lippard and cited in this journal by Collins and Garoian makes it clear, however, that all of the work in JSTAE 14 can be read with reference to the theme of ECO-TECHNO. This possibility suggests that there are two kinds of thematic readings of JSTAE 14. The first, what could be called a production theme, must really be limited to the three collected works produced with the intent to explore the relationship between our technologies and the environment. The second, not unlike the idea of an interpretant proposed by semiotician C.S. Pierce (1955) and elaborated by Theresa DeLauretis (1984) allows us to bring the question “what is the relationship between our technologies and the environment?” to all our reading. All of this may be a rationalization for the fact that a truly ‘structured’ theme issue is probably impossible given the delightful feistiness of you, the caucus membership. On the other hand, I kind of like the idea that the task of defining theme issues be taken out of the hands of editors and put in the hands of the readers.

This is my fourth year working on the Journal. I worked down the hall from Harold Pearse when he took over editorial duties from Jan Jagodzinski for JSTAE 11. As a newcomer to both academia and the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design I was enthusiastic about the chance to get involved with the Journal. As I recall, my come-on to Harold was the fact that I knew how to run Pagemaker. What was essentially an initial offer to serve as galley slave for a publication I respected has evolved into a professionally challenging and enriching experience. By the time Harold stepped down after JSTAE 12 I had moved to my current position in Washington State where I have been allowed closer access to the American approach to art education which sometimes seems to (but doesn’t) dominate our field’s thinking. Although there were pragmatic considerations (who is this Emme guy anyway?) the Caucus approved an idea hatched by Harold and me in Chicago to try a team approach to editing the JSTAE 13. Chuck Weider and Elizabeth Garber, both of whom put themselves forward as potential editors, graciously took up the challenge when the idea of a team approach was proposed. Like the form of the Journal, our relationships as editors have evolved with each publication. As a lone art ed. person in a fine arts department (and happily so) it has been important to find colleagues in my mailbox. Chuck and Elizabeth and all of you who have submitted manuscripts or images in the last two years have been the visiting scholars program in art education for central Washington. Thanks!

With JSTAE 14 Elizabeth, Chuck and I have moved very close to what I would describe as a truly balanced collaboration. Each of us has taken primary responsibility for individual manuscripts, but each has had substantial input with all of the writing in this publication. I think we have each come to
understand the voices of our team members. Elizabeth has eloquently describe Chuck's attention to issues of theory. The passion he has brought to his reading of the manuscripts set a standard for engagement that guided me. I have also been grateful for Elizabeth's breadth of knowledge in our field as well as her editorial precision (she catches all the mechanical stuff that I miss!). She and I have also shared a growing passion for the gallery portion of JSTAE 14 (see the Gallery introduction for more on this). And, in the end, I am still the galley slave who knows how to run Pagemaker. Anyone interested in taking up an oar?


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**The Deep Creek School:**
Technology, Ecology and the Body as Pedagogical Alternatives in Art Education

Daniel L. Collins & Charles R. Garoian

An old station wagon pulled up the dirt road of the canyon and came to a stop next to the stone house. Kai, an industrial design student, and his girlfriend climbed out of the car and stretched their limbs after their long journey from Phoenix. The rear compartment of the vehicle was jammed full of camping equipment and other necessities for Kai's participation in a five week art program in the Rocky Mountains of Colorado. Most unusual were the control panels, speakers, and other electronic equipment that he had brought along, "to use in his art works," he said.

Kai immediately began to negotiate a studio space. Unlike the other students who chose to establish their working spaces around the open areas of the welding shed, the large open space in the new studio, or in the open areas near the sleeping tents, Kai wanted to seclude himself in the dusty ice house—a defunct turn-of-the-century food storage shed. As the other students walked through the pine and spruce forest, along the winding mountain creek, and over the rugged mountain terrain to search
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out and familiarize themselves with their new surroundings, Kai isolated himself from all the natural beauty of the site. Instead, he worked independently to set up all of his sound equipment in the ice house.

As we observed this determined young man, we wondered how well he would adapt to the conditions of the Deep Creek School—an Arizona State University Summer Sessions art program in Telluride, Colorado. How well would Kai’s plans and ideas about art, learned in school or in other contexts, relate with the myriad experiences and opportunities open to him in the natural setting of Deep Creek Canyon? Was Kai interested only in exploring the ideas he brought from home or was he preparing to deal with the phenomena of the site that now surrounded him? With time, we began to realize that what we were witnessing was Kai’s ritual of familiarization—actions that were necessary for him to assimilate his new territory. Of special interest to us as artist/educators was that Kai’s miniature hi-tech studio—positioned at the heart of a largely undeveloped canyon—tacitly acknowledged the pedagogical goals we had set for the summer: namely, to explore potential relationships between technology, ecology, and the body.

University level students like Kai are provided with pedagogical alternatives to conventional art education at the Deep Creek School. The unique program and teaching methodologies of the School engage students in theoretical and studio investigations that encourage them to reconcile dichotomies between various studio orientations in response to the three pedagogical metaphors indicated above.

In particular, the program focuses upon the differences emerging from direct, primary ways of working—as found in traditional sculptural processes, body art, and site-specific sculpture. These methods are contrasted with those that are indirect and dependent on secondary sources—such as photography, video art, computer graphics, and telecommunications. The following discussion will explain how students are asked to move fluidly between these different conceptual biases for making art and their material orientations.

The Deep Creek School: A Work in Progress

Three weeks later: Kai’s synthesizer beats a syncopated pattern of random sounds similar to the aleatory music of John Cage and Steve Reich. The week’s assignment for the Deep Creek School students was to produce an art work that would allow some aspect of the site to respond to their bodies (i.e., the impact of the movement and sound of the creek on the body, the thicket of trees and underbrush along the creek suggesting paths through which the body could move, the differences in climate along the canyon slopes influencing body activities, and others). Unlike art works that call attention exclusively to themselves—isolated objects that ignore the environment in which they are placed—the students were asked to create a reverse situation whereby the environment could take a more active role in the communication of ideas. Kai’s sound piece is one example of what the student’s created. (see page 63)

We walked into the ice house, where Kai’s sound studio was now set-up. As we listened to the strange beat from his synthesizer, we noticed he was nowhere in sight. Instead, the synthesizer was being played by a bank of solenoids attached to a wooden rack that was fitted atop the keyboard. The sound that we were hearing was produced by the electronic keyboard as the solenoids switched on and off. Where was Kai? How was this strangely compelling sound being produced?

After listening for a few moments, we noticed a wire that led from the solenoids down to the floor, out the ice house door, and beyond. Again our curiosity was piqued, so we followed the wire out the door and found Kai some twenty yards away leaning over the side of one of the bridges that traverses Deep Creek. He was adjusting what appeared to be a “found-object” sculpture constructed of wood, PVC pipe fittings, and a set of toilet floats. The wire that we were following was spliced into the construction. Kai explained that he was creating a method by which the water flowing in the creek could play his synthesizer. The construction, which he had suspended from the bridge perpendicular to the surface of the creek, contained a set of micro switches that were wired to the bank of toilet floats. The
balls of the floats were adjusted to exact a tangent with the surface plane of the creek so that the waves and ripples of water rushing by would strike the balls and effect an electrical connection. In this manner, the creek was literally playing the sounds that we heard in the ice house. Standing outside, we only heard the sound of the creek and watched the floats dancing on the surface of the water. Inside the ice house, we heard the "music" being produced by the creek and watched the mechanical fingers of the solenoids as they struck the keyboard.

In the dynamic that he had created between the creek and the synthesizer, Kai served as a mediator. Throughout the performance of the art work, he walked back and forth between the technology of the synthesizer and the ecology of the creek adjusting and tuning the instruments to accommodate the "voice" of the creek. In doing so, Kai had engaged the essential components of the Deep Creek School Curriculum.

The Deep Creek School Curriculum

Three "operative metaphors"—body, technology, and ecology—animate the discussions and activities at the Deep Creek School. In brief, students are challenged to understand their own bodies as sources for creative activity; they are encouraged to engage a range of technologies—from simple hand tools, to cameras, to computers—that, in effect, extend their reach or condition their response in some way; and, they are asked to merge their own internal processes and external skills with the interdependent systems of the larger environment.

We will develop each of these pedagogical metaphors in turn.

The Body: The "First Site"

The body, unadorned. Many of us shrink from the challenge presented to us by our own bodies. The many paradoxes of the body as site are discussed in an essay by Jean-Pierre Vernant (1989) entitled "Dim Body, Dazzling Body":

The human body is, of course, strictly delimited. It is circumscribed like the figure of a distinct being, separate, with its inside and outside: its skin marks the surface of contact, while its mouth, anus and genitals are the orifices that assure communication with the outside. Nevertheless, it is not shut up on itself, closed, isolated or cut off from the outside, like an empire within an empire. On the contrary, it is fundamentally permeable to the forces that animate it, accessible to the intrusion of the vital powers that make it act. (p. 29)

At the Deep Creek School, the metaphor of the body emerges as a theme for focused discussion and creative pursuits in a number of ways. First, individuals need to meet the physical requirements of life in a wholly new environment. The high altitude, the rustic accommodations, the unfamiliar food, and the lines for the showers—all take their toll. For some students, it's their first time sleeping in a tent. For the picky eaters, the idea of a fixed menu is inconceivable. Though we think we are dealing with well-traveled and adaptable adults, the simple fact is that people develop patterns of behavior and expectations that, when not satisfied, can lead to tensions across the program as a whole.

While one's personal "comfort zone" and the ability of the camp to meet the minimum physical needs of the student are crucial, we also have a strong interest in body-work on other levels. There are opportunities for examining how the body functions as a dynamic system—well beyond its minimum appetites and demands. Many different disciplines and recreational pursuits feed into these goals: meditational practices, movement rituals, dance exercises, distance jogging, mountain biking, etc., serve to focus attention on the body and help to develop awareness of both one's internal processes and physical limits and capabilities. While all of this kind of work is strictly voluntary and tends to coalesce and disperse depending on the staff in residence and the motivational levels of the students, it is a significant opportunity to explore one's personal limits as well as to find different methods for interacting within the group.
Addressing the body as a vehicle for art activity, body-art (what Allan Kaprow [1976, p. 50] called “non-theatrical” performance) and performative works of all kinds have come to occupy a central role in the program. We understand the body to be “the first site,” and its physical envelope and bodily fluids as the raw materials for producing art works that are direct and unmediated. A “performance” may be nothing more than a repeated gesture—such as splitting wood or drinking a glass of water. But in the conscious framing of the activity, we come face to face with something irreducible and fundamentally human. Lucy Lippard (1981) has described performance art as “the most immediate art form, which aspires to the immediacy of political action itself. Ideally, performance means getting down to the bare bones of aesthetic communication—artist/self confronting audience/society” (p. 91). The idea is to strip away the preconceptions that come with particular material and process orientations—in order to exercise whatever happens to be fashionable in the art world that week—and find a vocabulary that is unique to each artist. As Gregory Battcock has stated, “Before man was aware of art he was aware of himself” (Nickas, 1984, p. xv).

How does this orientation manifest itself in the work of students? While performative works of all kinds have been initiated by students, one in particular stands out for drawing a thread between literally the “student body” and individual student responses. The following is a brief description:

Over a period of several days, one female student did an extraordinary project—a performance work—that utilized the student population as a “social context” and explored the taboos and mores surrounding the human body. Her performance work involved a wordless, one-on-one engagement of each of the students in the program in which the artist, with clear tape stretched over her mouth, would kiss an unsuspecting student. Each exchange would conclude with the placing of dogtags, made by the artist, around the neck of the surprised student. The dogtags themselves were inscribed with cryptic words and phrases that were meant to relate to the character of the receiving student. While the work was in part a commentary on A.I.D.S., it also responded to class discussions dealing with universal issues of personal space, bodily fluids, and physical gesture. (Deep Creek Archives, 1993)

The body, as described by Merleau-Ponty (1962, pp. 80-97), is never just an object in the world but that very medium whereby our world comes into being. The self is viewed as an integrated being. The situation is complicated considerably when we place the body in a social setting—particularly one in which there is a discrepancy in power relationships. Drew Leder, a medical doctor and professor of philosophy at Loyola College in Baltimore, writes in his book, The Absent Body (1990):

When confronting another who has potential power over one’s life and projects—the patient with the doctor, student with professor, prisoner with jailer—there is a tendency on the part of the powerless to a heightened self-awareness...It is not a matter of a reciprocal exchange of intentions, so much as one body submitting to the intentions of another. When a student gives an oral presentation under the teacher’s evaluating eye, he cannot help a self-consciousness beyond that which he would feel with his peers. His own experience is not supplemented by the Other but, rather, supplanted...The body is always a place of vulnerability, not just to biological but to sociopolitical forces. (p. 98)

The individual’s body is a contested site. The social body, as any teacher knows, is a profound aggregate of different pulses, temperatures, and desires. Still, by confronting the self as our first medium with which to encounter the larger world, and gaining confidence and assurance that this first site is unique and valuable and deserving of care, the chances of successfully integrating into the social body are greatly increased.

Various activities are engaged that seek to identify, give voice to, and develop the social body. Of particular value has
been a volunteer activity called "The Talking Circle." After students and staff are introduced to the concept of the Talking Circle, the students themselves determine when and if additional Circles are desirable. This past summer, students initiated at least one Talking Circle a week. Patterned after time-honored rituals found in many Native cultures, the Circle provided an opportunity for anyone to speak from the heart. Our particular method involved passing around a special "talking stick"—a delightfully twisted tree root—that gave the person holding the stick the right to speak without interruption, fear of contradiction, or reprisal. As a result, a free space for venting honest thought and feeling was created. While it was not unusual for typical camp gripes to be aired, the majority of the comments revealed surprising insights and, for the most part, were strongly supportive of the individuals that made up the group.

At the Deep Creek School, even as individuals are becoming centered, and the social body discovers itself, the second pedagogical metaphor—technology—is introduced.

Technology and Connectivity at Deep Creek

While the word "technology" may evoke images of IBM or the military/industrial complex, the meaning of this term and its social significance are really far more subtle. Technology can be defined as the sum total of the way in which a social group provides themselves with the material objects of their civilization (Random House Dictionary, 1983, p. 10458). While computers and other hi-tech equipment certainly fall into this definition for our particular social group, we would also have to include the myriad technologies that serve to create our larger material culture. Indeed, any hand tool, process of making, production method, implement, apparatus, weapon, or machine could be said to comprise a technology.

What happens when the discrete envelope of our bodies intersects with a "technology"—a simple hand tool for example? Professor Leder (1990) writes:

We build machines because the resistance of the world demands a supplementing of our physical powers. For example, the sheer distances we encounter, incommensurate with the structure of our legs, call forth our technologies of transportation and communication. This dialectical body-world relation is concretized even in the simplest of instruments. Ordinarily, any tool will have one end specifically adapted to our human anatomy; the handle of a saw is designed to fit the hand. However, the other end is adapted to the world upon which we act. The sawteeth must "fit" the wood if they are to cut properly. The line, sinker, and bait must fit the fish. To incorporate a tool is to redesign one's extended body until its extremities expressly mesh with the world. (p. 34)

A performance work created by one Deep Creek student provides an example of how the empowerment of the body through technology described by Leder can lead to the body's engagement of environmental concerns. Gretchen's response to a group discussion on the natural/culture dichotomy was to produce a large-scale (10 feet in diameter) rotating squirrel cage constructed of steel that would accommodate her body (see page 65). To accomplish her task, she had to learn how to use a tool that was unfamiliar to her: an electric arc welder. Over a period of three weeks not only did she learn how to weld, but she also improvised a design that supported the weight and size of her body. In the end, her ability to use the electric arc welder enabled her to construct a cage in which she crawled in homage to her pet gerbil who had recently died. Caging her own body in the place of a domesticated animal, Gretchen's construction/performance served as a powerful critique of anthropocentrism and the domestication of nature.

Technology, whether a simple hand tool or a computer, provides a method for engaging the larger world. It both extends and mediates our perception of things. It can enlarge our vision, amplify our imperfect hearing, strengthen our grasp, speed our calculations, and alter the course of diseases and natural disasters. But it can also numb the senses, and anaesthetize us to the scale of the destruction. Too often it is the hammer that
drives the wedge between our sense of self and our sense of place. How can we become better at selecting and designing technologies that are appropriate for given situations—and have the personal confidence and clarity to bypass those technologies that are wasteful, redundant, unnecessary?

As Leder has suggested, a partial answer lies in our ability to redesign our extended body "to mesh with the world" (Leder, 1990, p. 34). There is a need for "tools" (in the broadest sense of the word) that are remarkable for the quality of their design—for their ability to fit the task at hand. In a phrase, "the right tool for the job." The appraisal of a fit or the appropriateness of a tool should be based not in quantities but in qualities. Economies of scale favor blunt instruments: Clear cutting. Strip mining. Mass production. We need to build more specificity into the design of our technologies. We need infinitely adaptable tools with razor sharp edges and precise methods of measure. (To paraphrase an ancient sage: "If the only tool you have is a hammer, you tend to treat everything as if it were a nail.")

At the other end of the equation, how do these technologies merge with the space of the body? These precision tools need to be "incorporated" (Leder, 1990, p. 34) into our physical selves—for it is only through the body that we can sense the impact we are having on one another and the planet. Consider the famous example of the blind man's stick as discussed by Merleau-Ponty, who writes: "The blind man's stick has ceased to be an object for him, and is no longer perceived for itself; its point has become an area of sensitivity, extending the scope and active radius of touch, and providing a parallel to sight" (1990, p. 143).

At the micro-scale of the Deep Creek School, to illustrate the impact of tools might mean intentionally violating the moral imperatives of "balanced" responses in order to teach something about the appropriateness of good design. (This is of course exactly backwards from how an industrial designer would approach the problem.) The destructiveness of a chainsaw is made manifest not by reflecting in the comfort of your wooden home on how many square miles of rain forest are lost each week, but on how quickly its teeth can level your own backyard.

Just as framing everyday gestures as "performances" can help to throw certain behaviors into a different light, so can the use of technology for subversion highlight the necessity to match the tool with the job.

The magic of appropriate technology as a guiding principle is revealed not by calculated reactions using the best available data, but by improvised responses to unexpected events. Surgery with a pen knife. Nylon stockings as tea strainers. Truck tires as building material. Airplanes with their wings on backwards. How are we to be goaded into re-designing our material culture? Competition as the basis of a design philosophy can only go so far. We need inventive personalities, geniuses who are open-minded and obsessed by their own ability to improvise solutions apart from external demand. This characteristic is really the provenance of the artist. A significant domain of art is improvised response. Art is not industrial design—but good tool design has something to do with art. Artists can lead the way with new uses for old technologies, subversions of new technologies, and the invention of a whole new class of tools inspired by the irrepressible energy of details.

On the "hi-tech" side of the program the faculty and students at Deep Creek have been exploring how to integrate new technologies into the program without compromising the very reason that many students choose to participate—namely, the need to have a break from the highly technological environment of the large American university. Increasingly, we are understanding the potential of the computer—not only as a design tool or a means by which to solve technical problems—but as method for enabling students to "break from the shells of academic discourse" (Trend, 1992, p. 149). The computer and computer-based telecommunications serve as detours around traditional approaches to art theory and practice and provide opportunities that are culturally diverse and interdisciplinary.

This latter capability of computer technology was introduced into the Deep Creek curriculum during the summer of 1993. We received a free Internet connection through the generosity of the Telluride Institute's "InfoZone"—the town of
Telluride's newly dedicated public access network connection to the Colorado Supernet. Richard Lowenberg, project director for the “InfoZone,” and Judy Malloy, an information artist from San Francisco, collaborated with the Deep Creek School in the creation of projects generated using the Colorado Supernet. The “Net” allowed for local access, gateway connections to the Internet, and the beginning of a (CWIS) community-wide information system.

Some artworks were designed specifically for this new medium. For example, Judy Malloy designed a digital suggestion box that enabled anyone to comment on the Deep Creek experience. Others took advantage of the computer’s capabilities as a research tool. One Muslim student from Algeria conducted a search for Islamic computerized “bulletin boards” in North America and Europe. Another student kept up an ongoing dialog with her major professor in Florida, as well as her boyfriend.

As there is not any specific “material and process” agenda at the Deep Creek School, students approach new media on an “as-needed” basis. That is, the curriculum plan of the School is not fixed, but tailored to the individual research interests of the students. Last summer, one student who was planning to focus on computer graphics ended up being seduced by the natural environment instead: he spent several weeks clearing a path through the dense forest to create a “labyrinth” that he then documented on video.

While one could predict that the presence of video monitors and VCRs would be irresistible to the “couch potatoes” of the group, another contingent of students became seriously involved with computer games—particularly a game called “Shangai.” In an odd reversal of the needs of older generations who continue to seek the familiarity of Nature as a kind of solace, some younger students found in the blinking screen of the computer terminal the “time-out” they needed from the demands of the program and the rough edges of their campsites. Indeed, for many of these students, Nature is not something to engage for comfort, but rather to sample in small bites. This leads us to our third and final metaphor, ecology.

Deep (Creek) Ecology

There is ample evidence, both on-site at the Deep Creek School and in the larger region, of human impact on the land. The area is rich in minerals—for one hundred years, the primary industry of the town of Telluride was gold and silver mining. Tailings from played-out mines look like brush strokes on the slopes of 14,000 foot peaks. But evidence of heavy metals such as hexavalent chromium can be found downstream. Sheep and cattle grazing and clear-cutting of old-growth forests by the logging industry destroy natural habitat and pollute the natural streams. And now development associated with the ski area at Telluride threatens to overburden the landscape. Chemical fertilizers from the golf-course find their way into the water table. Builders of huge second homes, perched on mesa tops, show little regard for energy conservation or the lay of the land. The ski area itself looks like a clear cut operation.

The land, like the body, is fraught with paradox. On one hand, it is robust, unpredictable, incredibly self-renewing, rich in its diversity. On the other hand, the tiniest intervention can have dire consequences. A pathway cut into the hill becomes an eroded gully. A bundle of willow branches and a few stones can change the course of the creek.

An understanding of ecology—the interrelationship of all forms of life in their diverse environments—is essential for the survival of the planet. The word derives form the Greek words oikos, which means “house” or “habitat,” and logos, which translates as “doctrine.”

Comparing environmental history with the history of art, one finds a number of striking parallels between changes in the physical environment and the emergence of new art forms and images. Several significant developments in art appear to coincide with periods characterized by environmental stress. Indeed, people have always altered their environment, often creating damaging and ultimately inhospitable conditions that jeopardize their own survival (Matilsky, 1992, pp. 6, 35). While contemporary humans have become more sensitized to the impact
of development and industry on the natural environment, the pace of destruction has accelerated.

The rapid destruction of habitats worldwide and the deteriorating conditions of urban life have catalyzed an ongoing debate on environmental issues. Well before the grass-roots movement that led to the original Earth Day in April of 1970 (the same month earth artist Robert Smithson completed his *Spiral Jetty*), artists responded to environmental issues. Through environmental and ecologically-based artworks, artists have attempted to raise consciousness about the natural world, or to mitigate environmental problems on a practical level—often by revitalizing an ecosystem or altering how humans interact with particular sites. Expanding upon the work of early environmental, conceptual, and systems artists such as Nancy Holt, Alan Sonfist, and Hans Haacke, recent works represent a more socially oriented approach to integrating nature and art in which elements of nature are not isolated, but integrated into a total network of relationships (Matilsky, 1992, p. 56).

At the Deep Creek School, we try to instill in students a basic understanding of environmental issues and help them to create strategies for developing an art vocabulary that is sensitive to, and ultimately becomes part of, the ecology of the area. In many respects, it is the landscape itself that catalyzes the program. Its character, seasonal rhythms, diurnal swings, and diversity of flora and fauna provide a backdrop that throws the simplest gesture into high relief.

Even as students are trying to find their own rhythms, develop a personal performance vocabulary, and grapple with the bewildering range of technologies available to them, the larger environment beckons. For some students, the creek and surrounding forests provide an opportunity for solitude and meditation. For others, the rushing water and the interlacing web of pathways and roads on site provide recreational opportunities: mountain biking and fishing are popular. For a significant few, the landscape becomes their palette.

Ecologically-based art provides a unique approach to problem solving for students. By encouraging them to take their cues directly from the landscape, attitudes of receptiveness and empathy are fostered. In some works, students develop a dialog with the natural environment that reveals a power or natural beauty that may otherwise go unnoticed. In other works, students adopt a more political stance that translates into visual or verbal critique—or in some cases, active intervention.

The dialog established between the students and the land reflect their backgrounds, range of social concerns, and command of materials and processes. One young man constructed a "dry well" in the middle of the creek—an effort to call attention to the preciousness of the crystal clear water. In his native Algeria, hand-dug wells still provide life-giving water and serve as gathering points in the arid landscape. His choice of location and careful construction techniques amplified the paradoxes inherent in this site-specific work. Beyond its success as a sculptural response to the landscape, a powerful truth was expressed by the work that he was not consciously aware of: despite the winter snows and relative coolness of the San Juan mountains, water is increasingly scarce and litigation over water rights is commonplace.

Another young man used the creek to highlight the absurdly wasteful irrigation practices typical in the desert of his native Arizona. A complex system of paddles, belts, and pulleys placed in the creek served to drive a huge blade around a circular patch of imported sod. The work, a kind of hybrid of the kinetic sculptures of Jean Tinguely and the environmental concerns of Helen and Newton Harrison, served to focus attention on how modern civilization exploits natural resources for sustaining less-than-responsible life styles.

For all of the students, the day-to-day immersion in the natural landscape works its special magic. The rhythm of the day is regulated by the realities of temperature and sunlight. The only sound at night is the creek itself, an acoustical backdrop that masks the sound of the human voice and the occasional boom-box. The canopy of the night sky seems closer, more
tangible, of greater depth and intensity. The smells of Ponderosa Pine or wood smoke at the evening fire are intoxicating and unforgettable. This tacit method of teaching about the environment transcends all efforts to catalog and define the benefits of outdoor experience.

Such opportunities are needed if we are to establish empathy with the land—an empathy that traditional Native Americans continue to claim as their birthright. We know that for the Anasazi—the ancestors to modern Hopi and Pueblo Indians—what went on in the sky was of extreme significance. The Anasazi watched the heavens closely. From the sky comes rainwater and sunlight, both essential to survival in societies that live in harmony with the land. They also felt it was essential to orient their important buildings according to the cardinal directions, so as not to live “against the grain of the cosmos” (Malville, p. 28). These needs, together with the sheer beauty of sunrise and sunset in the desert and the larger Colorado plateau, certainly account for sun watching being a central focus of not only Anasazi astronomers, but any contemporary seeking to understand the deep cycles of the earth’s passage through time and space (Malville and Putnam, 1991, p. 28).

Reconciling the Three Domains

While students are presented at the outset with challenges that highlight each of our three metaphors—body, technology, and ecology—it is in the experimental fusing of these domains that some of the richest insights emerge. Indeed, to test one discipline in the crucible of another in many respects defines interdisciplinary scholarship and art making. Young artists need to be responsive to a full spectrum of demands. Traditional values of strength, truth, beauty, and individuality can and should be tempered by flexibility, diversity, empathy, and community.

We are not advocates of a “post-studio” approach at the Deep Creek School. The typical model of the University studio art program—with its hard frames around particular techniques and hardware—does not develop artists who are adept at reaching across borders. When materials and processes are seen as ends in themselves, larger ideational and expressive—as well as social—goals are often sacrificed. In terms of a praxis, we are not interested in falsely romanticizing the human body, allowing software to drive aesthetic decisions, nor confusing the sublime with what can fit on the front of a postcard.

We are interested in the unlikely connections that are made, for example, when one uses an holistic approach to look at the complexity of experience. This may mean applying the methods of the geographer to the problem of the body, or approaching the complexity of information systems with the wide-angle lens of the ecologist. An example of technology, ecology and the body being reconciled by Deep Creek students can be found in a performance art work titled “Thunder Volt.” Gene’s piece involved an interface between electrical activity being recorded by the National Lightning Detection Network (NLDN) and the electrical activity of his body. He used his computer to process information coming from NLDN and to transmit that information via electrodes to different parts of his body. Small electrical shocks generated in response to remote lightning strikes stimulated Gene’s muscles. The electrical activity of his own body was amplified in consort with the lightning strikes to produce an experience of the “geographical and atmospheric” characteristics of the body (see page 69).

Currently, we as artists and educators are marginalized by a society that puts little value on the practice of artists. A new pedagogy would address how artists could be called upon to perform crucial work within society as a whole. Today’s artists are seen by most people as largely irrelevant—a diversion—even an irritation—to the larger discourse of living. In his catalog essay for a recent exhibition entitled Artificial Nature, Jeffrey Deitch (1990) writes:

Representing nature today is not easy for the artist, who sees nature being recreated everyday by the likes of geneticists, computer programmers, and real estate developers. Plastic surgeons, farm managers, and all kinds of ordinary people are now making the kinds of aesthetic decisions that only artists and architects once
made. Particularly in the fast approaching era of genetic engineering, the kinds of aesthetic choices once made only by artists will be central choices for society. Artists who can grasp the new technology may have a much more direct opportunity to redefine our idea of nature than they did when their media were limited to painting and sculpture. (pp. 72-73)

In addition to redefining our relationship to nature and the environment, the work of artists described by Deitch can also manifest social change. To accomplish such a task, performance artist/critic Suzanne Lacy (1995) calls upon a visual art "based on engagement"; one "that uses both traditional and nontraditional media to communicate and interact with a broad and diversified audience about issues directly relevant to their lives" (p. 19). In her anthology, Mapping the Terrain: New Genre Public Art, Lacy describes the work of "new genre public artists" such as Allan Kaprow, Tim Rollins and K.O.S., Judy Baca, and others as pedagogical in nature.

The notion of sustaining or continuing a connection begun through the artwork is an expression of personal responsibility that has a pedagogical thrust, often expressed as educating engaged community members, students, or even the art world. This pedagogy is rarely as doctrinaire as its critics would have it. Rather, the artist imparts options for developing activist and aesthetic work, generally on the constituency's own terms. (p. 34)

Lacy's notion of engagement has direct bearing on the pedagogy of the Deep Creek School where students are continually challenged to consider the ecological ramifications of their art works. To make art assumes taking responsibility for one's actions, one's work. Challenging the Modernist assumption that isolates art from society, the students learn that art is not produced in a social or cultural vacuum. The work of the artist is informed by the culture and, in turn, the art work informs the culture—an ecological cycle similar to the one we find in nature. As a working metaphor, Deep Creek students discover that "ecology" is not exclusive to the caretaking of the land, but also in the care and respect they demonstrate towards what critic Lucy Lippard (1995) calls our "cultural geography."

We have to know more about our relationships to each other, as part of the cultural ecology, to know where we stand as artists and cultural workers on homelessness, racism, and land, water cultural, and religious rights, whether or not we ever work directly on these issues. Because they are linked, to be ignorant of one is to misunderstand another. (p. 118)

The Deep Creek School is grappling with a cultural condition in which the line between actual experience and its simulation has become blurred as never before. Today's students are conversant in the language of electronic media and consumer culture—but they encounter difficulties when trying to navigate the real crises in the health of their bodies and the global environment. There is a deep sense among many of the artists and educators that we speak with that art programs nationwide are not responding sufficiently to the dramatic changes occurring in the culture at large. The precedent of fitting programs to the demands of society or other factors external to "art for art's sake" is well established—and usually short lived. Rather than retrofitting curricula to produce a weak echo of social trends, current events, or the "state-of-the-arts," the Deep Creek School experience asks students to take a pro-active stance with respect to their bodies, the tools the culture has developed, and the spaces they inhabit. We firmly believe that artists—and art as a discipline—can occupy a leadership role in driving the culture forward.

Footnotes

1We are indebted to Dr. Will Heywood, a visiting artist and psychologist during the 1994 session, for introducing the "Talking Circle" to the students and staff. Every student has expressed the positive role the Circle played in knitting the group together. It provided a healthy, risk-free space for
everyone—students, teachers, and staff—for communicating thoughts and feelings.

References


The Green Quilt: An Example of Collective Eco-Action in Art Education

Doug Blandy Kristin G. Congdon

Laurie Hicks Elizabeth Hoffman

Don Krug

At the 1994 National Art Education Association (NAEA) Convention in Baltimore we initiated two eco-action presentations that resulted in the making and display of a Green Quilt (Blandy, Congdon, Hicks, Hoffman, & Krug, 1994a; Blandy, Congdon, Hicks, Hoffman & Krug, 1994b). All of us have been coming to NAEA conventions for a number of years. Every year we have heard discussions on the gap between theory and practice. Discussed also has been the importance and need for activism within the NAEA. As a result of listening to these discussions, the five of us met at the 1993 convention to plan a session for 1994 that would be collaborative, active, political, and ecologically oriented. All of us have an ongoing research interest in eco-active art education. Consequently, we planned
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a session that would challenge conventional presentation formats by encouraging ongoing political activity. Consideration of the location of the convention, local activism, and the experiences of participants were deemed important aspects of political activity. Linking the NAEA membership with the “Green Quilt Project” was the result of our planning.

The “Green Quilt Project” is an international, grassroots effort. Founded in March, 1989 by Susan Shie of Wooster, Ohio, the project has generated hundreds of quilts created by individuals and groups. Shie, in her description of the project (undated) expresses her purpose “to create a network of positive energy concerning bringing the Earth back to balance” (p. 1). This energy has been variously referred to as a “prayer, meditation, affirmation.” Green Quilts, according to Shie, are a visualization of “the situation you wish to create as if it is already the present reality” (p. 1). Her vision nests within the larger context of “healing quilts.” Such quilts offer makers an opportunity to respond to issues of immediate and personal concern. Healing quilts derive their power through affirmative process. They are based on a belief that by affirming what we wish to occur, change becomes possible.

The five of us corresponded regularly over the course of 1993 and the first three months of 1994. Elizabeth Hoffman agreed to create the backing for the NAEA Green Quilt. Proposals for two convention sessions were submitted by the group. Our session proposals were accepted as a part of the Women’s Caucus program. Sessions were organized to maximize participation by all five members of the group. All of us assisted in the creation of the quilt and in preparing theoretical and organizational material for presentation at the 1994 convention.

Participants attending the first session were introduced to contemporary environmental concerns and oriented to eco-actions initiated by artists in response. We emphasized that many contemporary artists are working as activists to recognize and celebrate a positive relationship to the Earth and other (often disadvantaged) individuals. Gabrić (1991), in her book *The Reenchantment of Art*, focuses on many of these artists. For example, beginning in the 1980s, Dominique Mazeaud has routinely walked in the Rio Grande River, filled garbage bags with debris and has written about her experiences in a journal. Other artists include Suzanne Lacy who coordinated performances by older women, Mierle Ukeles who has been an artist in residence in the New York City Sanitation Department, Krysztof Wodiczko who is well known for creating a vehicle for homeless people, and John Malpede the founder of the Theatre for the Homeless in Los Angeles. These artists facilitate collective action through example. As such, they are exemplars of how artists can contribute to the larger spectrum of collective social action. The “Green Quilt Project” was presented within this context.

At the conclusion of this first session participants were invited to become activists by designing and embellishing six inch square fabric blocks (sewn into pockets) for a Green Quilt that would symbolize a positive, energizing narrative about their relationships with the natural environment. One hour later, sixty activists returned with their blocks to participate in the second session. Session organizers invited the participants to speak about their blocks and how they symbolized their relationships with the Earth. They then buttoned their blocks to a base quilt with four corner blocks representing air (“Birds in the Air”), water (“Storm at Sea”), earth (“Apple Tree”), and fire (“Fire Lily”) (see Figure). These corner blocks were selected from the many traditional quilt block patterns available for their ability to represent the four elements.

Our purpose in this session was to concentrate on individual narratives and blocks. Time limitations prevented a discussion of how individual contributions related to each other and the whole. If time had allowed we would have included such a discussion. Exploring interconnectedness promotes systemic thinking, ecological awareness, and a consciousness of collective social action. Such a discussion can begin by considering recurring themes in the blocks; placement of blocks; the juxtaposition of blocks; and narrative similarities and differences.
Block designs were varied. For example, Jane Maitland-Gholson's block contained a pencil with a short story written on the exterior in colored pencil and felt pen. Judith Ginsburg's turquoise block with a red circle and ikat fabric rectangles was dedicated to her mother and brought attention to the impact of pesticides on her mother's life. Patricia Cirilico's block was a magenta/red flower appliqué with sequin, bead, and ribbon embellishments, while on the other side written words were interspersed with images signifying flowers, friendship, fun, fantasy, fox, fellowship, fortune, fish and fire.

At the conclusion of the second session, this collectively created quilt was displayed in the Convention registration area. Periodically we would visit it and answer questions from convention participants on its making and purpose. We also provided information on how to contact Shie for additional information.

Green Quilts may have several purposes. They may remind us of the importance of individual purpose within collective action. The power of a Green Quilt may reside in its maker's commitment to the Earth coupled with the idea of quilts as valued heirlooms and collectibles that are passed on generationally. Green Quilts may also be understood and appreciated within the context of a politically oriented quilting tradition in which quilts are created to bring attention to, and educate others toward special interests. Quilts may also encourage or facilitate action by initiating ongoing discussions or providing funds through auction or raffle.

The use of quilt making as a political vehicle for collective action has a long history in the United States. The fact that women, as primary quilt makers, were not enfranchised until the early twentieth century did not mean they were apolitical. Quilt block names such as "Lincoln's Platform," "54 Forty or Fight," and "Whig Rose" convey obvious political allegiances. Names of blocks chosen for use are often clues to the purpose of the quilt or the interests of the maker. For example, "Drunkard's Path" and "Temperance Goblet" — block designs that were popular in the early 20th century — illustrate the maker's stance against domestic violence linked to the abuse of alcohol. These patterns were also popular as raffle quilts made to support early women's suffrage groups such as the Women's Christian Temperance Union (W.C.T.U.).

There are several notable contemporary examples of politically oriented quilts: "The NAMES Project" (Ruskin, 1988), "The Ribbon" (Philbin & Lark Books Staff, 1985), and the "Boise Peace Quilt Project" (PO Box 6469, Boise, ID 83707) are exemplary. At the local level, many community quilt guilds respond to community needs as a part of their stated mission. For example, The Mary's River Quilt Guild which meets in Philomath, Oregon initiates projects to aid local fire victims, children-at-risk, people who are terminally ill, and the county museum.

For the next two years the NAEA Baltimore Green Quilt will be displayed and used for educational purposes at universities in Maine, Ohio, Florida, and Oregon. It is anticipated that blocks will be added at each site. Beginning in 1996 this quilt will be available to travel to other locations. We envision that this quilt will become a catalyst for continued eco-action that will transcend the time and space limitations of traditional NAEA convention practice.

**Directions for Replicating the NAEA Baltimore Green Quilt**

The following directions are meant to be general. We hope and anticipate that any use of our plan will manifest itself in a way that is specific to the makers and their context. Our purpose is to be suggestive rather than prescriptive. Identifying the salient features of the region, makers, and audience, and incorporating these factors into the "Green Quilt Project" will make the experience more meaningful to all those involved. We also recommend that materials and techniques used should have minimal environmental impact.

The NAEA Baltimore Green Quilt was based on Green Quilts created at the University of Oregon and at the University
of Central Florida. Students made double-sided, square "pockets" (blocks) in which they stuffed paper, photographs, messages, amulets, vegetable matter, and other materials. Emphasis was placed on recycling materials. Piecing, quilting, embroidery, gluing, drawing, painting, photo transfer, beading, knotting, and appliqué were all methods used. The only requirements were that the block contents were not too heavy, or too fragile, that the blocks had a mechanism to button them to the base quilt, and that the spirit of making was in line with Shie's purpose for the "Green Quilt Project."

The University of Oregon quilt, upon which the following plan is based, consists of a backdrop and border in which 20 buttons are used to tie the traditional three quilt layers (top, batting, and back) together. Participants decided that four corner blocks of the "Maple Leaf" pattern would record, through color and placement, seasonal changes in Oregon. The border consists of scrap pieces of fabric in greens and browns, colors associated with the Pacific Northwest landscape. A three inch casing is sewn to the back of the quilt so a flat stick can support the quilt for hanging.

On the day it was completed, students chose the button site they wanted their block to hang from, attached their block to the quilt, and presented their narrative of why they chose the materials, symbols, colors, etc. for their block. After everyone added their block, a place for exhibition was chosen. By exhibiting the Green Quilt, (see figure 1) not only did further interest and discussion take place, but students were able to reaffirm their experience of collective eco-action.

Shie recommends that Green Quilts be identified as such through a label attached to the back that indicates its place of creation, makers, and date. This registration process contributes to the collective action that Shie promotes through the project. Though the registration process documents collective action, the legitimacy of Green Quilts comes primarily from the process of their making and the reflections of their makers. To register a Green Quilt, a slide of the quilt with identifying information should be sent to Susan Shie, 2612 Armstrong Drive, Wooster, Ohio 44691.

Figure 1: Design for the University of Oregon Green Quilt
References


Blandy, D., Congdon, K. G., & Krug, D. (April, 1994). *Art Education and the Interconnectness of Cultural and Ecological Restoration.* Presented at the meeting of the National Art Education Association, Baltimore, MD.


Footnote

1 session planners have an ongoing research interest in eco-active art education. For example see Blandy and Hoffman (1993), Hicks (1992/93), and Blandy, Congdon, and Krug (1994). In addition, the session planners are indebted to the research of Adams (1990), Graff (1990), Jagodzinski (1987), and McFee and Degge (1977).
An Editor's note: Critical Theory, Art and Education

Michael J. Emme

With JSTAE 14 the editorial team offers an innovation that we hope will be carried on by future editors, and will function as a provocation to the art education research community. What follows are 11 pages of images as well as a 12th work on the cover that have been selected for their relevance to the theme Eco • Techno. A review of academic publications in art education reveals extremely limited evidence of visual practice among the research. Of all the fields in academia, the one most suited to exploring the link between the many aspects of visual practice and the goals of research ought to be art education, but the term 'visual research' is not currently a part of our working vocabulary.

In The Discourse of Domination: From the Frankfurt School to Postmodernism Ben Agger (1992) discusses the role that Marcuse attributes to art in contemporary critical theory.

By refusing to succumb to the appearance of the given, art is 'permanent subversion,' giving form to hidden content amplifying the inherently dialectical character of the social world. The content is hidden, he contends, in la prose du monde, the attitude of the one-dimensional common sense where things 'are' as they appear to be, hence fatefuly ensuring the identity of the real and rational. Marcuse suggests that art transforms our conventional perception because art is more evocative than what Hegel called Verstand, uncomprehending common sense. Instead art grasps at the occluded possibility of a qualitatively different reality. And it is because total mobilization in advanced capitalism distorts and falsifies our immediate experience that we must resort to aesthetic transcendence in order to keep alive our dreams and memories of freedom and happiness. (Agger, pp.154-155)

As does Duncum elsewhere in this journal, I question Marcuse and Aggers' high cultural conception of art as a singular force in theory because I feel that the notion of singularity underlines what is being suggested, which is that art(s) inject ambiguity and questionings into a social discourse that tends toward linearity and even one-dimensionality. If critical theory is "a prefigurative praxis that actualizes and communicates the image of a better world," (Agger, p.223), or a process of questioning (as is explored by Gaudelius elsewhere in this publication) then I feel Marcuse is right in placing art(s) at the center of an individual's engagement in cultural critique.

There are any number of examples of contemporary artists whose work actualizes and communicates the image of our world (for better and for worse). Cindy Sherman's film stills, with their demanding analysis of media, genre and the politics of representation has clearly challenged her audience to engage in the kind critical considerations that Henry Giroux describes in Border Crossings (1992). Carrie Mae Weems has used self-portraiture to typologize the racist images of black women in her work with Group Material because, in her words "the construction of Black women as the embodiment of difference is so deep, so wide, so vast, so completely absolved of all reality that I didn't know it was me being made fun of, somebody had to tell me" (Weems, 1988).

Bolton, in Art as Education (1993) discusses the importance of "the hybridization of literacy, crossing the borders between reading and writing, video, photography, popular culture,
English, Spanish, and so on" (Bolton, p. 16) because of the need for audience participation and diversity in art. These same issues of criticality, communication and diversity characterize the state of the academy. The lexical-numeric domination that functions within academia has allowed the work of researchers to become manageable and safe. A kind of structuralist aesthetic in research pressures each of us engaged in critical practice to present our 'findings' in an acceptable form. While this may suit institutional goals and structures, critical theory is not intended to be safe or manageable. The images in the Gallery and on the cover partially represent the visual research of a number of people from across the country. By reproducing these works just as we reproduce the written works in this journal the editorial team is making a serious first effort to unbind academic form. My hope is that the result will be lots of questions about this journal as well as about the institutions in which we participate.

A final note: Both Chuck and Elizabeth were asked to critique and contribute to this brief introduction to the Gallery. They will recognize their words and ideas (as well as where I was stubborn!) I also want to acknowledge Elizabeth's role in finding appropriate work. Thanks again.


The Gallery

David Amdur
Robert Bersson
Gene Cooper
Drent Howenstein
Laurie Lundquist
Meryl Meisler
Juanita Miller
Gretchen Riemer
Kai Staats
A System for Satisfying Needs  1989 By: Laurie Lundquist
steel & glass ht: 5' (lights hang at 8') x w:4' x d:2'.

This machine functions as a motorized life support system for water hyacinths by lifting them up and down in a nutrient solution.
The Lightness of Trees 1989 By: Laurie Lundquist
steel, glass water & gardenia trees; ht: 6'8" x l:8" x d: 3'

The see-saw motion of this motorized structure alternately lifts and dips nursery trees into a limited supply of water.
Lying in the Desert 1990 By: Laurie Lundquist

temporary installation, Tempe, AZ. A work in response to the speculative development typical of the Phoenix Valley
I see painting as a way to recover my connection to the world. I use the word 'recover' because I've been working against a sense of disconnection and loss. This feeling of disconnection had been caused by the constant mediation of insubstantial, ephemeral and inane representations issuing from electronic and print media. These media gave me the power of easy negation; any unpleasantness could be avoided by merely changing the channel. I was trained, therefore, to be aloof, ironic and apathetic — finally nihilistic. In the work I have developed since 1984, I've sought to use the expressive means of painting to engage viewers in unfolding visual narratives depicting events of moral consequence.
*Industrial Landscape* 1993  By: Robert Berson
mixed media
Civilization 1991 By: Drent Howenstein
environmental installation of beaver sticks, steel & rocks
Fresh Fish (Chilling Out) 1990 By: Meryl Meisler
digital photography

This is a fire hydrant I walked by every day on my way to
and from the school where I taught.
electronic, mechanical environmental installation built at the Deep Creek School [for a fuller description see page 17].
A requiem performance that, unlike modern technology, is powered by the body. [for a fuller description see page 23]
Criticality 1994 By: Juanita Miller

performance/installation with stones and logs constructed at the Deep Creek School

An environmental artwork that illustrates the principle of critical mass in physics. During the performance, rocks were piled onto a foot bridge until it reached the critical point of breaking or losing rocks (metaphor intended).
Thunder Volt 1994 By: Gene Cooper
performance/installation integrating the environmental, biological and digital conducted at Deep Creek School

[for a fuller description see page 31].
Valuing Difference: Luce Irigaray and Feminist Pedagogy

Yvonne Gaudelius

Thereby woman, whose intervention in the work of engendering the child can hardly be questioned, becomes the anonymous worker, the machine in the service of a master-proprietor who will put his trademark upon the finished product.¹

The anonymous worker—the mother, the teacher—the anonymous woman. Woman defined by her fixed place in the system of reproduction. How has this come to be? How has woman become—how does she remain—an anonymous instrument in the reproduction of patriarchy? How does social reproduction relate to the position of woman as mother—as the “vehicle” of physical reproduction? In this paper, I tie questions such as these to the discipline of education, and to women’s role in the underlying ideologies of our educational system. In order to do so I will approach these questions from three distinct vantage points: a) Irigaray’s critique of psychoanalytic theories of reproduction, b) theories of social reproduction in schooling, and c) feminist pedagogy.


The first will consist of an exploration of theories of reproduction from psychoanalysis as they have been critiqued by the French feminist theorist and psychoanalyst Luce Irigaray. As Irigaray’s analysis has made clear, much of the positioning of women in psychoanalytic theory has been based on the sexual division of labor and the role that anatomy and the nature of physical reproduction have played in determining the position of woman. Therefore, I begin by presenting some alternate readings of this positioning and begin to make connections about the means through which woman’s physical role in the bearing and raising of children has been translated into her role in education, both as student and as teacher.

The next section describes what is commonly termed social reproduction in schooling. Schools, like other social structures, slot women into positions of subordination and complicity. In this section I discuss the applicability of social reproduction for education and the use of these theories of reproduction in defining gender roles.

In the final section—the most difficult to write—I attempt to build upon the work of Irigaray, both stylistically and intellectually in the form of an extension of her critiques—and examine the underlying assumptions and ideology of education. Using Irigaray’s conception of the female imaginary, this ideology will be confronted and, it is my hope, subverted. Through an open-ended questioning of what are commonly considered to be the aims of education, I present contradictions that I think are inherent in our system of education. These contradictions are based on exclusionary practices, including exclusion on the basis of gender. Concepts and ideas from French feminism force us to reconsider education in light of a gender specific critique. When these perspectives are adopted I find that the ideas of reproduction from psychoanalysis and educational theories about social reproduction are based on the same model of the sexual division of labor, a model which no longer holds given the strength of Irigaray’s critique. Within this questioning a space for woman’s subjectivity is opened, a subjectivity that proves ultimately subversive within our current educational ideologies.
Reproduction and the Ideology of the Maternal

According to feminist theorist Nancy Chodorow, "being a mother . . . is not only bearing a child—it is being a person who socializes and nurtures." She goes on to write:

Women's mothering is central to the sexual division of labor. Women's maternal role has profound effects on women's lives, on ideology about women, on the reproduction of masculinity and sexual inequality, and on the reproduction of particular forms of labor power. Women as mothers are pivotal actors in the sphere of social reproduction.

Chodorow positions women as "pivotal actors." But what role have women been assigned to play? In what ways do women act? How does the maternal role extend beyond traditional definitions of mothering? How are mothering and the reproduction of patriarchy connected? Could mothering be refigured in such a way that the function of reproduction is not the reproduction of traditional masculine imaginary and of patriarchy? And, more particularly, how is an ideology of the maternal connected to schooling? Does the reproduction of knowledge depend on an economy of the same, an economy of exchange relations in which sameness rather than difference is valued? Is social reproduction in the schools also based on an economy that reproduces the father through the son?

Imbedded in questions such as these are the same issues that Irigaray raises in Speculum of the Other Woman, specifically in her essay "The Blind Spot of an Old Dream of Symmetry." Although Irigaray is not writing of the links between schooling and reproduction, these connections are exposed by her critique.

Matrix—womb, earth, factory, bank—to which the seed capital is entrusted so that it may germinate, produce, grow fruitful, without woman being able to lay claim to either capital or interest since she has submitted "passively" to reproduction. Herself held in receivership as a certified means of (re)production.

To Irigaray's list of "womb, earth, factory, bank" I would add school—to my mind one of the foremost traditional institutions that is a container of seed capital—an institution in which women act passively as the means of reproduction. This notion of "acting passively" is taken from Irigaray—who quotes from Freud—who writes that we "might consider characterizing femininity psychologically as giving preference to passive aims. This is not, of course, the same thing as passivity; to achieve passive aims may call for a large amount of activity." This "activity" on the part of woman is "acceptable," or within acceptable limits, since it is not disruptive. It does not interfere with reproduction—either physical, psychological or social—indeed, I believe that this passive activity is essential for patriarchal reproduction. Woman's passive activity enables and recreates patriarchy without challenging its social legitimacy. Further, it is only in this sense that woman is allowed to perform. Within patriarchy, space has been created to give woman certain functions, such as mothering. As long as she remains within the scope of these roles, her activity is tolerated and essential to the maintenance of patriarchy. This should not suggest that the women who live within these roles are by definition either unhappy or complicit. These functions are necessary for the continuation of patriarchy and are therefore rewarded by the patriarchal system. Further, these passive activities serve to

3 Ibid.
4 In this case, the word economy is used to convey the idea that patriarchy is based on exchange mechanisms. Within patriarchy women are objects of exchange whose value is based upon their reproductive functions. For an excellent historical examination of this system, see Gerda Lerner, The Creation of Patriarchy, New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986.

5 Irigaray, Speculum of the Other Woman, 18.
6 Ibid.
interrupt woman’s attempts at disruption; the woman who attempts to step outside the role she is allowed to perform is seen as unwomanly and as a threat. There is no position within the institutional process of schooling in which she can actively act, that is, as actors who create systems of meaning. Women’s actions are restricted by patriarchal definition, confined to passive actions that support uncritically, and would never in the least subvert patriarchy. This understanding recasts Chodorow’s comments concerning women as pivotal actors: women are indeed actors in the reproduction of patriarchy, but rather than being primary or pivotal characters they are instead supporting members of the cast acting out a script that leaves them little room for subjectivity and self-determination.

As Irigaray further points out, women are not even allowed to take an active role in the process of reproduction—such activity is not feminine.

But representing herself “as” mother, the game of maternity and mothering, is not an expression of femininity in Freud’s opinion. To pretend, to act out, a relationship with the mother, with the maternal function, in Freud’s opinion, is not feminine. . . No fiction, no mimetic game, is allowed the little girl if it involves herself or her relationship to (re)production. Such games are “phallic.”

Irigaray clearly exposes the underlying assumption that woman can only be a passive actor in reproduction. She further points to the fact that this reproduction is not the reproduction of woman—not even if defined as the maternal. Woman, within this psychoanalytic framework, can only be assigned a part within the play by patriarchy. It is the needs and demands of her father—that determine woman’s function. He is the author and the director. Woman is necessary for reproduction; however it is only the reproduction of the same, the son, that is the subject matter of this play. Patriarchy is dependent on “a reproduction of the same that defies death, in the procreation of the son, this same of the procreating father.”

Examples of this can be found in situations as common as the passing on of the father’s name through the male child, women taking their husband’s name upon marriage, and, until recently, the position of women with regard to property laws and inheritance. Under patriarchy, women are first the property of their fathers, then of their husbands.

Presently, woman is confined to the maternal, but this maternal is defined in such a way as to be limiting rather than empowering. The range of the maternal function is severely limited by the needs and constraints of patriarchy. Elizabeth Grosz writes that this

... restriction of women to a phallocentrically constrained maternity is crippling for both mother and daughter. For the mother, it implies the severe limitation on her possibilities of self-definition and autonomy, her subjection to the Law of the Father, her renunciation of an identity as a woman and a sexual being... she must remain unacknowledged, confined to a pre-designated reproductive function.

Grosz points to the limits that this understanding of the maternal places upon woman. Her confinement—a term which unwittingly reveals the patriarchal view of giving birth—extends endlessly beyond the period in which she is actually giving birth. She is forever placed within the phallocentric definition of the maternal. Woman has no control over what the maternal represents.

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\(^7\) Ibid., 77-78.

\(^8\) Ibid., 27.

The primary role assigned to woman by the Law of the Father is to function as a mother. If woman were to choose this as her role, she would present a dangerous challenge to the law. Any active choice is forbidden, again she can only act passively. The normal woman—the feminine woman—can have no access to phallic power.

This view differs from the explanation given by Chodorow who suggests that "women's mothering, then, produces psychological self-definition and capacities appropriate to mothering in women, and curtails and inhibits these capacities and this self-definition in men." Chodorow goes on to write that "this set of expectations [about mothering] is generalized to the assumption that women naturally take care of children of all ages and the belief that women's 'maternal' qualities can and should be extended to the non-mothering work they do." Chodorow's analysis is missing Irigaray's understanding that it is not woman's self-definition that creates "capacities appropriate to mothering in women," but that these capacities are determined by a patriarchal system. The self-definition that Chodorow writes about can be more accurately described as the illusion of self-definition.

With Irigaray we can ask:

As for woman, one may wonder why she submits so readily to this make-believe, why she "mimics" so perfectly as to forget she is acting out man's contraphobic projects, projections, and productions of her desire.

This is indeed a crucial question—why does woman seemingly forget that she is acting out someone else's script? How can the illusion be so complete that she no longer sees it, even when the illusion is exposed to her? Perhaps it is because, as Gallop would claim,

the dream is everyone's inasmuch as everyone is within 'the metaphysical closure', inasmuch as any reader is a 'subject', which is to say has been philosophically reduced to a unified, stable, sexually indifferent subject, trapped in the old dream of symmetry.

Have we learned to ignore our sexual difference, to be sexually indifferent? This difference is the basis of patriarchal constructions of metaphysics. As Margaret Whitford explains, these differences are ... positions ... One of the two poles is always privileged over the other, the intelligible over the sensible, for example, or man over woman. The main point is that metaphysics is based upon a process of exclusion and hierarchies.

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10 Examples of this can be found in situations such as women who choose single motherhood; an act that is portrayed as profoundly dangerous to notions such as "family values" and, by implication, the continuation of patriarchy.
12 Ibid.
13 This parallels the Marxist idea of false consciousness and points clearly to the reason why consciousness raising groups have been, and remain, such an important part of the evolution of a feminist consciousness.

14 Irigaray, Speculum of the Other Woman, 53.
For women the implications of this are dire. In order to have access to metaphysical systems of thought, the intelligible, women must attempt to escape the positions of difference that positions her as the lower term in the hierarchy of man and woman. This calls for her to forget her sexual difference, in effect asking her to pretend to be “one of the boys.” Is this the price that has been exacted from us in exchange for the illusion of subjectivity and self-determination? For women within a patriarchal structure subjectivity can never be more than an illusion. As Whitford states,

In this [patriarchal] structure, to be a subject is to take up the male position . . . to identify with the Father (the Law), and thus, for women, to find themselves in conflict, potentially at odds with their mother, other women, and their self, for lack of an identificatory support . . . that would confirm them as female subjects.  

There is, at present, no position of subjectivity for women, nor will there be as long as difference is thought of as a means of exclusion. Instead of accepting this we need to ask ourselves how we can re-dream the dream of symmetry—a different difference dream—in which difference is valued and does not serve as a device of exclusion.

In parallel, just as woman’s definition as mother is controlled by patriarchy, the very conception of what it is to be maternal—to mother—is defined by patriarchy. Acceptable ways of mothering are determined by the relationship to the (male) child. In seeking understandings of “good” mothering, there is no consideration of the impact of the maternal on woman. Good mothering is determined by the outcome, that is, as it is evidenced through the results produced in and by the son.

How then does this conception of motherhood shape our social institutions, particularly schooling? How does the role of woman in these institutions mimic that of women in reproduction? These questions build upon those of Irigaray, approaching the social reproduction that occurs within the schools and the roles that woman, both as teacher and student, plays in this reproduction.

Madeleine Grumet points out that the American school and the family are parallel patriarchal structures. Women, especially in elementary schools, are responsible for the nurturing and daily care of children. In this task they are typically supervised and controlled by men. Women in this situation can participate in one of two roles. They can either submit to this patriarchal rule and be good mothers/teachers, or they can deny their femininity and act as men without challenging patriarchal structures of administrative authority.

In a “blind dream of symmetry” woman functions as man’s other. Symmetry, in this context, performs the task of structuring our systems of thought so that difference is eradicated rather than valued. In this sense, woman reproduces man and mirrors him back to himself. As Silverman discusses, “Irigaray painstakingly and compellingly demonstrates that the economy of the phallus is predicated upon the demand for symmetry.” Within this structure of symmetry woman exists as a smooth mirror, only able to reflect patriarchal structures. The means through which symmetry functions in the maternal should be clear; what should also be clear is the parallel way in which

17Ibid., 38.
symmetry operates in schooling. In the old dream of symmetry "the woman/student/reader ends up functioning as mirror, giving back a coherent, framed representation of the appropriately masculine subject." Within this construction, woman does not have the power to change patriarchy, she functions only to reproduce its representations. Gallop's list of woman/student/reader could be expanded to include teacher, for, as a teacher, woman "acts" as the conveyer of patriarchy.21

In close relation to the maternal, woman as teacher is often judged by the achievements of her (male) students. Just as a mother's success is frequently judged by her children (there are no bad children, only bad mothers), the success—or lack thereof—of a female teacher is dependent upon the success of her students. Have her students learned what they were supposed to learn? Have they learned the knowledge contained in the curriculum—a set of knowledge determined by and large by men? Above all, her abilities as a teacher are called into question if she breaks the discipline of patriarchy. Order—of knowledge and of patriarchy—must be maintained.22

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21Gallop, The Daughter's Seduction: Feminism and Psychoanalysis, 66.
22Of course, male teachers are also conveyors of patriarchy for they are assured of their continued position by doing so. It should also be noted that this passing on of patriarchy is not necessarily at the conscious level—not is it any less oppressive for being so.


As student, woman is rewarded for keeping within the patriarchal order—for repeating, without change or question, knowledge that has been deemed worthy. Hers is not the place to create or question knowledge.

In order to challenge this oppressive tradition, woman must reclaim the maternal—in the sense that the maternal can be subversive and can undermine the existence of a patriarchal system that is predicated on the elimination of difference. In this way a gender specific understanding of education can come about—and woman can exist as mother/teacher/student without having to be either the "little man" or "a man minus the possibility of (re)presenting oneself as a man = a normal woman."24 Woman as subject—not necessarily the same subject as man, but nonetheless as subject—could exist. Exist is must. Lives—if not life—are at stake.

Social Reproduction and Education

In this section I will explore the way that reproduction has generally been explained by educational theorists. This is related to the discussion in the previous section but, as I think will become clear, these theories of reproduction have tended to ignore the way that gender functions in social reproduction in education.

The subject of social reproduction through schooling has been explored by a number of educational theorists. In his text, Ain't No Making It: Leveled Aspirations in a Low-Income Neighborhood, Jay MacLeod distinguishes between two types of social reproduction theory.25 The first depends on mechanistic models of reproduction while the second relies on a "culturally attuned" model that responds to shifting cultural conditions. Of the first MacLeod writes that these theorists

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24Irigaray, Speculum of the Other Woman, 27.
take as their starting point the structural requirements of the capitalist economic system and attempt to demonstrate how individuals are obliged to fulfill predefined roles that ensure the successful accumulation of capital and the perpetuation of a class society.\textsuperscript{26}

For example, as MacLeod describes it, the work of social reproduction theorists Bowles and Gintis uses the model of the capitalist economic system.\textsuperscript{27} In their work they hypothesize a rigid structural correspondence between educational and economic systems. Specifically they point to the organization of power and authority in the school and the workplace, the student's lack of control over curriculum as compared to the worker's lack of control over her/his job, and the role of grades and other rewards compared to the role of wages (both of these being external motivational systems).\textsuperscript{28}

Bowles and Gintis also argue that class is reproduced by differences in various schools in the enforcement of these rules of behavior. Schools serving the working class are more regimented emphasizing behavioral control. Further, they argue that even within single schools, devices such as student tracking serve to distinguish between classes and ultimately function as a means of class control and social reproduction.

As MacLeod discusses, the work of Bowles and Gintis has been heavily criticized, most notably for the simplicity of their theory and the homogeneous ways in which different classes are treated. In this respect their model is seen as being too crudely mechanistic, allowing for no resistance on the part of individuals.

Another example of a mechanistic model of reproduction is that put forth by Pierre Bourdieu. Bourdieu is most well-known for the concept of cultural capital. This is defined as general cultural background, knowledge disposition, and skills that are passed on from one generation to the next. Bourdieu argues that children of different classes inherit substantially different cultural capital, essential to maintaining class divisions and structures.

There are four main points to Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital: a) that there is a distinctive cultural capital transmitted by each social class, b) that schools valorize upper-class capital and deprecate the cultural capital held by the lower classes, c) that differential academic achievement (largely determined by access to upper-class cultural capital) is retranslated back into economic wealth, and d) that schools legitimize this process by converting social hierarchies into academic hierarchies.\textsuperscript{29} Bourdieu also uses the concept of habitus which refers to the attitudes, beliefs, and experiences of those people who make up any given person's social world, affecting her/his attitudes towards schooling and aspirations, and allowing social structures to succeed in reproducing themselves. For Bourdieu, there is no escaping this structural and institutional order. As MacLeod makes clear, there is no room in Bourdieu's theory for any form of opposition, challenge, delegitimation, diversity, or nonconformity and "the mechanisms of cultural and social reproduction remain hidden because the social practices that safeguard the economic and political interests of the dominant classes go unrecognized; instead they are considered the only natural, rational, or possible ones."\textsuperscript{30}

In contrast to this mechanistic view there are those theorists who view social reproduction as a system which "allows for the relative autonomy of individuals in their own cultural settings . . . Culturally attuned models begin with the experiences of individuals."\textsuperscript{31} Henry Giroux would be an example of this type of theorist. Giroux tries to bridge the gap between agency and structure. He proposes a dialectical treatment of structure and subjectivity in which structure and human agency are seen to mutually affect each other. From this position Giroux develops a theory of resistance, exemplified in his theories of critical

\textsuperscript{26}Ibid., 9.
\textsuperscript{27}Ibid., 10.
\textsuperscript{28}Ibid., 10.
\textsuperscript{29}Ibid., 12-13.
\textsuperscript{30}Ibid., 14.
\textsuperscript{31}Ibid., 9.
pedagogy. Giroux looks for instances of students’ nonconformity and oppositional strategies in terms of their sociopolitical significance.

There are notable problems with Giroux’s theory of pedagogy of resistance toward transformation. However, in this section I limit my exploration to the fact that each of these theorists (Bowles and Gintis, Bourdieu, and Giroux) discuss social reproduction and the role of schooling in this process in more or less gender neutral ways.

In marked contrast to this, Irigaray calls for the need for a dialectic examination of the connections between economic class and patriarchy. She writes:

It seems, in this connection, that the relation between the system of economic oppression among social classes and the system that has been labeled patriarchal has been subjected to very little dialectical analysis, and has once again been reduced to a hierarchical structure.\(^{32}\)

This subsumption of gender within class conditions and analyses is precisely what educational theorists of social reproduction have done. Irigaray’s critique points to the impossibility of separating or prioritizing frameworks of oppression, revealing instead the connections between our social, political, and economic systems.

Also left undiscussed in theories of social reproduction is the role of women in education. According to Grumet, 87% of elementary school teachers in the U.S. are women.\(^{33}\) Until the mid-1800s few women were allowed to teach school. When school boards did begin to hire women it was largely because they could be paid substantially less than male teachers, earning some 60% less.\(^{34}\) Although there was an obvious economic reason behind this decision, the prevailing rhetoric framed the situation rather differently. Women were presented as ideal elementary school teachers since they could provide the qualities of nurturing and caring, qualities that were thought to be innate in women. As elementary teachers women had in effect become surrogate mothers.\(^{35}\)

Inherent in this position is the contradiction that these teachers, as women, were mothers and, simultaneously, the enforcers of patriarchal law. Women in this situation are truly Irigaray’s anonymous workers. They become the conveyers of the Law of the Father and physically split the mother-child dyad. Yet, at the same time, these teachers, as women, have themselves no access or recourse to the law. In this sense, women as teachers are instruments in social reproduction through schooling. They have no central or active role and do not have the power to affect the most fundamental outcomes of education in any real way. Positions of administration and decision making have typically been held by men and denied to women.

In this sense, mothering and teaching are for all intents and purposes synonymous. Within a patriarchal model, mothering becomes the public duty that enables social reproduction. Women in both of these situations are only reproducing men; women are the mirror that reflects the reproduction of the same, of patriarchy.\(^{36}\) Woman has not chosen the maternal, in either the home or the classroom. Instead this role is assigned and defined by men.

\(^{32}\) Irigaray, This Sex Which Is Not One, 82.

\(^{33}\) Grumet, Bitter Milk: Women and Teaching, 44.

\(^{34}\) Ibid., 38.

\(^{35}\) It is my experience that this belief still holds true today. In discussing this with prospective elementary school teachers (a group composed predominantly of women), I have found that most of them believe that women become better elementary school teachers because they are better with children and can provide a more caring environment.

\(^{36}\) Within this structure women are reproduced as reproducers but not as subjects.
We need to begin to open a space for women to reclaim and define their positions. In this space, the possibility of women's subjectivity could begin to exist. Due to the fact that gender does not inform traditional psychoanalysis or educational theories of social reproduction, these theories do not allow the possibility of women's subjectivity. Therefore, in the final section of this paper, I use the lens of gender to explore the ideologies underlying much educational theory and practice. It is my hope that this might create a pedagogy that develops a space for women's subjectivity in education.

Towards a Feminist Pedagogy of Difference

"Questions—among others—that question themselves and answer each other throughout ..." 37 The imaginary, a term that comes from Lacan’s reading of Freud, refers to that moment in psychosexual development when a child sees himself in the mirror and recognizes that he is different from his mother. 38 This moment is a crucial step towards subjectivity, a process that is completed when the child has access to the symbolic in the form of written language. In Lacanian thought this male imaginary, when combined with the symbolic and the real, forms the structural basis for subjectivity.

Instead of this Irigaray posits the existence of a female imaginary. By turning Lacan’s flat mirror into a speculum or curved mirror, Irigaray shatters this image of the development of subjectivity and begins to create a space for women to have access to subjectivity. Why does the female imaginary use questions? How do questions shape our inquiry? How might the female imaginary use questions to formulate the use of language? Within the female imaginary, the use of questions—especially, as Irigaray suggests, those that question themselves—does not allow us to position answers as singular and definitive. For Irigaray these multiple answers are what a symbolic shaped by the female imaginary might lead to.

In trying to establish connections between Irigaray’s reading of theories of reproduction from psychoanalysis and my reading of educational theorists’ ideas about social and cultural reproduction in education, I turn to ideas from Irigaray about the female imaginary. She offers us new ways to conceptualize language and thereby redefine the symbolic order. A redefinition of the symbolic is important for this would move us towards a position where women can speak as subjects. Whitford describes this move as being from “speaking (as) woman in patriarchal culture, in which that voice is not heard or listened to, and speaking (as) woman in a different symbolic order.” 39 By using questions I seek to establish connections between social and psychoanalytic reproduction theories toward finding ways to reconceptualize educational practice—pedagogy, curriculum, classroom dynamics—and create a space in the symbolic order as represented by educational theory and practice for women’s subjectivity.

If education, as it now exists, represents a mirror that reproduces the patriarchal ideal of the self, what would education look like if it were a speculum—a curved mirror? What would it mean to teach instead from this position?

Jane Gallop tells us that “Irigaray is not interested in the answer. She pursues a ceaseless questioning which has not time and is not foolish enough to wait for an answer.” 40 This questioning without necessarily answering, an approach that I have tried to adopt, does not suggest that the answer is not important, but that a preoccupation with answers can keep us trapped within the questions of patriarchy. In what ways might our teaching strategies be described as foolish? Do we strive too much to find the answer—that is too often also the position of power? The master teacher passes on knowledge. We never

37 Luce Irigaray, This Sex Which Is Not One (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985), 119.
38 One of the problems with this formulation is the fact that it is predicated upon the male child's development.
39 Whitford, Luce Irigaray: Philosophy in the Feminine, 42.
40 Gallop, The Daughter's Seduction: Feminism and Psychoanalysis, 62.
realize that "there is no law and no mastery... there is no master," writes Cixous. She goes on to state, "the paradox of mastery is that it is made up of a sort of complex ideological secretion produced by an infinite quantity of doorkeepers." Do we position teachers to become doorkeepers, keepers of the knowledge, keeping out those who do not know?

How does education function?

What are the aims of education?

While not presenting the following as an exhaustive list, I believe the following to be among the more prevalent current aims of education.

the educational aim of maintaining patriarchy,

How do I speak-as-woman, woman-as-speaking-subject?

What is a woman?

Freud asks us, "what do women want?"

Unanswerable question. Is this made so because there is no room for woman's wants in patriarchy? Patriarchy depends on woman as object, as object of exchange in a male economy driven by exchange. Why doesn't your knowledge tell me who I am? Can you hear my voice?

Woman-as-subject challenges the patriarchal order. She disrupts a system that is dependent on reproduction without change. We can begin to teach in ways that values difference rather than measuring sameness. Do all our students need to leave the classroom with the same knowledge?

the educational aim of perpetuating hierarchies of knowledge,

"There has always been a split between those who are in possession of knowledge and culture and who occupy a position of mastery and others... And I am not saying that women are never on the side of knowledge-power. But in the majority of cases in their history one finds them aligned with no-knowledge or knowledge without power." Women's history is comprised of countless examples of excluded knowledge. Women's knowledge and women's work, relegated largely to the sphere of the domestic, is in large measure valueless and invisible in patriarchy.

History, women's history, black women's history, ... history. "History, history of phallocentrism, history of appropriation: a single history. History of an identity: that of man's becoming recognized by the other (son or woman) reminding him that, as Hegel says, death is his master." The death drives creating the search for truth and replication so that he might exist beyond death. Becoming immortal through the creation and categorization of knowledge. Every qualifier that we add to terms such as history removes women from the "core" of knowledge. The "core" curriculum misses those on the margins. Women and their experiences have been marginalized in the curriculum, placed on the margins by the various terms through which our knowledge is referred. We are fodder for your canon. Instead of being objects that are added to the canon to demonstrate its inclusiveness, a call for a new subjectivity requires us as teachers to reject ideas of core curricula and hierarchies of knowledge. We need to include what is now marginalized and excluded from our teachings.

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42 Ibid., 141.

How do I speak-as-woman, woman-as-speaking-subject?

What is a woman?

excluding,

The exclusion of people controls access to knowledge and thereby limits access to power, to change, to self-determination. Exclusion is not just of people but of experiences, histories, traditions, rituals. Can I "make it" without linearity in my thinking? Can I "make it" without becoming you? The ideology of exclusion subsumes you in who you must be in order to "succeed." Where am I? I am a woman, I am outside, I am other. And does not this logic, which is beginning in a certain way to exhaust itself, find reserves for itself in the unconscious as in any form of 'otherness': savages, children, the insane, women? Not one outsider, not one other but many others. If I am not you I am excluded. Where is my community? Is there more than just me here?


How do I speak-as-woman, woman-as-speaking-subject?

What is a woman?

universalizing,

"Patriarchy does not prevent women from speaking; it refuses to listen when women do not speak 'universal', that is, as men." 46 How do I speak? Postmodernism provides us with the illusion of inclusiveness, the illusion of decentering authority, and the false promise of dismantling patriarchy. However, Irigaray is distrustful of these illusions for within postmodern theory the same structures of knowledge are still in place. Postmodernism is, at best, perhaps the slightly rebellious son. The father, modernism, still frames the questions to which postmodernism responds. Paternalism prevails. Whitford points to the danger of decentering, or moving away from, the idea of the subject since this seems to be occurring at the precise moment that women (and other others) are approaching subjectivity. I know that some men imagine that the great day of the good-for-everyone universal has dawned. But what universal? What new imperialism is hiding behind this? And who pays the price for it? The illusion of greater inclusiveness maintains the hierarchical structures of power. Father to son you still speak and reproduce others according to plan. We must ask more—accepting no less than to "subvert the functioning of dominant representations and knowledges in their singular, universal claims to truth." 47 Add women and stir—it is not enough. We need to redefine the methodologies of inquiry that are used, and rethink the questions that are asked, not just the answers that are given. Subvert...

How do I speak-as-woman, woman-as-speaking-subject?

What is a woman?

communicating a fixed truth,

Truth. Can the truth be spoken? Can the truth for women be spoken? Is there a truth for women?


The pedagogical relation expects her [Irigaray] as 'authority' to have a 'truth', a 'theory' which would allow her to 'simply' answer. She would then 'answer for woman,' speak for her not as her. Woman would be the subject matter, the material of her discourse. She would trade woman, just as women have always been 'merchandise' in a commerce between men. Woman is passed from the hands of the father to the hands of the husband, from the pimp to the john, from the professor to the student who asks questions about the riddle of femininity.  

Can we learn to teach without relying on fixed truths, without speaking for others? Can our teaching include multiple truths and multiple realities without being doomed by the meaningless plurality of postmodernism? Not one woman but many—Not one experience but many—Not one truth but many...  

How do I speak-as-woman, woman-as-speaking-subject?  

What is a woman?  

promoting “equal opportunity,”  

How much is your cultural capital worth? “Children of upper class origin, according to Bourdieu, inherit substantially different cultural capital than do working class children.”  

Is there another side? “For Irigaray, women’s autonomy implies women’s right to speak, and listen, as women.”  

encouraging a belief in inquiry based on scientific method and rationality,  

Where is my reality? My truth? Why does knowledge have to replicate itself to be true? Must truth be based on rationality? “And if for him the law guarantees an increment of pleasure, and power, it would be good to uncover what this implies about his desire—he seems to get more sexual satisfaction from making laws than love...” Scientific method depends on proving the hypothesis and creating laws. “Irigaray’s uncertain, indeterminate attempt to respond to questions without giving definitive answers thus attempts really to engage the questions, to dialogue with something hetero (other) rather than being trapped in the homo (same).” How different from the replicative quest of the scientific method.

Is there another side? “For Irigaray, women’s autonomy implies women’s right to speak, and listen, as women.” There is more than just the phallus. “The phallus is singular (simple), represents a unified self, as opposed to the indefinite plurality of female genitalia (clitoris, vagina, lips—how many?, cervix, breasts—Irigaray is fond of making the list, which never has quite the same elements, never is simply finished).” Not finished because we do not have the answers. The nature of the list lies in its plurality. It escapes definition, for how can you replicate indefinite plurality? We must work with our students to encourage them to think in terms of multiple answers rather than searching for definitive truths.

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49 Grosz, Sexual Subversions: Three French Feminists, 127.  
50 Gallop, The Daughter's Seduction: Feminism and Psychoanalysis, 63.  
51 MacLeod, Ain’t No Making It: Levelled Aspirations in a Low-Income Neighborhood, 12.  
52 Irigaray, Speculum of the Other Woman, 38-39.  
54 Grosz, Sexual Subversions: Three French Feminists, 127.  
55 Gallop, The Daughter's Seduction: Feminism and Psychoanalysis, 63.
How do I speak-as-woman, woman-as-speaking-subject?

What is a woman?

providing teachers who are masters of knowledge,

"Only those people who already have a relationship of mastery, who already have dealings with culture, who are saturated with culture, have ever dared to have access to the discourse that the masters give."56 What language are you speaking? Can you hear me? I am not the passive recipient of your knowledge nor will I be complicit in its reproduction. Do you think I'm a vessel into which you can transfer your goods—your seed capital? Your classrooms are models of linearity—there I cannot learn. Freire reminds us that "in the banking concept of education, knowledge is a gift bestowed by those who consider themselves knowledgeable upon those who they consider to know nothing. Projecting an absolute ignorance onto others, a characteristic of the ideology of oppression, negates education and knowledge as processes of inquiry."57 Do you presume that I know nothing? Does my knowledge count for nothing in your bank of education? Must you constantly undermine my knowledge to maintain your mastery?

The implications of this are not restricted to the communication of knowledge but also carry with it pedagogical strategies. "There is the difference between lecture and seminar, the seminar supposedly implying a plurality of contribution, whereas the lecture divides into speaker presumed to have knowledge and listeners presumed to learn—to be lacking in knowledge."58 We are both responsible for our knowledge. You no longer have the answers—together we must learn.

56 Cixous, "Exchange," 139.

How do I speak-as-woman, woman-as-speaking-subject?

preparing students,

Prepare students: for what? Do all students receive the same preparation? For the same purpose? "Becoming the mother of the son, the woman will be able to 'transfer to her son all the ambition which she has been obliged to suppress in herself'."59 Are our teachers our mothers? The confusion of care and nurturing. If I care, if I nurture, am I your essential mother? Can I teach without caring? Without nurturing? Do I need to be the same as the son, he who is the same as the father?

What types of reproduction are rewarded? Are my students valued only if they reproduce positions deemed important within a patriarchal ideology? Does women's reproduction have equal value—or is only the reproduction of the father/the son/the same worthy? Can a system of reproduction based on difference rather than sameness have value?

reproducing the status quo in culture and society, and

This reproduction relies upon an economy of the self-same, an economy based on the death drive and the need for repetition, "a reproduction of the same that defies death, in the procreation of the son, this same of the procreating father. As testimony, for self and others, of his imperishable character, and warranty of a new generation of self-identity for the male seed."60

59 Irigaray, This Sex Which Is Not One, 42.
60 Irigaray, Speculum of the Other Woman, 27.
The rejection of rigid dichotomous characterizations of the two sexes, and the corresponding oppositions between subject and object, self and other, inside and outside, active and passive . . . . She [Irigaray] explores an undecidable fusion with and differentiation from the mother which defies patriarchal logic." The alternatives to dichotomization are based in female multiplicity and in a redefinition of the mother-daughter relationship. In this, the mother-daughter relationship becomes one who can be described as subject-to-subject, rather than women taking a position as passive object of reproduction.

In our teaching we can strive to move away from systems of binary opposition and hierarchy where terms become structured in opposition to each other. If we do not do this then attempts in our classrooms to value difference will only produce a more severe dichotomization and, for those students who are marginalized by our system of education, serve to further their marginalization.

How do I speak-as-woman, woman-as-speaking-subject?

What is a woman?

maintaining the Law of the Father,

"For the patriarchal order is indeed the one that functions as the organization and monopolization of private property to the benefit of the head of the family. It is his proper name, the name of the father, that determines ownership for the family including the wife and children." We cannot disconnect our analysis of the exploitation of women from our analysis of educational ideologies—the latter are complicit in maintaining the authority of the father. "It seems in this connection, that the relation between the system of economic oppression among social classes and the system that can be labeled patriarchal has been subjected to very little dialectical analysis, and has been once again reduced to a hierarchical structure." The Law of the Father has no master—save fear and illusion—you are only accountable to yourself.

How do I speak-as-woman, woman-as-speaking-subject?

What is a woman? I believe I've already answered that there is no way I would "answer" that question. The question "what is . . . ?" is the question—the metaphysical question—to which the feminine does not allow itself to submit.

How do I speak-as-woman, woman-as-speaking-subject?

As French feminist theorist Hélène Cixous urges, I must learn to steal language and fly with it, never failing to be subversive. I must open spaces and into those spaces throw my voice, trembling or not. And curve the mirror of reproduction so that the economy of the same is not the only possibility. My curved mirror can reflect and create thousands of possibilities for it is only with a pedagogy that allows me to speak-as-subject that I can ever begin to hear what others are saying and that I can ever begin to speak.

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63 Grosz, Sexual Subversions: Three French Feminists, 125.
64 Ibid., 82.
65 Ibid., 122.
References


Behind, the Road is Blocked: Art Education and Nostalgia

Paul Duncum

Abstract

Proponents of high culture have trusted its power as an antidote to contemporary social ills. However, art educators should be aware that the history of such attempts is a history of failure. It is a history of gradual marginalisation, both of the critique and the critics, and of increasingly conservative political reaction. The critique represents, today as it has always done, a nostalgia for an idealized past. But the failure of the critique suggests that there can be no going back. It is argued that the increasing failure of this critique to positively influence social and cultural life is a warning that the future of art education lies elsewhere. As representative of this critique, this paper discusses the English cultural critics Edmund Burke, Matthew Arnold, F. R. Leavis and T. S. Eliot; the Frankfurt School Marxists Horkheimer, Adorno, and Marcuse; and the Postmodern French critic Jean Baudrillard. Finally, guidelines for a future, contemporary art education are advanced.


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Proponents of high culture have trusted its power as an antidote to contemporary social ills. However, art educators should be aware that the history of such attempts is a history of failure. It is a history of gradual marginalisation, both of the critique and the critics, and of increasingly conservative political reaction. The critique represents, today as it has always done, a nostalgia for an idealized past. But the failure of the critique suggests that there can be no going back. It is argued that the increasing failure of this critique to positively influence social and cultural life is a warning that the future of art education lies elsewhere. As representative of this critique, this paper discusses the English cultural critics Edmund Burke, Matthew Arnold, F. R. Leavis and T. S. Eliot; the Frankfurt School Marxists Horkheimer, Adorno, and Marcuse; and the Postmodern French critic Jean Baudrillard. Finally, guidelines for a future, contemporary art education are advanced.
Behind, the Road is Blocked: Art Education and Nostalgia

From the Picture-Study Movement of the 1920s to the proponents of DBAE with a neo-conservative agenda (Greer (1984), art educators have attempted to offer high culture as an antidote to contemporary social life. Such efforts include, for example, Kauffman’s (1966) defence of fine art against popular art and Smith’s (1986) promotion of the humanist ideal of artistic excellence. These proposals share a long and impressive history which includes many fine and courageous minds. But I will argue that the history of the intellectual forerunners of a high culture version of DBAE and associated proposals offer no hope for the future of art education. It is a history of failure, and it should act as a warning to seek the future of art education elsewhere.

I am referring to the tradition of high culture criticism which, as traced by Williams (1958) and Johnson (1979), involves offering high culture as a remedy to the ugliness of the physical environment as well as to the atomization, alienation, standardization, and brutality which is said to have characterized social life for the past 200 years. The high culture social critique has long been a determining factor in the climate in which art education has been theorised and practiced. Pearson (1994) writes that high culture forms the underlying paradigm for art education.

I will concentrate on the original proponents of high culture rather than examples of the derivative form it takes in art theory and art education. The intellectual bankruptcy and social irrelevance of the critique is made especially clear in this way, and the implications for art education that much more stark.

The High Culture Critique

The notion of high culture began as part of wide and general movements in thought and feeling, as a response and contribution to pressures associated with the Industrial Revolution. Principally, these involved mechanization, urbanization (Bigsby, 1975, p. 6), the development of class consciousness, and agitation on behalf of democratic representation (Williams, 1958, p. xviii). It was part of the separation of certain moral and intellectual activities from the impetus of a new, identifiably Modern society. The words industry and art had previously referred to human attributes now came to signify specialised, and opposed institutions. Industry, which had once meant sustained application came to mean manufacturing and productive institutions. And art, which had once denoted skill, came to mean a particular group of skills concerned with the imagination and creativity. Aesthetic, had once denoted sense activity in general, the dulling and lulling included, but came to refer to the fine and beautiful, and, by association, to art (Williams, 1983). Culture, previously a word signifying a process of human training, became an abstraction, a thing in itself (Williams, 1983). At the same time, democracy and class emerged from specialised use to focus attention on major realities of social life. Industry, class, and democracy came to describe the external terms of modern life: while culture, by contrast, referred in terms of opposition to an area of personal experience, as did the new conceptions of art and the aesthetic.

In its continuing invocation by art educators, the same dynamics are discernible. There appears to be the same desire to create a calm space within an alleged impersonal and superficial social life for the contemplation of aesthetic objects and human ingenuity. It is easy to translate the earlier opposition to democratic impulses to read the current suppression of other cultural voices. It is equally easy to translate for the ugliness and dehumanization of industry, the current impersonalization of high technology, social fragmentation, and information overload.
The History of High Culture Criticism

In the historical development of the concept of high culture and its continuing relations with the above social dynamics, three interrelated themes emerge. Each offers a warning to proponents of an art education based on high culture. The themes are: the gradual marginalisation of high culture social analysis; the gradual marginalisation of high culture critics from centres of power and influence; and the reactionary, anti-democratic political positions adopted by both socially progressive and conservative critics. These themes will be highlighted below by examining the tradition of English literary critics, in particular Edmund Burke, Matthew Arnold, F.R. Leavis and T.S Eliot. Also considered are the Frankfurt School Marxists Marcuse, Horkheimer and Adorno. Finally, the French postmodern critic Jean Baudrillard will be examined. These critics are rarely identified in art education literature although Ralph Smith (1992) refers to himself as “an Arnoldian, pure and simple” (p. 72) but their contributions to the history of the high culture critique are seminal. They have been chosen as representative because each has made a substantive contribution to the history of the critique. While very different in orientation, each shares major characteristics of the high culture social critique: a distain for their own cultural period, contempt for ordinary people, and a regressive and pessimistic view of history characterised by nostalgia for the past.

The critique characteristically views contemporary times as a marked decline from previous high standards and a more integrated and personally satisfying society in which these standards are alleged to have flourished. The point of loss varies considerably. For the German Neo-Marxists Horkheimer & Adorno (1972/1944), it was pre-Fascist Europe, for Marcuse (1964) it was a pre-technological 19th century, for T. S. Eliot (1948) it was the old American South. Often it is associated with the 18th century, although for 18th century writers like Edmund Burke it had already passed (Williams, 1958, p. 259-260). Always, conditions conducive to high culture have been eroded (p. 259).

Since the ideals of this critique belong to previous periods, the critique is nostalgic for the past and melancholic about the present. In this, the espousal of high culture has impressive precedence. In classical times, nostalgic melancholia was associated with intellectual life, and in the 17th century nostalgia was regarded as a moral virtue of the intelligent person who, in response to the horrors of the world, withdrew into melancholic despondency (Stauth & Turner, 1988). Reflecting this view, Nietzsche saw intellectual life as “a restful response to the everyday world of taste, emotion, feeling and reciprocity” (p. 519). For Nietzsche intellectual life was motivated not only by a desire to discriminate, but resentment towards the masses. And, as described below, as the golden age of the high culture critics diminishes farther and farther and present conditions increasingly worsen, melancholia deepens, resentment increases, withdrawal accelerates, and hope diminishes until, with Baudrillard, there is nothing but disgust, despair, and apathy. In diagnosing our own times, Baudrillard (1988) unwittingly says much about his own critique: “When the real is no longer what it used to be, nostalgia assumes its full meaning. There is a proliferation of myths of origin and signs of reality” (p. 171).

The English Literary Critics

In England, these general developments can be illustrated with reference to just four of its most prominent critics. As Williams (1958) shows, Burke was among the first of the English literary critics to offer the critique (p. 3). Writing in the late 18th century when only the first signs of industrialisation and democratic agitation were apparent, his critique was offered in terms of an older England, though one still within living memory, and the temper of his comments is affirmative (p. 11). Burke was a political conservative, and his espousal of refined sensibility was part of his condemnation of both the call for democracy and the progress of the industrial revolution; his critique involved an attack on individualism and advocacy of the benefits of political gradualism and social constraint. A true believer in the original Enlightenment project, his goal was human perfectibility (Williams, 1958, pp. 3-12). Such is his confidence that he identifies the upholders of traditional standards with the existing state,
What for Burke were misgivings about the potential of industrialisation and agitation on behalf of democratic representation were, for Arnold, developing but already pervasive social realities. Arnold’s tone is consequently altogether more defensive, at times unworthy of his own ideals (pp. 116-117). Writing in 1869, he frequently adopts a priggish even malicious tone. And although his vision is grand, liberal and optimistic about the possibilities for social change, it is linked to a reactionary view of the need for political repression. For Arnold, culture was foremost a means of controlling growing social unrest among the working class through ideological incorporation (Johnson, 1979, p. 26). Its purpose was to subvert dissent, as religion had done previously (Thompson, 1963). By entwining itself with the deepest roots of humanity, culture was to become the new religion (Eagleton, 1983, pp. 23-24). Arnold envisaged withholding democratic rights from those who sought such rights until they were brought into a basic ideological accord with those currently in power.

In *Culture and Anarchy* (1869/1891) Arnold argued that culture represents “the great hope out of our present difficulties” (p. viii), a way “to safety” (p. 157). He advocated culture as a defence against the rampant, anarchistic individualism of both the middle class and working class (p. 10). As well, culture was conceived as a buttress against “outbursts of rowdiness” (p. 38) from the working class in their pursuit of democratic rights. The title of his text focuses his position, contrasting the goal of collective perfection with individualism and mob rule. Culture is offered as the solution to the social fragmentation, banal standards, and mechanical ways of thinking said to follow from industrialisation and the decline of religion. It is also the solution to the dangers inherent in what he fears is a person’s “right to do what he likes; his right to march where he likes, threaten as he likes, smash as he likes” (p.37).

There could be no question of identifying the existing state with the custodians of culture. His ideal state was to be comprised of a “remnant”, of “aliens”, who had escaped the habits of class prejudice. He seems to have believed that such a state was achievable, and he placed great store in education as a means of achieving social reconstruction (Johnson, 1979, pp. 34-38).

Like Burke there is no doubting the breadth of Arnold’s vision. Culture involved “a harmonious expansion of human nature” (Arnold, 1869/1891, p. 10) through the study and pursuit of perfection. Although the direction of the Enlightenment project had become less direct than it was for Burke, Arnold is its heroic champion. He exhorted his contemporaries to study and pursue human perfection by getting to know on all matters which most concern us the best which has been thought and said in the world, and through this knowledge turning a stream of fresh and free thought upon our stock notions and habits. (p. viii)

He sought culture “through reading, observing, and thinking” (p. 49) with “a passion for pure knowledge, but also the moral and social passion for doing good” (p. 6).

His was an altogether grand view, but in dealing with the present and immediate future Arnold did not escape the prejudices of his own class. He advocated equality, and although his attitude toward the working class was ambivalent (p. 25), he feared them deeply. Democracy, he argued should be gained only “by the due course of the law” (p. 161). Even while acknowledging the plausibly good cause of the working class, he felt able to write that

monster processions in the streets and forcible irruptions into the parks ... ought to be unflinchingly forbidden and repressed. (p. 158)

Leavis’ vision is altogether more restricted than Arnold’s. Writing from the early 1930s into the 1970s, he was by comparison backward looking, deeply embattled, and largely pessimistic about the future. For Leavis, the Enlightenment project had
become highly problematic. The temper of his writing was that of a pseudo-aristocratic authoritarian (Williams, 1958, p. 257). Over the years, as industrialisation and democracy where felt to threaten his position even further, his work was “marred increasingly by a sense of frustration and desperation” (Johnson, 1979, p. 93). He condemned contemporary society without qualification, a position which offered no means of social engagement (Eagleton, 1983, p. 43).

In *Majority Civilization and Minority Culture* (1930) Leavis reduced the notion of culture from a general sensibility to specific works. While his cultural minority was charged to profit by work expressing the finest consciousness of the age (p. 4), the emphasis was placed on the responsibility “to keep alive the subtlest and most perishable parts of tradition” (p. 5). Leavis believed that the “plight of culture ... [was] much more desperate” in his own time than in Arnold’s, comparing the environment in which Arnold had worked as “uncongenial” with his own as “hostile” (pp. 3, 25). Faced with powerful institutions producing the modern press, advertising, broadcasting, films and consumer durables (pp. 6-10, 20, 24), he saw culture on a “downward acceleration”, in “a crisis” and “cut off as never before from the powers that rule the world” (pp 31, 5, 25).

**Road is Blocked**

His later work involves a fierce hostility to popular education and implacable antipathy to the “transistor ... and student participation in higher education” (Eagleton, 1983, p. 43). While Arnold admitted no distinction between culture and democracy, Leavis’ first allegiance was to culture.

Eliot’s allegiance to high culture is even more specific than Leavis’ and his tone is even more sour, at times “dogmatic to the point of insolence” (Williams, 1958, p. 232). Eliot’s(1948) critique is arrogantly elitist for his primary concerns are to protect elite culture from “deterioration in the upper levels” (p. 6) and to reestablish an authoritative, guiding role for the intellectual cultural producer in society (Johnson, 1979, p. 129). Adopting an essentially feudal vision of society, he sought to legitimate the cultural dominance of an older ruling class (Johnson, 1979, pp. 125-129). In essence, his critique was an authoritarian, right wing, fantastical mythology which was utterly unrelated to social realities (Eagleton, 1983, pp. 39, 41). Eliot (1948) believed that it is an essential condition of the preservation of the quality of the culture of the minority, that is should remain to be a minority culture. (p. 107)

As a class based society was “natural” (p. 20), high culture and egalitarianism were necessarily opposed (p. 16). Consequently, he envisaged a cultural elite which was to be attached to, and interactive with, the dominant social class (p. 42) in an organically functioning, hierarchically ordered society. He proposed

a form of society in which an aristocracy would have a peculiar and essential function, as peculiar and essential as the function of any other part ... in which there be, from “top” to “bottom”, a continuous gradation of cultural levels. (p. 48)

The upper levels would not possess more culture than lower levels, but rather would represent a more conscious and specialised culture (p. 48). The elite was to be composed, like other social and cultural levels, of “groups of families persisting
from generation to generation each in the same way of life” and settled in the same geographic locality (p. 52). The different levels were not to be shared, but would nourish the others (pp. 35, 37), just as different regional cultures were to “enrich neighbouring areas” (p. 54). The overall organizing principle was to be “unity and diversity” (chap. 3), with just sufficient “friction” to ensure “creativity and progress” (pp. 58-59). Each class, cultural level and geographic area were to function for the benefit of the whole.

In short, a feudal aristocracy was once again to be responsible for the moral and social welfare of its people (Johnson, 1979, p. 125). Eliot stridently opposed meritocracy and uniform education (1948, pp, 36, 101) and focused his critique against a welfare state, the mass media, and working class institutions and ideas. And whereas Leavis and Arnold held liberal sympathies towards what they regarded as the social oppression and cultural devastation of ordinary people (Swingewood, 1977, p. 10), Eliot, despite occasional references to exploitation and usury (1948, pp. 65, 104), conveyed a distinct lack of concern for anyone other than those on top of his social and cultural hierarchy (Johnson, 1979, p. 126).

Thus can be seen from these four examples, which span nearly two centuries, a growing sense of despair, brave, albeit narrow visions, which finally dissipated into fantasy. The critique follows this road: from the enlightenment of the many to the enlightenment of the few, to an apartheid of the enlightened few from the many.

The Frankfurt School Marxists

The most developed Marxist onslaught on contemporary life from a high cultural perspective is that of the Frankfurt School (Laing, 1978, p. 106). Like their English counterparts discussed above, their influence on social criticism has been profound. As Neo-Marxists these critics too were heirs of the Enlightenment project, but writing during the middle of the 20th century they, like Leavis and Eliot, knew it to be highly problematic and limited. They attacked technological progress, holding it responsible for alienation and one dimensionality (Marcuse, 1964). Traditional transmitters of cultures, particularly the family, were thought to have been weakened (Swingewood, 1977, p. 14), and, lamentably, the moral organisational strength of the working class was thought to have dissipated (Laing, 1978, pp. 106-107).

For Horkheimer and Adorno (1944/1972), this critique is an integral part of their attempt to reconcile the contradiction that while according to Marxist orthodoxy the timetable for the collapse of capitalism was well nigh, the European proletariat of the 1930’s was further than ever from a revolutionary consciousness. In liberal, capitalist democracies the fire for socialism had waned, while elsewhere it had been subverted altogether by Fascism. Atomized and amorphous, the working class had proven easy prey to irrational persuasion. Indeed, fascism seemed to derive its support from below, from within the masses.

Horkheimer and Adorno generalised from German Fascism to capitalistic, liberal democracies as a whole, arguing that what the fascist state did through force, though in collaboration with the masses, the capitalist did through the “culture industry” (Swingewood, 1977, pp. 12-18). They regarded the media as a major weapon in the struggle to conceal the contradictions inherent in capitalism and to legitimate the capitalist’s dominant power. The media achieved ideological incorporation by supplying an unrelieved diet of anaesthetizing, distracting and falsifying fare from which all oppositional ideas were excluded. The media was considered imposed from above, although the masses were seen as willing dupes (Swingewood, 1977, p. 13) in the sadomasochism with which the media held their audiences (Laing, 1978, pp. 9, 107).

Donald Duck in the cartoons and the unfortunate in real life get their thrashing so that the audience can learn to take their own punishment. (Horkheimer & Adorno, 1944/1972, p. 112)
The only realm in which opposition was thought to still exist was among the artistic avant-garde and those who maintained an uncontaminated, traditional culture. Culture was viewed as

a protected realm in which ... tabooed truths could survive in abstract integrity remote from the society which suppressed them. (Marcuse, 1964, p. 64)

Thus, for the Frankfurt School, like their 20th century English literary counterparts, the guardians of high culture were a small and embattled minority. Both the Frankfort School and the English literary critics were nostalgic for past times and pessimistic about the future.

Baudrillard

All previously discussed critics were indebted to the Enlightenment project, however increasingly limited they considered it, and following this each explicitly assumed a distinction between high and popular culture. Baudrillard does neither, and ostensibly his position is the antithesis of high culture criticism because he claims to reject completely any remnant of the Enlightenment project and with it any socially redemptive role for the high arts (Harvey, 1989).

However in several ways he is the heir of the high culture tradition. He uncompromisingly denigrates the "masses" and develops an historical narrative whereby present conditions have displaced periods of greater certainty and hope. Throughout, Baudrillard’s tone is that of the most profound repulsion. In these several ways a regressive view of history, condemnation of ordinary people, and a repulsed tone his criticism of contemporary social life can be seen to stand at the end of the same tradition as discussed above.

Unlike Eliot and Marcuse, however, who sought to erect walls to help preserve their precious high culture from contamination, Baudrillard is forced by the reality of his cultural period - in common with most postmodern theorizing (Harvey, 1989) - to acknowledge that the walls have tumbled down and that distinctions between high and low culture no longer make sense. There is no longer a high culture to which one can seek to return.

Whereas Eliot was able to fantasize, however bizarrely, about a minority culture, and the Frankfurt School Marxists pinned their hopes on the avant-garde, Baudrillard feels so overwhelmed by the plethora of disconnected images that characterize our time that he offers nothing but resignation and self-indulgence. Thus, he marks what seems likely to be the last gasp of the high culture critique and with it, its demise into utter futility. In offering no hope for social intervention, the critique finally renders itself incapable of offering a response to contemporary life other than apathy and excess. Indeed, he sees apathy as the sole remaining means to resist the perpetrators of popular culture (Baudrillard, 1988, p. 208).

Baudrillard’s original contribution is to proclaim the dissolution of the distinction between the real and the illusory. Once, he argues, culture reflected a basic reality, then it hid that basic reality, then it hid the absence of reality, but now culture signifies nothing (1988, p. 170). All that now exists is representation. One of his chief arguments is the proliferation of the popular arts (1986), and their ability to seduce, overwhelm, intoxicate, and deliver us into a state of "hyperreality." Everyday life has become aesthetized, enveloped in an aesthetics of the surface where discrimination has been replaced by revelry. Baudrillard too seems nostalgic for the past. He rages against what he considers the passing of meaningful and depthful experience.

Baudrillard (1986) relentlessly castigates postmodern times and vilifies the users of contemporary mass culture. In The Ecstasy of Communication (1986), contemporary culture is repeatedly seen in terms of "pornography", "obscenity", and "excrement". Television is "like a microscopic pornography of the universe, useless, excessive, just like the sexual close up in a porno film" (p. 130). In terms that owe much to Horkheimer and
Adorno, Baudrillard (1983) sees the masses as blindly consuming all that is offered and as having nothing to say in response. They are “spongy”, representing “a social void”, in a state of “inertia”, and like an “opaque nebula whose growing density absorbs all the surrounding energy and light rays, to collapse finally under its own weight, a “black hole which engulfs” everything (pp. 1-4). The black hole absorbs all meaning, information, and communications and renders it meaningless. The masses refuse to accept and produce meaning; in the face of constant bombardment by television, newspapers, cinema, videos, spectacles and so on, the masses are as indifferent and apathetic as the cultural material they absorb is meaningless.

Baudrillard is ostensibly from the left he was originally a Neo-Marxist but his work readily serves the interests of reaction. As Harvey (1989) argues, when critique dissolves into apathy and ethics dissolve into aesthetics, charismatic politics are unhindered and fascism is not far from the door. As Sietz (1990) has asked. “Is it possible that some clever postmodern expert at the CIA (or KGB) invented ‘Baudrillard’?”. Like Arnold and Leavis, both liberals, whose work was marred by reaction, Baudrillard’s critique is easy prey for the forces of repression he would presumably abhor. Thus does the tradition of high culture begin with a conservative politics and increasingly move, either explicitly as with Eliot or by consequence as with Baudrillard, toward fascism.

**Summary**

Baudrillard’s metaphor of a black hole is more aptly aimed at the invocation of high culture. For those who would turn to high culture as a remedy for contemporary social ills, the history of the high culture critique offers a salutary lesson. To promote high culture in opposition to democratic impulses and the plurality of other voices, as a safehaven from an otherwise unsafe world, is to be marginalized ever more from an engagement with the cultural life of our period. It is a nostalgic indulgence in an ideal which on examination melts into air, a withdrawal into a past which never existed. Not only is the road behind us blocked, there is nothing to which we can return. We need to face the present. Arnold (1869/1891) was right in this: “We need to turn a stream of fresh and free thought upon our stock notions and habits” (p. viii).

**Free and Fresh Thought**

What today would constitute free and fresh thought for art education? If high culture represents a dead end, what road are we to travel upon?

I have elsewhere explored the signposting for an art education which would offer positive ways to engage with our cultural epoch (Duncum, 1990, 1993). Positive engagement means being viewed by television-wise, computer-literate students as having something meaningful to say in the world they inhabit. In place of high culture, I offer the semiotic view of culture as those artifacts and practices through which we make meaning on an everyday basis.

In my view the road ahead is signposted with propositions like the following: Different cultural forms should be seen as categories not evaluations. Simple and hierarchical distinctions between high and low culture must give way to an understanding that cultural forms serve a multitude of often subtle and complex functions for different people in different contexts. A broad, inclusive definition of the visual arts is necessary. Rather than confined to the fine arts, visual arts education needs to become what Pearson (1994) has called an “education in pictures”. Instead of viewing art as socially privileged, we need to view our subject as the pictures which saturate and inform our students’ lives. Instead of art being regarded as something special, imagery should be considered as ordinary as everyday speech. Like ordinary language, it is through commonplace imagery that the real battlegrounds for people’s hearts and minds are fought.

Instead of viewing cultural forms omnipotently, they need to be viewed from an insider’s position. If students are to take notice of our views and value our knowledge, we must be
familiar with their own views and their often prodigious, albeit decontextualised knowledge about imagery.

Rather than culture being imposed from above, culture should be seen to emerge from and serve people’s fundamental needs. People should be seen not as passive consumers of culture, but as active discriminators. Instead of seeing contemporary life as atomised, cultural life should be understood as profoundly social, or as Enzenberger (1974) puts it, “a social product made up by people; its origin is the dialogue” (p.5).

In place of seeing contemporary life as marking a decline in social and cultural standards, it needs to be acknowledged that contemporary cultural forms have numerous precedents. There is nothing new in celebrating the trivial, sensational and absurd. Similarly, the fine arts have no monopoly on the profound.

Furthermore, it should be acknowledged that present times are informed by far more enlightened views than in the past on a wide range of issues, including religious affiliation, race, age, gender, and sexual preference. Far from representing a decline, present times present new challenges. These include new technologies and pluralist and fragile social formations, as well as enormous concentrations of media power. We are challenged to critically embrace television, video and computer games, for example, and to be ready for the information highway. We are challenged to accommodate numerous competing voices literally images from different groups as they vie for power and influence. Rather than privileging aesthetic delight, the visual arts need foremost to be seen as sights of ideological struggle in which art educators have the potential to play a central role.

The road ahead is strewn with difficulties, but in negotiating them lies our future. And besides, there is no choice. The road behind is blocked.

Notes

1. I do not wish to imply that nowadays all proponents of DBAE can be seen as neo-conservatives. Rather, I wish to indicate that earlier formulations of DBAE were deeply conservative in both content and mode of delivery.

2. Other features of the high culture critique which they each share is an outsider’s perspective to the culture they condemn and their propensity to rely on rhetoric rather than facts. The highly literate Arnold had assumed that an illiterate culture was inferior; Adorno, the European, classically trained music critic, condemned American Jazz (Horkheimer & Adorno, 1944/1972); and the French intellectual Baudrillard (1988) condemns American culture in general and Disneyland in particular (pp. 171-172). The English literary critics as much as the Frankfurt School failed to define their basic terms. Arnold spoke frequently of “sweetness and light” as defining terms of culture but nowhere defines these terms (Johnson, 1979, p. 33). Eliot’s definitions break down because he is unwilling to illustrate (Williams, 1958, p. 231) and Leavis and Marcuse both assume the reader simply understands what is meant by culture (see Leavis, 1930, p. 5; Marcuse, 1978, p. x). Similarly, Baudrillard’s fails to define major terms, uses hyperbolic and declarative language, and ignores contradictory evidence (Poster, 1988, p. 7)

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The Committee on Public Information and the Mobilization of Public Opinion in the United States During World War I: the Effects on Education and Artists

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Abstract

The Committee on Public Information was established during World War I to turn every channel of communication and education to promote the war effort. The Committee marshaled agencies of the press, education, and advertising, among others into wartime service for the Committee. The following questions are posed: 1) To what degree did the Committee practice direct censorship in its promotion of wartime issues? 2) What was the role of education in the wartime campaigns? 3) What was the role of the artist in wartime and how did wartime art affect public taste?

This article is based on the theory put forth by Lawrence A. Cremin (1988), that both education and miseducation of the public extends beyond schools, universities, libraries, museums, and other formal educational institutions, to what knowledge they learn from popular communication. I will show how the Committee controlled the channels of communication in education, wartime publicity, and advertising to promote nationalism.

The first section of the article outlines the structure and purpose of the Committee on Public Information. The second assesses the influence of the Committee on the schools, universities, and correspondence art courses. The final section discusses the successes and contradictions of the Committee, with particular regard to concepts of freedom and censorship for the individual, the academy, and the artist.

The Formation and Structure of the Committee on Public Information

During World War I, The United States witnessed a prolific expansion of mass communication under the supervision of the United States Committee on Public Information (CPI). The expansion of industry over the last quarter of the nineteenth century spurred the growth of more uniform, systematic advertising, press, and education. By the turn of the century, the nation emerged from small, local networks of public education and communications, to national networks made possible by new educational research, the telegraph and railroad. People in the East, the Midwest, and the West, particularly in cities, could read the same press on the same day, purchase goods from the same catalogs, and receive the same education. When the US entered World War I, it had the makings of national formats of education and communications, which would be galvanized by the uniform publicity of the CPI.

The CPI enlisted artists, scholars, and journalists in 1917 to mobilize American public opinion in support of the war effort. They transmitted a uniform body of patriotic knowledge downward and outward to the public, as what was termed "Americanism." This transmission was accomplished through the channels of education, press, and advertising, to rally Americans in support of the war effort.
Stephen Vaughn (1980) described the mixed public sentiment over US involvement in World War I. Recent immigrants, particularly of German and Irish descent, held deeply divided loyalties towards the war, influenced by their "attachment to Germany or dislike for England" (p. 3). By 1917, some 8 million persons in the US considered Germany their land of origin. Over 2.5 million immigrants had been born in Germany and another 6 million were second-generation German-Americans. Many people, particularly Germans, were devout pacifists, which also posed a problem to mobilizing for war.

Lawrence Cremin's (1988) account of the formation of the CPI describes how Walter Lippmann—the progressive critic, columnist, and advisor to President Woodrow Wilson—wrote to the President about the problem of mixed public opinion and of recruiting an army from such a diverse public. Lippmann called for the creation of a publicity clearing house to provide a steady flow of information and to counter rumors and lies. Considering the pacifist sentiment of many recent immigrants, Lippmann suggested that Wilson mobilize public opinion around the idea of fighting to achieve a durable peace.

To direct this publicity campaign, Wilson summoned George Creel, a progressive journalist from Missouri. Creel was the publisher for the progressive Kansas City Independent, and had written for newspapers in Denver, and for President Wilson's re-election campaign. Cremin (1988) termed Creel "the prototypical progressive" (p. 340), who stood for the government regulation of utilities and transportation, and for universal military training. Creel noted in his goals for the Committee that although the US summons to war was "answered without question by the citizenship as a whole," in three years of neutrality, "[t]he land had been torn by a thousand divisive prejudices, stunned by the voices of anger and confusion, and muddled by the pull and haul of opposed interests" Knowing that such conditions could not endure, Creel summoned the nation to show "a passionate belief in the justice of America's cause that could weld the people of the United States into one...mass instinct with fraternity, devotion, courage, and deathless determination." (Sullivan, 1917, p. 36) Creel brought to the Committee his progressive colleagues Harvey O'Higgins of the Denver Children's Court; Edgar Sisson, the former editor of the reform-minded Cosmopolitan magazine; and Carl Byoir, circulation manager at Cosmopolitan.

The CPI presented propaganda as publicity, as more expression than direct suppression or censorship of public opinion, but this soft sell was backed with the force of Federal legislation. Congress passed a bill in June, 1917 that defined and punished espionage. Anyone found guilty of insubordination, disloyalty, mutiny, and refusal of duty, in the military or naval forces...or [who] shall willfully obstruct the recruiting or enlistment service of the United States, to the injury of the service or of the United States, shall be punished by a fine of not more than $10,000. (quoted in Cremin, 1988, p. 341)

The Trading With the Enemy Act was another bill passed four months later that authorized the censorship of messages sent by international mail. The bill also required the translation of all foreign mail, messages, and press into English, and their certification by the US Postmaster (1988).

The Complete Report of the Chairman of the Committee on Public Information (1920) outlined the structure of the CPI as divided into the domestic and the foreign sections. Both were in full operation around October 1917.

The Domestic Section had at one time over a dozen divisions and bureaus. The Division of News issued thousands of releases to some 20,000 weekly news columns across the country. The Division of Civil and Educational Cooperation produced publications by noted scholars, which were intended to justify American involvement in the war. Additionally, the CPI's National School Service periodical, The National School Service Bulletin, reached every American school, and some 20 million homes.
The Division of Pictures and the Division of Films featured such stars as Mary Pickford and Douglas Fairbanks promoting the sale of War Bonds. Speakers from The Division of Four Minute Men spoke at intermissions in film theatres, and the Division of Four Hour Men sent speakers across the country to address clubs and associations about the war and related issues. To boost national morale and promote public safety, The Division of Advertising arranged for some 800 monthly and weekly publications to donate advertising space to the CPI, saving the War Department almost 5 million dollars (Vaughn, 1980). Sponsors also donated advertising space to the YMCA, the YWCA, and the Red Cross to promote draft registration, conservation of fuel, hygiene, and public and home safety. The Division of Pictures supplied photography of wartime events for illustrating calendars and postcards, and the Division of Pictorial Publicity employed artists to design propaganda posters and public monuments. Other components of the CPI included the Bureaus of War Expositions, of State Fair Exhibits, and of Work with the Foreign Born. The Division of Women’s Work encouraged women to participate in the War effort.

The foreign section was not as intricately subdivided as the national section. Its purpose was to transmit US policy to the allied powers, defending US neutrality before entry into war, and later, promoting US reasons for going to war. The technologies of radio and motion pictures made possible the spread of war propaganda over long distances. These policies were carried by the CPI’s Wireless News Service, which transmitted daily dispatches to Europe, Asia, and Latin America; and the Film Bureau, which distributed features about wartime at home and abroad.

Virtually every educational and communication channel to the public was covered. One of the largest cultural agents to be put to work for the CPI was the US educational system of schools, universities, and colleges, along with commercial correspondence courses. Without the cooperation of education, the ability of the Federal Government to spread its gospel of Americanism would have been impaired (Vaughn, 1980).

The CPI and Its Reform of Education

Precursors

Creel and his colleagues did not invent the network of education and communication channels that carried their publicity. Most of this network had been under development since the late nineteenth century, particularly in education. One of the reasons education was so useful to the CPI was that both the US educational system and The Committee were organized according to principles of industrial efficiency.

The fundamental structure of these principles was established according to principles of scientific management, introduced first to industry by Frederick Taylor, at the turn of the century, to measure the work economy and productivity of factory workers. The Taylor System was grounded in five components: 1) Efficiency of motion to eliminate wasted motion and time; 2) The standardization of tools and motions to ensure consistent work; 3) The task idea, which outlined what and how a task should be done; 4) Foremen who saw that a job was done in the right way; 5) The governance of a planning department that would calculate time and motion to derive solutions to work-related problems (Callahan, 1962).

Several hybrids of Taylor’s system were developed later for education by administrators and efficiency experts, principally to train the work force for industry, and to make education more cost-efficient. The US education system had been riddled by public criticism of administrative waste and ineffectiveness, particularly in public schools funded by taxpayers. Administrators turned to scientific management to curb waste, and to defend themselves. Everything from teaching to janitoring was analyzed scientifically and streamlined. For example, according to Franklin Bobbitt (1913), in The Twelfth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, students were termed “raw material,” that entered the educational system on one end, and emerged on the other end as if educated products. The teachers were selected according to standards and qualifications, and the output of trained teachers was to be consistent in quality. Such standards, which were to be kept
throughout the teacher's service, included curriculum content and methodology with specific guidelines for the amount of time to be devoted to lesson preparation and actual instruction. In sum, education that was organized uniformly, taught uniformly, and understood by the most receivers, for the least cost, was education at its most efficient (Callahan, 1962).

Scientific management structured industry and education, creating the expansive network that could be used to disseminate the publicity of the CPI and turn the tide of public opinion to Americanism. The institutions of formal education were the most effective tools of the CPI, operating within a broadened definition of education that included not only what the public learned from formal educational institutions, including schools, colleges, and universities, but also from the informal influences of commercial correspondence courses and pictorial publicity.

The Schools and the CPI

Stephen Vaughn (1980) observed that one of the most forceful influences on the schools was the CPI's National School Service (NSS). As mentioned previously, The National School Service Bulletin reached virtually every home and school in the US. Guy Stanton Ford directed publication of the Bulletin, and William C. Bagley of Teachers College, Columbia University served as editor. Bagley evidently had a major influence on the Bulletin. Like the NSS, his educational theories also stressed social responsibility and opposed "self-centeredness and individualism as the ultimate goal of education" (p. 101).

Indeed, school children were a crucial link in the CPI's connection to US families. The cultural influences that immigrant families brought to the US was as diverse as the landscape of US public opinion. The CPI persuaded educators to help their new immigrant students adapt to American life. The Committee was concerned that immigrants brought from their homelands politics and social customs much different from the old Yankee-Protestant tradition. Independent political action was not a part of the immigrant's former experience, since many were accustomed to the authoritarian hierarchy of the Old World governments. Civic relations were personal obligations and politics came out of family needs, all of which were placed above allegiance to an abstract code of laws and morals. Such personal obligations are understandable considering that most immigrants struggled in dire working and living conditions. Newcomers were encouraged by the NSS to assimilate what was considered old-stock, middle-class American patriotism, in which civic duty and responsibility were to be revered with personal disinterest, placing public duties above the self. Personal independence was exercised for the good of all. Two "...sterling ideals' of true Americanism 'were equality of opportunity and the spirit of obligation and service'" (National School Service, quoted in Vaughn, 1980).

It was hoped that assimilation to US citizenship might be facilitated by the abolition of immigrant colonies (Vaughn, 1980). Immigrants were expected to shed old world ways to fit into American life, and the schools played a significant role in what was termed the Americanization of the foreign born. Teachers were asked to show compassion and patience, for instance, with new children who mispronounced English words. They took their students on walks to public buildings and showed them other aspects of American life. Teachers were also expected to encourage the native-born children to treat their new peers courteously, and to eliminate nicknames. The NSS tried to convert the foreign born to the American way of life, "to encourage love and respect for America and its institutions, so that the immigrant would want to settle here" (Vaughn, 1980, p. 107).

Vaughn (1980) observed that another of the teacher's duties was to educate about war. Primary school teachers were encouraged by the NSS "to use the natural interest in war" (p. 109). The sand table was one of the best places to teach such lessons. Teachers were to let the natural war interest run its course, and then interject heroic anecdotes about soldiers, to inspire the students' fuller expression.

Wartime changes occurred also at high schools. For instance, geography was adapted to wartime issues. Students were to indicate Paris's eight natural defenses on maps supplied by National Geographic. Such courses as mathematics, health, and
homemaking; industrial arts, arithmetic, and history were all adapted to themes of thrift, citizenship, and hygienic habits. The theme of wartime thrift was also common subject matter in high schools. The necessary conservation of food and fuel, the saving of money, and the elimination of waste were stressed as preparation for adulthood’s social and economic responsibilities. Further, military training, health and sanitation were made duties to the nation during school time. Bagley held performance that no issues were more important than habits of good health and hygiene, and were considered socially efficient (Vaughn, 1980).

Art lessons at all levels were influenced by the NSS. For example, The Detroit Board of Education’s Teaching of Patriotism (1918) mandated patriotic lessons for every student from kindergarten through junior college. Art education was structured to stimulate “noble emotions” through the design and completion of patriotic posters, to develop “taste and reverence for beauty which could find no triumph in wanton vandalism” (1918, p. 7). This was a change from the art teaching of seven years earlier, when drawing was assigned from subjects of nature to develop a sense of beauty and harmony, as in the Detroit public schools’ Drawing: Plan of Work for the Grammar Grades (1911). The 1911 requirements focused art teaching on nature to develop the artistry of children. By 1918, requirements re-focused on nationalistic themes of patriotic character. Similar shifts occurred in other cities such as Kansas City and Chicago, with the goal of preparing heart, body, and mind for future military service.

Higher Education

The efficiency reforms that began with scientific management in industry were also established in higher education by 1910, under the guidance of Henry Pritchett, head of The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. The late nineteenth-century practice of medicine, law, and education, among others, suffered from inconsistent training and the rapid spread of quackery (Lagemann, 1983). The year 1910 brought uniform standards for training in medicine, law, and social work, guided by Pritchett. Pritchett and his colleague, Frank Vanderlip, the president of The National City Bank of New York, admired German education, and influenced the incorporation of these empirical methods within American universities, which eventually included teacher training (1983). Vanderlip was called later to the CPI as head of the War Savings Committee, to oversee the thrifty use of wartime resources, a task he held essential to a nation in the life-and-death struggle. The recent reforms of US universities to standardized professional training were useful to the CPI as well. Professors, journalists, and other experts became the brain trust of the CPI; the university facilities housed military training; and the curriculum for regular college students turned to wartime issues.

Professors who worked for the CPI served as experts who encapsulated war politics in slogans, films, educational materials, and parades. Guy Stanton Ford was one of the most influential academics to join the CPI. As graduate dean at the University of Minnesota, Ford sent an open letter to all high school principals, and to Creel, suggesting that all commencement themes focus on patriotism. Creel was impressed and brought Ford immediately to the CPI (Vaughn, 1980).

Ford’s presence at the CPI worked to its advantage. Ford possessed invaluable background in German scholarship from the Universities of Iowa, Wisconsin, Berlin, Leipzig, and Gottingen, and from his doctoral work on Hanover and Prussia at Columbia, in 1900. Ford’s presence attracted other university professors who worked under his supervision as the Division of Civic and Educational Cooperation, changed later to the Division of Civic and Educational Publications. Assisting Ford were some 3,000 scholars and writers, such as Samuel B. Harding, who taught European history and Patriotic History at Indiana University. Much of Harding’s research for the CPI went into the patriotic war pamphlets, articulating the nationalistic orthodoxy of the CPI.

One of the universities that underwent significant reform during World War I was the University of Kansas (UK). Shortly after Congress declared war in 1917, the UK administration notified President Wilson, despite mixed feelings among its
faculty, that their facilities were completely at his disposal (Griffin, 1974). The University did not give in to the war effort without Congressional pressure. Congress voted in 1917 to give students who passed their courses and departed for service in the war full credit for a semester's work. UK Faculty who were previously cloistered from public life, and were accustomed to a fair degree of academic freedom, now felt shaper control from Congress. This external pressure and the severe decline in enrollment made UK's survival impossible without their joining the war effort (Griffin, 1974).

Those remaining UK students and faculty with military background organized three volunteer, paramilitary companies of about 300 members each. Lacking weapons and paraphernalia, they drilled and did calisthenics for one hour a day, a routine worth up to six credits per semester. By the fall, however, when the University adopted the War Department's compulsory military program, campus life changed more dramatically. Whether they wanted or not, women took courses in hygiene, first aid, and home and community sanitation, and men were required to join a university regiment sponsored by the War Department (Griffin, 1974).

The situation was similar at other universities. University of Wisconsin President Charles R. Van Hise argued that colleges and universities, as centers of enlightenment and free thinking, were the last institutions that should give in to the military idea. There arose a general feeling that the American definition of "democratic higher education" had changed radically in 1917. The landmark university reforms of free thinking and educational opportunity, established in the late nineteenth century by Charles Eliot of Harvard and Andrew White of Cornell, were put aside in favor of freedom interpreted as patriotic education. Some administrators and faculty members of the day were jubilantly patriotic, although most never forgot that universities had joined the war effort to survive.

Course offerings seemed to change overnight, thanks to changes marshaled by the US War Department. Except for courses in mechanical drawing, camouflage, and "war art" (a catch phrase for publicity illustration and camouflage design), traditional fine arts courses were displaced to attics and spare rooms. Although universities sacrificed such curricula for wartime, the enrollment in industrial arts and sciences expanded after the war, and not until then did universities reap the benefits. Such new vocational departments as engineering, medicine, home economics, and chemistry, added or reformed for wartime, enjoyed increased enrollment after the war. The same was true for mathematics, physics, engineering, shop work, and drafting for men; and dietetics, chemistry, and mechanical drawing for women. Courses deemed useful for wartime garnered new prestige and popularity in peacetime. Veterans and other students seeking a patriotic, professional education enrolled in such professional training courses as industrial arts and mechanical drawing. For once such courses passed the litmus test of wartime utilitarianism, and were associated with the high standards of the university, they garnered new prestige as university-level professional training.

A Correspondence Art Course and the CPI

Art training for self-study at home was available as early as the Civil War, and it reached students in the hinterlands and cities alike. Many children learned drawing from such books as John Gadsby Chapman's American Drawing Book (1858). Some industrial and freehand drawing courses were taught in rural academies, which were organized haphazardly, usually under local governance (Sizer, 1964).

In 1876, the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition revealed weaknesses in US education and art compared to other European exhibitors. The exhibit from Russia that included the Moscow Imperial School demonstrated that manual training provided mental discipline. John Runkle of MIT was impressed and argued contentiously for manual education to be incorporated into general education. The result was a triumph of vocational education over more artistic concerns (Efland, 1990). For the rest of the nineteenth century industry expanded with new, larger factories, staffing them with larger work forces. Formal training in drawing and industrial arts became more accessible in cities across the land, thanks to the newly developed art and industrial
_training in public high schools. Workers were trained in manual training and industrial and freehand drawing by their company or in the schools, which became the young person's ticket to a career in the city (Korzenik, 1985).

During World War I, such schools as Art Instruction, Incorporated, of Minneapolis, Minnesota, which was known then as The Federal School, rostered correspondence students who learned a patriotic version of advertising design at home. Nothing appears on the school's publications to show a direct alliance with the CPI, but the school's curriculum was consistent with the CPI's approach. Enrollment was done by filling out a matchbook form and mailing it to The Federal School. A salesman for the company would later visit the applicant's home for an interview, and, in a short time, course materials were shipped (Funk, 1990). The instruction manuals covered such subjects as design and decoration, advertising illustration, animal drawing, and fashion illustration. The pedagogy was simple. Students progressed from book to book and mailed their completed projects to Minneapolis The projects were examined and returned with corrections.

Posters from CPI's Division of Pictorial Publicity appeared in the school's Federal Illustrator, and the CPI also advertised in the Illustrator for its poster competitions. One of these contests solicited entries for the best poster to recruit shipbuilders. The contest sponsors included the National Service Section, US Shipping Board, Emergency Fleet Corporation, and National Committee of Patriotic Societies, with the cooperation of the New York Sun. The institutions of government, industry, education, and the press collaborated in a single artistic, cultural effort for the war. The poster that best conveyed the need to speed up ship building was awarded 1,000 dollars (The Federal Illustrator, 1918).

The advertisement solicited artists of varying notoriety from across the nation. Contestants were sorted into three categories: soldiers and sailors, shipyard workers, and pupils of graded and high schools. The panel of ten judges for the contest was also diverse, including people from education, shipping, and advertising, not the least of them Professor Arthur Wesley Dow, of Teachers College, Columbia University. Entries to the ship building contest and other such competitions were judged on both patriotic and aesthetic merits. The most effective patriotic concept and best crafted poster was judged to be the best work.

Poster contests brought together the artists trained by correspondence instruction and those by formal education for the common purpose of supporting the war. Few of the Federal School students would have the chance to study art at a notable school, and the Federal School provided at least a taste of what it was to be an artist. Some students learned their first drawing and painting lessons from the Federal School with some continuing on to advanced training. In the end, the Federal School probably did not create master artists in every town, but many students may have fancied the allure of becoming an artist. And if for no other reason, the novelty of being an artist, coupled with patriotism gave everyone concerned their chance to do their bit for the war.

Never before had the entire spectrum of education been so saturated with such a unifying cause as the CPI's agenda. The Committee covered at every level of education and reached into the home and the community. Education, particularly in universities, supplied the scholars and trained professionals, without whom the CPI would have failed. However, as useful as it was to the Committee, formal education alone was not enough. It was the sweeping effect of the Divisions of Pictorial Publicity and advertising that created the images and slogans for the war that would ring in the minds of Americans.

Artists and the CPI

The artist Charles Dana Gibson, who headed the CPI's Division of Pictorial Publicity, known also as 'The Vigilantes', expressed clearly the aim of pictorial publicity:

America, separated from Europe, was too far removed to understand the war. Until Americans were made to
feel the war's horrors, they would not be aroused.

(Vaughn, 1980, p. 150)

Gibson's emotional appeals for public attention smacked of the sensationalized press and advertising illustration, which appealed to the emotions with glamour and hype rather than the sensibility of old-time salesmanship. Illustrated magazines and books were a luxury, purchased only by those who could afford them. The advertisers who worked for the CPI knew that sensational pictures could sell anything, even the war. The entire public must have been dazzled when wartime posters and monuments carried the sensationalized and glamorized images of wartime (Cremin 1988).

The artists C. B. Falls, James Montgomery Flagg, Arthur Dove, and Malvina Hoffman, among others, worked under the supervision of Charles Gibson, as the Division of Pictorial Publicity (United States Committee on Public Information, 1920). They were generally trained in the realist tradition. Gibson himself studied with William Merritt Chase, Augustus S. Gaudens, and Thomas Eakins (Rawls, 1988). Gibson was a celebrity for his drawings of the Gibson Girls produced for Coca-Cola advertisements and fountain trays (Pendergrast, 1993). His reputation must have enhanced the appeal of wartime publicity.

The CPI recruited also from art and architecture associations. Assisting Gibson were Herbert Adams, president of the National Academy of Design; E. H. Blashfield, former president of the Society of American Artists; former president of the Architectural League, Cass Gilbert; and Joseph Pennel, who designed the Panama Canal (Vaughn, 1980).

Gibson supervised the design of pictures, parades, and city monuments. For example, one of the posters showed a robed, Beaux Arts-styled figure of a Red Cross Nurse cradling a wounded soldier. A similar robed female figure appeared also as the symbol of public opinion. Mothers were depicted as giving up their sons for military service. Additionally, monumental replicas of Beaux Arts sculpture and political works lined the nation's streets and parks, and patriotic displays filled store windows along Fifth Avenue in New York City (Vaughn, 1980). Many of these other wartime monuments were similar to Victory Way that ran five blocks on New York's Park Avenue, from 45th Street to 50th Street. The avenue was lined with columns, and rows of pyramid-shaped stacks of cannon balls ran down the center of the street, creating a mall for amorous displays. Each pyramid and column was topped with an eagle or a winged, female figure, commemorating victory (Stern, R.A.M., Gilmartin, G., & Mellins, T., 1987).

More inflammatory posters depicted German "Huns" as kidnappers and frightening giants. In some images they towered over battlegrounds strewn with molested women, set against the backdrops of burning cities. On another poster the North American Continent appeared with the caption "German North Amerika," and cautioned the public about the threat of German "Kultur" infiltrating the Western Hemisphere. Promotional posters, including one calling for shipyard volunteers, succeeded in recruiting 250,000 additional shipyard personnel. Other campaigns for war savings stamps, food conservation, and liberty loans made prolific use of illustrations by Gibson's division.

Vaughn (1980) observed that Creel believed public opinion to be rational and held the function of the CPI to be educational, but Gibson barely considered the idea in his attempt to raise enthusiasm. The Division of Pictorial Publicity made headway for advertising in ways few expected. "Many writers who in the 1920s were to become critics of the rational nature of man—people like Walter Lippmann and Edward Bernays—learned much from the study of such war propaganda" (1980, p. 191). So successful was the work of the CPI artists that it won prestige for advertising with the result that many advertising artists sent their works to the CPI hoping for recognition. Creel had thought early in the war of advertisers as "plausible pirates" (Creel quoted in Vaughn, 1980, p. 192) But he came to believe that if nothing else advertising had gained "the dignity of a profession...and [t]he advertising division ably demonstrated the possibility of national campaigns" (p. 192).
The CPI, Successes and Contradictions

The CPI set out to educate Americans in national values. But as much as the CPI was organized with the appearance of keeping American publicity free from rumors and lies (Cremins, 1988), and to secure democracy during a time of national crisis, it cannot be ignored that the CPI compromised these claims by the end of the war.

The individual initially responsible for the blueprint of how these values were to be transmitted across the nation was Walter Lippmann. Cremin (1988) observed that Lippmann "changed the way Americans thought about their larger education via the press" (p. 183). His Public Opinion (1922) outlined the way such education would take place. Written after the war, the book reflects critically on public opinion and propaganda. The problem that Lippmann saw was that most Americans learned to make up their minds on public issues from information at hand, not from first hand facts. He held that the world of politics was

'out of reach and out of mind for most of the public.'...What individuals substituted for that world [was] a series of pictures in their heads, derived from propaganda, public relations, ...political, economic, and social interest groups via the printed media, especially newspapers proffering news. (Cremin, 1988, p. 183)

Lippmann believed that such a clearinghouse for publicity and education as the CPI would sort rumors and opinions from hidden facts, and deliver to the public the truth apart from opinion. Making such a clearinghouse independent from "intellectuals and politicians" (p. 183) freed it to present the truth. But this was not a simple strategy, and for the CPI to educate Americans in national values involved as much education as it did miseducation. This is revealed in three considerations: The CPI practiced more censorship than it professed, education lost more control than expected, and the artists were used as public servants, and their "servanthood" helped to reform public taste.

I. Freedom, Censorship and the Individual

The first consideration is freedom and censorship, as exercised by the CPI. President Woodrow Wilson defined Americanism as utter belief in principles of American democracy, and putting them first above anything else that might compete. "But it was easy for the popular mind to associate Americanism with loyalty to the nation, rather than with loyalty to democratic individualism" (Vaughn, 1980, p. 234).

The French, English, and German publicity campaigns, which started earlier than the CPI, had been harsh. The penalty for insubordination in France was being court-martialed, and more than 80 soldiers were executed. In Great Britain, pacifist organizations experienced official raids and seizures, and conscientious objectors were sentenced to up to three years of hard labor. Military officials in Germany and Austria-Hungary were empowered by their emperors for censorship, search and seizure, and general military rule.

When Creel and Wilson set up the CPI they sought to balance publicity and censorship to avoid the harshness of the European policies described above. Creel, who supported expression not suppression, was involved by the end of the war in direct censorship. Publications and mail were censored somewhat indiscriminately, and books, magazines, and cable messages were intercepted to avoid spreading secret information. Pacifism was regarded unfavorably, and was considered apart from the nationalist cause.

For all of Creel's progressive crusades as a journalist, the CPI's representations of women and African-Americans were surprisingly stereotypical. Though not a direct form of censorship, stereotypical images reinforced generalized expectations about groups of people, which tended to limit the way others saw them (Lippmann, 1922). In the CPI posters, women were depicted in posters as helpless victims, and in
traditional roles as mothers and nurses. African-Americans were also stereotyped, especially in one film, in which four men were captioned as tap dancing with “rhythm’ in France no less than under the southern sun” (Vaughn, 1980, p. 207). Along with pacifists and social reformers, African-Americans were also suspect of socialist or communist sympathies (Wiesen-Cook, 1992).

In Creel’s earlier experience as a journalist, he always exercised the belief that the average individual was capable of rational, informed judgment. Yet during World War I, in his zealous attempt to rouse public opinion, he went against this belief. This sensational charge of wartime publicity was very powerful, and it survived after World War I. Thrift campaigns and Americanization of the foreign born continued throughout reconstruction, and patriotism maintained its zenith in the national consciousness into the 1920s. Irrationality was accepted over rationality, often to the point of “an unthinking loyalty to the state” (Vaughn, 1980, p.236). During the 1920s, perhaps the most extreme manifestation of this mentality was the Red Scare, and its purge of suspected Bolsheviks and Socialists from the United States (Wiesen-Cook, 1992).

II. Freedom, Censorship and Academy

The second consideration is freedom and censorship in the academy, as affected by the CPI. A fundamental historical development in US school education over the twentieth century was that schools lost power to the mass culture of advertising, mass media, and government regulation. Scientific management had fostered a rigid, dollar-conscious educational system. Superintendents suffered constant criticism over administrative waste and incompetence. They were accused of worrying more about “pencils and paper [and]...the employment of janitors and clerks,...than...about the educative process that goes on in the schoolroom” (Callahan, 1962, p 203). The general feeling arose among such progressives as Guy Stanton Ford that colleges of education were educating self-satisfied technicians to undertake the tasks that called for educational statesmen. Public anger over this distribution of educational priorities in the schools rose to a feverish pitch. Perhaps the angry public saw

the answer to their worries in the CPI’s promotion of national character, citizenship, and responsibility to others.

The question remains yet as to why those so-called educational priorities were absent in the first place. Raymond Callahan’s (1962) answer was that, despite lamentations that business held too much control in school affairs during the rise of scientific management, the fundamental problem was in the training of educational administrators, not the aggressive business agents who were allowed to capitalize on improving efficiency in the schools. If administrators had been trained in the more humanistic and theoretical background needed to set educational policy, instead of business methods, they might have better defended their schools systems.

In consequence, the schools were marshaled by the power of the CPI to the point where the NSS could circumvent county superintendents, for example, by sending publicity bulletins directly to schools. Superintendents and teachers could have ignored these bulletins and other notices, just as newspapers could have ignored the CPI press releases, but they did not. If they changed any publicity about the war, it was usually manipulated to whip up more frenzy (Vaughn, 1980).

Universities were pressured into service, in order to avoid fiscal jeopardy. Even though they benefited from increased enrollment in professional courses, there prevailed a strong emphasis of anti-intellectualism, which won favor after the war for vocational aims in higher education (Hofstadter, 1964). Course work throughout the 1920s and into the 1930s, especially in art, was watered down. Courses in art were incorporated with industrial and home arts departments, with such course titles as Making the Home More Democratic. The results of educational aptitude tests were used to sort “lesser” students from “brighter” students. It seemed on the surface that the gates of college education had been thrown open for all, but students were still separated, with lower students placed in the vocational and applied training, which usually included applied arts and design, and the brighter students placed in liberal arts (Ruloph, 1962).
The Federal School promoted that the professional success of its students was possible through hard work and a patriotic attitude. The bimonthly Federal Illustrator promoted the potential of professional success in an art career by featuring the biographies of well-known artists E. H. Blashfield and Lauros M. Phoenix, who worked for the CPI as camouflage artists. In its regular column, "Who's Who in the Federal School" (1916), the Federal School's sales manager Edward S. Smith boasted that commercial artists generally earned the highest wage of any art professional. Smith makes no attempt to justify the hollow ring of this claim with statistics, but his sales pitch was definite: success as an artist meant earning money. As any other worker or professional, artists wanted and deserved the pay due to them. For Smith and his company, advertising artists were professionals because the utilitarian value of their work fit the patriotic cause, which implies that art with a patriotic purpose deserved financial remuneration while art for its own sake did not. Though Smith's claim represents no balanced observation of art professionalism, it is plausible that Smith's readers may have taken his claim at face value, especially when set against the backdrop of CPI publicity.

III. Freedom, Censorship and Art

The third consideration is the artists who worked for the CPI, their role as public servants, and how this effected public taste. Inflammatory pictures gripped the public with the horrors of war, depicting Germans as monstrous individuals. Vaughn (1980) cited that even Adlolf Hitler wrote that the success of American propaganda could be attributed to its emotional portrayal of the enemy as barbaric. The images of Gibson and his Bureau contributed a unique visual impact, along with the film and photography bureaus. Pictures of the war conveyed the illusion of an eyewitness account, which had a quicker effect than a description in text. As mentioned, Lippmann (1922) argued that propaganda filled the viewer's head with images that took the place of the truth in hidden first hand facts. From war posters, the viewer learned not only information about the war in words, but the viewer's feelings were also affected by the sensationalism of illustrations. The artists of the CPI contributed significantly to not only the information learned about the war, but also to the mood of the war.

Another controversial aspect of war publicity was the degree of inflammatory content used. Just how noble some of these images were raises doubt, states Vaughn (1980). Despite George Creel's contention that the CPI avoided the use of atrocity material, and that all the literature circulated came from the CPI, the Liberty Loan Campaigns produced some of the goriest images. Some of these works were questionably inflammatory, which posed a problem for the CPI, that such sensationalism might be too manipulative. One poster appearing in the Ladies Home Journal was very inflammatory, captioned, "This is Kultur" — a boy is held by two German soldiers cutting off his hands, while another German soldier in the background chokes a woman.

Whether such extremely sensational material came from the CPI is unclear. Numerous artists from outside the CPI sent illustrations, hoping to be recognized by the government for their services. It is known that The Division of Pictorial Publicity and the Division of Advertising worked closely together. The Division of Advertising did not have a sufficient budget for their own illustrators, and they frequently called on Gibson and his colleagues for war art. The advertisers chose from drawings submitted. To discern beyond doubt how inflammatory the official CPI illustrations became is difficult. Many other private organizations sent in works of questionable themes, and some were printed by other government offices, without consulting the CPI. Vaughn concludes, that until more evidence to the contrary is presented, it can be assumed that all CPI posters were done by CPI artists. Such posters as those appearing in Liberty Loan Campaigns may have been inflammatory, but Creel disclaimed any responsibility for or control over them (Vaughn, 1980).

CPI artists saw their charge as preserving democracy and the nation. Indeed, the CPI took propaganda beyond the boundaries of printed text and the spoken word. Some of the posters were intended to instruct the public for their health and safety, but others were blatant efforts to create fear and hatred of the enemy (Vaughn, 1980, p. 158). In any case, to a public new to an abundance of picture magazines and sensational advertising...
illustrations, the war posters must have convinced many that the nation needed their allegiance.

The power of the sensational illustration served US commerce after the war as well. The manipulation of emotions became a sharpened tool of commerce, that the right feeling could sell a product or an idea. The ethereal qualities that the public learned to assimilate from such advertising is what Neil Harris termed "public taste..., the aesthetic knowledgeable, experiences, and preferences of the entire population" (Harris, 1991, p. 57). Commercial illustration and other related forms of advertising, such as department store display and the commercial promotions of the World’s Fairs that followed in the wake of World War I, became for the retail industry a lexicon for what the middle-class public assumed was proper fashion.

The institutions from which the public learned about taste competed for patronage. For example, by the 1920s, museums in Chicago competed for patronage with department stores, such as Marshall Fields. Museums began to adapt to their collections display techniques used in retail merchandising, and department stores like Fields displayed historical exhibitions and sold art works. The middle-class looked to stores to learn how to feel about their appearance, and how to raise their social status from the stereotypes they saw in store windows (Harris, 1990).

The effects of pictorial publicity were galvanized during the war, and increased afterward into the mass advertising that developed through the 1920s and 1930s. Though its educational effects were more on the level of emotion rather than rational judgment, it remains well-accepted in most accounts (Cremin, 1988; Vaughn, 1980; Harris, 1991; Lippmann, 1922) that the Division of Pictorial Publicity conveyed successfully the content of Americanism.

**Conclusion**

In reflection, The CPI was one of the first comprehensive structures of propaganda set up by the federal government. It effect ed every educational, cultural, and artistic strand of American life. No single bureau or division could have worked separately. Their effects combine into a profusion of national culture and mood that would have been difficult to miss. As education, the CPI aimed at the sensibility and home life of the individual, as well as the professional training of adults. As publicity they aimed at the emotions—family bonds, national loyalties, fear of atrocity. The CPI’s agencies of the press, film, and state fairs, among others, were also influential to an extent that is beyond the scope of this paper to analyse. The CPI transmitted culture across the land in such a variety of ways that no single definition would satisfy. However, a recurring theme throughout is the Committee’s effects on the ability of men and women to maintain an independent, rational mind in the midst of such a comprehensive blanket of publicity. Some believed this impossible, while others held that the human mind could rise above heavy-handed propaganda.

Comparing the views of Vaughn and Cremin illuminates this double-bind: Vaughn (1980) concludes somewhat sympathetically, making the CPI out to be a victim of its turbulent times—of industrial expansion, of war, and of overwhelming numbers of new immigrants. The CPI officials also feared free-wheeling, laissez-faire individualism, believing that anarchy arose from such extreme personal liberty. They emphasized instead that democracy with political liberty required personal responsibility, and obligation to the community. If democracy was to work, all must adopt that attitude. Vaughn does not acknowledge, however, the reformers who refused to play along nationalist lines, and who were suspect of the free-wheeling individualism above. They were generally mistrusted as radicals, and were denied latitude for their views on the culture, art, or the war. Vaughn argued that much of the Committee on Public Information’s work was well-intentioned and worthwhile, for their stress on “anti militarism, anti-authoritarianism, and the defense of democratic government. Its record was flawed by the crusading zeal of the time” (p. 238).

Conversely, it cannot be ignored, stated Cremin (1988),
that some 2,200 US men and women were prosecuted under the Espionage and Sedition Acts, and that more than 1,000 of them were convicted, "which could have only sent a chill through the nation's agencies of education and communication" (p.345). Cremin states further that perhaps the Committee did mobilize public opinion so well that the maxims coined during that time from publicity campaigns "making America safe for democracy," and "the war to end all wars," only contributed to the disillusionment that grew out of the economic and political unrest following the Treaty of Versailles. Most Americans would not have anticipated the Great Depression, the rise of fascism in Europe and such undercurrents in the US.

Walter Lippmann and Edward Bernays, who participated in the CPI, found themselves disillusioned with democracy as a form of government, and with the ability of rational men and women to make up their minds about anything. What both men failed to see is that the average individual could learn the difference between the freedom of education and the miseducational constraint of propaganda, and that they could learn to participate intelligently in public affairs (Cremin, 1988).

For educators and artists the question boils down to who controls knowledge? Who determines what knowledge is most important, who distributes this knowledge, who will receive it (Lagemann, 1983)? Both the schools and the media convey knowledge, and both educate and miseducate. In whatever form it takes, education has transmitted culture across the generations (Bailyn, 1960). For Creel, the values of citizenship that were to cement the nation together, and the vocational education and training provided a workforce. Art education that stressed beauty and nature changed to patriotic and vocational aims (Efland, 1990). The culture was shaped by advertising and merchandising and their effects on public taste when department store windows competed with museums and customers follow the lure of status in search of beauty (Harris, 1991).

Perhaps the schools and mass media have and always will be joined ambiguously, and the most important control of knowledge belongs to the individual who receives it. As Cremin suggested above, people can learn to make up their minds about what they read, see, and hear. Though some may mistrust some or all of what they hear and see, it remains that each individual may choose for themselves belief or mistrust, beauty or ugliness.

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Art, Education, Work, and Leisure: Tangles in the Lifelong Learning Network

Lara M. Lackey

Abstract

Although the field of art education has, in recent years, acknowledged the prevalence of non-formal educational sites, our literature is divided on whether this trend poses an opportunity for cooperation and strength or a threat to the status of art as a school subject. This paper consults the literature of critical theory within the domains of art, education, and leisure studies in order to examine the relationship between formal and non-formal art education. First, it considers ways in which traditional conceptualizations of art, education, leisure, and work foster an acceptance of art as experience and knowledge to be gained outside of school. Second, it explores the notions of lifelong learning and education, which are frequently offered as umbrellas under which school and community-based art education can peacefully co-exist. The paper suggests that neither an uncritical call for cooperation nor a more entrenched territoriality between formal and non-formal institutions is likely to serve the future interests of art education. Rather, a complex problem is revealed which requires a reconceptualization of education, a consideration of values surrounding democratic access to knowledge, and a challenge to work toward more egalitarian institutional and social structures.

Introduction

Until recently, the literature of our field has focused on art education within the formal institutions of schooling. Art is distinguished from most other school subjects, however, by its prevalent availability in non-formal settings, and by its social construction as a form of leisure. In light of an increasing tendency by non-school agencies to view art education within their mandates (Soren, 1993; Barret, 1993), and a growing interest in adult learning in visual art, our field is slowly expanding to include practice which takes place within a diverse set of school and non-school contexts.

For some, this shift is a refreshing acknowledgement of forms of art programming that should have “counted” as art education all along. Often under the banner of lifelong learning, this change in parameters may be viewed as an opportunity to form new alliances, fill in missing components, and augment existing programs, eventually strengthening the field as a whole.

The fact that many social agencies—those geared to education, high art, leisure, and training for the labour market—include art education within their missions, however, reflects the complex ways in which art has been conceptualized, and the social, political, and economic influences which have shaped the institutionalization of art education in Western society (Efland, 1990; Freedman, 1987). If viewed from this perspective, an increase in non-formal art education may seem to exacerbate a sense of institutional territoriality by threatening the already marginal position of art as a school subject, and stoking fears that art education will ultimately be de-schooled.

I can position myself in my writing by stating that much of my own practical experience has been community-based. Because I considered the work I was doing to warrant the label “art education”, I was often frustrated by the fact that the literature of our field seemed to focus almost exclusively on that which occurred in school. As a result, I welcome the increased representation of non-formal art programming in our field. Nevertheless, I argue that all members of the art education
community need to take responsibility for examining the issues raised here.

Posing non-school art education practice as either a simple opportunity for cooperation or as a threat to school-based art education, for example, provides little useful guidance as to how or whether formal and non-formal realms should interact. Instead, I suggest that we need to acknowledge certain frictions among the institutions offering education in art, and to think critically about what may underlie them, before new associations or policies are defined. Similarly, we need to examine the tenets of lifelong learning/education before we embrace them as frameworks.

This paper contributes to an understanding of relationships between formal and non-formal art education practice by, first, considering how notions of art, education, work, and leisure have been conceptualized in ways that perpetuate both the low status of art in school and its welcome acceptance in the domain of leisure. Second, it explores lifelong learning and lifelong education in terms of the framework and values they imply. These discussions converge to suggest that neither an uncritical call for cooperation nor a territorial stance is likely to serve the best interests of art education in the future. Nor is the status of art in our society likely to improve through a renewed program of advocacy alone. Instead, democracy in education and in the social structure emerge as key issues which frame the problem.

Before proceeding it may be useful to clarify certain terms that I employ here. I use Jarvis' (1987) definitions of "formal", "in-formal" and "non-formal" education. He uses "formal" education to refer to officially sanctioned schooling; "informal" education to refer to that which occurs spontaneously or incidentally, as through ordinary social interaction or the media; and "non-formal" education to mean organized, non-credit courses for adults or children. It is "non-formal" education that is my primary concern here.

I deliberately use "non-formal education" even when referring to organized programs that may be labelled as "leisure" or "recreation" although some may contest this use. I argue that while education may not be the single goal of such programs, it is always at least a partial goal. Further, while such programs may be differently structured than school programs, they are rarely unorganized or haphazard in nature.

I also use "non-formal" in order to draw attention to the fact that what we count as formal education and what we categorize as leisure are often the result of relatively arbitrary distinctions. The two may in fact be essentially very similar. Media such as television, for instance, is pervasively and deliberately influential and stimulates a great deal of learning, while usually claiming not to be doing "education." Because it does not claim to be educating, it has not needed to endure the same kind of scrutiny, nor is it held accountable or responsible, in the same ways that the formal school system is. Alternatively, the formal school system, because it does claim to be conducting education, is often "blamed" for outcomes that are quite beyond its control. The point is that learning and education occur in many contexts; while some forms are officially sanctioned and others are not, we cannot equate sanctioning with influence or value.

In art, non-formal education may be provided by such disparate sponsors as art galleries, museums, senior citizen centres, hospitals, recreation centres, community art centres, continuing education programs, children's clubs, preschools, artist's organizations, arts councils, and art colleges, to provide a partial list. When I use the term non-formal education, I also mean it to encompass programming developed for both children and for adults.

Mapping Tensions in the Literature

Within art education literature, those interested in adult learners have been particularly instrumental in initiating dialogue about non-formal education and lifelong learning. This work has provoked a re-examination of what constitutes art
education, raising questions about who it might be for and where it can take place, as well as challenging assumptions about artistic growth, learner's needs and characteristics, and good teaching practice. (See, for example, Barret, 1993; Blandy, 1993; Jones, 1993; Kauppinen, 1990; Kauppinen & McKee, 1988; & Sidelnick, 1993). Barret's (1993) review of earlier publications in this field cited work that urged art educators to think beyond a K—12 approach, and to become both more aware of and involved with non-formal art education practice.

Although this literature has been predominantly supportive of the need to attend to non-formal art education, it has nevertheless hinted at tensions between educators and community facilitators. Some art educators have charged that programs have often been taught by leisure specialists or care givers who were not trained in the arts, and that content was frequently of a "craft-kit" calibre, which the authors charged was intellectually and creatively undemanding. These critics have proffered the need for specialized training and perhaps certification for non-formal practitioners as a means of assuring an upgraded quality of instruction. Without disputing the circumstances which inspired these recommendations, it should be noted that such statements do stimulate questions about who should have authority over non-formal art education, and who is the "expert" in this arena. At the same time they skirt problems of differences in artistic and educational values that occur when moving into varied instructional settings. An inclination to equate lifelong learning with adult education may have the added effect of masking conflicts which can arise when non-formal practitioners direct their programming to school-aged children. It may further imply that notions such as lifelong learning offer simply an untroublesome extension of—an adding on to—educational systems already in place. As I will discuss later, this is not the case.

A transition in literature dealing with non-formal art education practice is offered by studies directed at factors which sometimes divide members of the broader art education network. Mullen (1989) interviewed "housewives" who were art hobbyists and identified differences in artistic values between these women and their fine art-educated instructors. Degge (1987) conducted a survey of community-based artist/teachers in order to learn more about their backgrounds and teaching philosophies, and was surprised to learn that, contrary to what she expected, most of these community instructors were highly educated in the arts. Day's 1986 study suggested that "non-conformity", a value embraced by artist's communities and evident in university fine art departments, has sometimes made non-art majors taking these art courses feel alien or excluded. He argued that this creates a contradiction for the artist/teacher as a model for art education. And Eisner and Dobbs (1986) noted that educators working in art museums perceived themselves and were perceived by museum directors to have low status within the museum hierarchy, with the curator often seen as the "real" educator whose ideas were simply implemented by the education coordinator. These studies indicate the tensions between the worlds of popular/amateur art and fine art, and between fine art and education. They also provide clues as to why a simple call for cooperation among art education institutions may be a simplistic recommendation.

Among those researchers who have directly considered organizational relationships in our field, a number have questioned outright the motives of non-formal art education agencies. Smith (1980) claimed that a combination of philanthropic and government cultural agencies in the U.S. more interested in grant money than pedagogy, were succeeding in deschooling art education. He argued that talk of collaboration and partnership between schools and non-schools simply obscured the fact that such an approach would ultimately fragment funding and weaken art education as a whole. Chapman (1982) concurred that these groups would have the effect of draining art out of the schools. Chapman went on to chastise elite, wealthy groups for supporting non-school programs rather than school-based art education efforts. Kimpton (1984) worried that the perception of art as a frill could result in the take-over of art education by a cottage industry lying in wait. He argued that such a development would interfere with sequential learning and the integration of art with other school subjects. But perhaps the paramount concern of those who have argued against the increase of non-school involvement in art education has been that democratic access to art knowledge would be obstructed,
restricting opportunities to become literate and critically aware about the arts to those with the will and financial means to take part. This would be an art education caught up with the whims of a free market and the interests of dominant social groups.

On the side defending non-formal practice, Fowler (1984) berated Chapman for taking a territorial stance and denied that non-school agencies have any intention or desire of taking over the formal art education curriculum. He assured all those concerned that they want only to enhance, enrich, and broaden experiences that the schools offer. Soren (1993) acknowledged that cultural and community organizations have increasingly seen education to fall within their roles, often as a means to develop audiences. She acknowledged problems such as a lack of professional development for non-formal practitioners, but still saw advantages in collaboration. Those in support of non-school art education programs have a tendency to think of such efforts as neutral strategies to expand and bolster the field, augmenting but not substantially altering the role of formal art education. They may view the collaboration of school and non-school agencies as a means to increase general public understanding of the value of the arts throughout society, causing an increase in school art education as an indirect result. They may also assume artists to be more knowledgeable—and therefore more “qualified” to teach art—especially in relation to generalist teachers in the public school system.

Numerous assumptions within all of these arguments, however—schools as unequivocally the best sites for democratic access to art knowledge, and non-school art institutions as either threatening or benign—need to be more closely examined. As noted in the introduction, I have chosen two arenas to explore in sorting out these seemingly contradictory stances. The first of these concerns the conceptual links of artistic practice to notions of leisure, and how that affects the institutional positioning of art education. The second is the idea of lifelong learning and the radical departure from current systems of formal schooling that it may imply. I turn now to the former question of art as leisure.

Of all the topics addressed in art education literature, explanation for the marginal position of art in school and argument against this state of affairs is among the most prevalent. The familiar complaint that art is perceived as a “frill” is supported by identification of beliefs, for example, that artistic growth does not require instruction (Chapman, 1982) and the perception that artistic processes are non-cognitive (Hamblen, 1983). These ideas are linked to assumptions that artistic abilities spring from innate talent, as well as the Western tendency to separate notions of mind and body, thought and feeling, and to categorize artistic practice as involving physical and emotional rather than mental processes (Dissanayake, 1993). What emerges is that the positioning of art as a school subject is a problem for the sociology of knowledge, resulting from rather confused, often unfounded assumptions and the relatively arbitrary selection of content domains in school.

In terms of examining the relationships between education, art, and leisure, however, the most interesting charge that has been used to de-value art education is that it is considered “play” and “not work”. Eiland (1976) referred to the use of school art as play when he suggested that art is used as a respite from the “real” work of schooling; and Feldman’s (1982) well-known essay dealing with work, language, and values struggled to reverse this pervasive claim by arguing that art must be considered a valuable school subject precisely because it is work of a very special kind. Constructing the problem as one of communication, Feldman scolded art educators for not providing the larger education community with a strong enough argument about the value of art in the curriculum. He claimed that art involves physical, emotional, and intellectual effort, is “personally satisfying and socially important” (p.7), and that the value of such work needs to be instilled in every child as part of the general purpose of education.

The assumption that underlies Feldman’s argument, of course, is that art must be considered work in order to gain
respect in school, and in fact, few art educators would disagree that meaningful artistic engagement does involve effort and work. The sociological literatures of art, education, and leisure, however, have suggested that it is the construction of art as *personally satisfying* work, and work that reflects "free choice" that is at the crux of the problem of the status of art in school.

The set of assumptions that need to be considered in relation to this discussion interweave as follows:

1) Education and schooling are directly linked to work and particularly to the needs of business and industry.

2) Work is that which we are obligated to do, and is an activity over which someone else has control.

3) Leisure is the opposite of work, posed as occurring during free time and the result of free choice.

4) Art is conceived as non-work, and idealized as a uniquely free and spontaneous process.

5) As art is non-work, it is also non-education, and is therefore more suited to leisure than to school activity.

The next sections briefly expand on and examine these ideas.

**Education and Work**

One dominant assumption about the role of mandatory public education in Western society is that schooling "evens the playing field" by providing equal education and opportunity for all to succeed. Further, we have tended to assume that high achievement in school corresponds to exceptional ability and that social rewards gained through school achievement are therefore justified. Numerous theorists and researchers in the sociology of education, however, have questioned these assertions, arguing instead that achievement in school is linked to social position and influenced by factors such as ethnicity, class, and gender; rather than measuring actual ability, it is argued, schooling instead serves to stratify students in the service of economic and political ends.

Writers in critical theory have suggested, for example, that schooling accommodates the needs of business and industry through a hidden agenda which replicates workplace hierarchical relationships; that schooling discourages the questioning of authority or the critical analysis of the stratification of school knowledge, including the privileging of technological forms of knowledge; and that schooling fosters an acceptance of a consumer society (Illich, 1971; Bowles and Gintis, 1976; Bourdieu, 1990; Apple, 1990). Bourdieu, of course, argued that art is *not* taught in school because it is not perceived as directly useful to the industrialized workplace, and in order to maintain it as rare and mystified knowledge so that it can be used as cultural capital by a privileged class. (Apple (1993) qualifies these points of criticism somewhat, however, suggesting that this process does allow room for agency and resistance by members of non-dominant groups.)

**Work and Leisure**

The above assertions in a sense agree with Feldman that in order for school content to be construed as valuable, it must in some form correspond to notions of work. But the *kind* of work they say is valued by industry and business is not Feldman's "personally satisfying and socially important" artistic type. Rather, Wolff (1981) suggested that work has been traditionally understood in the context of industrialized labour, as alienating, non-creative, and involving a division of tasks as opposed to offering the possibility of overseeing or engagement in an entire process. In addition, work has been viewed as that which one is obligated to do for someone else, and not for personal satisfaction.

Alternatively, notions of leisure have been commonly posed as the opposite of work, as self-directed and characterized by
free choice and a lack of obligation. From the perspective of leisure studies, Rojek (1985) wrote:

Work is experienced as a burden or a drag on the self rather than as a means of personal creative development. This gives leisure an extraordinary significance in popular Western culture. For it is in leisure rather than work that individuals see themselves as free to act and develop as they please. (p.109)

But Rojek also pointed out that these conceptualizations of work as drudgery and leisure as freedom are both misleading. He noted, for example, that the Latin word for "leisure" actually implies something which is "allowed" and is therefore subject to constraint. Feminists have made this point repeatedly, arguing that women's experiences of leisure have historically been different from men's, and clearly occur within the constraints of social obligations and expectations. Women's time away from paid labour, for example, has traditionally been filled with domestic labour or in the service of other people's leisure. Women who do not earn pay outside the home, or who receive less remuneration for their work, may not be perceived as "earning" leisure time in the same way as men. As well, women's "free time" may be experienced as subject to interruption, or as having a sense of being "on-call". Also, of course, constraints on women's freedom of movement and use of public leisure spaces have been well documented. (see also Green et al., 1990).

In addition, leisure as "freedom" or as self-directed activity can best be understood in terms of the constraints of socio-economic class and cultural convention. We are free to do as we wish only to the extent that we perceive actions to be possible, socially appropriate, and have the resources to carry out our goals. We can see further flaws in dualistic notions of work and leisure when we consider that much leisure involves arduous labour as in, for example, mountain climbing, and that work often involves at least moments of leisure. (While dichotomous ideas of work and leisure are changing as contemporary workplaces evolve, they nevertheless illuminate this discussion.)

Wolff (1981) argued, however, that because work and leisure have been defined in these confused ways, artistic work has been construed as non-work. She posited that, due to the fact that artists have in general been marginalized in contemporary society by a lack of patronage, and because artist's work has not been organized by industrial systems (nor viewed as "industry"), artistic production has been romanticized and mystified as a unique process—"representative of non-forced labour and truly expressive activity" (p.18), separate from social life, and self-controlled by a single artist, considered to be endowed with unusual gifts. Wolff reminds us that it is the conceptualization of work here that is troublesome, as many forms of work other than artistic production are also potentially "creative" and fulfilling.

Becker (1982) concurred that artistic work is in many respects not very different from other forms of work, and painstakingly showed how art production is thoroughly connected to community life and to our social worlds, through the availability and production of tools and materials, through the many individuals who complete tasks which support artistic production, and through the conventions within which a piece is produced and later judged. The need for such careful analysis highlights how deeply entrenched this misconception of artistic work has been.

When we look at these arguments, it is easy to see the link between the depiction of leisure as freedom from obligation and art as free expression, as well as the connections between traditional notions of work and education. This seems to be the source of a natural dualism, positing art and leisure on one side and work and education on the other. When coupled with an emphasis on leisure as the key site of personal and creative development, the assumption that artistic work and art education fall outside the domains of work and school seems plausible.
Art educators recognize these common notions of art, work, and leisure as confused. Few would deny that work and artistic production can be simultaneously fulfilling and challenging. And yet the position of art in Western society continues to be tenuous as long as it is affected by such dichotomous understandings. In this vein both school and non-school organizations battle the conceptualizations of art as leisure and non-work, and neither can afford to conceive of their programs in terms of traditional notions of leisure time—i.e., neither freedom from constraints or obligations, nor as solely self-directed experience. This is a particular problem for non-formal practice, where programs are frequently viewed as opportunities which can be freely chosen rather than as accessible only to those who have the resources to participate, or where assumptions that adult learners are self-directed may actually assume a position of privilege.

What should also be clear, however, is that the tactic of providing an ever more convincing argument about the value of art in education and schooling has by itself been ineffective. The implication seems to be that the status of art as a school subject, or in our society generally, will not change no matter how rational our explanations, until our conceptualizations of work and leisure change. Arguably, a narrow notion of work is the antithesis of Feldman's personally and socially fulfilling art work. And if we recognize, as illustrated here, the dynamic relationship between our conceptualizations and our social and institutional structures, then changing our conceptions depends on changing our social worlds. In other words, rather than simply arguing that we should think of art as a form of productive work, we need to take action such that work becomes more like art, both personally and socially satisfying. We must fuse our conceptualizations of work and leisure in order to fuse conceptualizations of art and education.

Keeping in mind the conceptual and structural interconnections between art, work, education, and leisure, I will now turn to a discussion of lifelong learning. As it turns out, lifelong learning requires a fundamental reconceptualization of these very notions and relationships. My focus is again on tensions and contradictions in interpreting this educational framework, and on the differing political and economic agendas that each reading may imply.

Lifelong Learning—Lifelong Education: Whose Interpretations, Whose Interests?

Even those who have submerged themselves in discussions of lifelong learning and lifelong education still struggle over key definitions. Apps (1985) notes that misconceptions result from the tendency to use these terms interchangeably, and to equate them with adult education. The notion of lifelong learning, of course, may be more properly viewed as an internal process, and even a basic (personal) human need (Long, 1985), namely the recognition of the potential to continue to learn throughout one's life. Apps points out, however, that lifelong learning as a "need" can also stem from the perception that adults may become "obsolete" in terms of their knowledge; thus the "need" may be construed as a requirement for occupational and economic survival. Lifelong learning may also be used to make the distinction between learning—which can occur in virtually all life contexts—and schooling. Alternatively, lifelong education refers more to a planned effort to encourage learning, and may therefore be thought of as an educational framework or policy. Although the terms are distinct they are also, of course, deeply interconnected; if we assume that we have the ability or need for lifelong learning—for personal or economic reasons—then lifelong education seems necessary.

There is, however, a substantial level of consensus about what a lifelong educational framework would entail. Lifelong education is a system which encompasses all stages of life from birth to death as well as all subject matters, in a sense "expanding" the conceptualization of education to embrace all forms of facilitated learning. It proffers the need for cohesion among formal systems of education as well as recognition of and interrelationships with non-formal systems, blurring or even erasing the lines between formal and non-formal institutions. It emphasizes greater availability to students through provision of many entry points, sites, and systems of delivery, and may de-emphasize certification of teachers and credentialing roles of
schools, calling for greater use of volunteers and non-credentialed instructors. Pursuing a goal of self-directed and independent learning, it tends to place greater responsibility on the individual to control her or his own learning processes, and to "learn how to learn." It may call for greater student and public roles in educational decision-making; increased cooperation between schools, business, industry, and government with respect to technical training and educational content; a re-allocation of funding for out-of-school educational opportunities; and greater emphasis placed on the need for young people to be flexible in adapting to a range of occupations throughout life—among other ideas (Apps, 1985; Unesco, 1973).

The framework within which lifelong learning and education are situated is obviously not restricted to adult education, nor would it be likely to co-exist peacefully with present formal systems. Rather, this is an orientation which profoundly challenges current conceptualizations and systems of education. In addition, its emphasis on weakening the credentialing authority of schools clearly raises the issue of de-schooling, to be taken up next.

**Lifelong Learning and De-schooling**

What is interesting about the notions of lifelong learning, lifelong education, and de-schooling is that they can be viewed as growing from either progressive or conservative agendas. On one hand, they can be read as signs of a general disenchantment with rigid and undemocratic practices which, through the respective privileging and exclusion of dominant and non-dominant groups, reproduce the social status quo. Apps reminds us of the influences in this paradigm of notions of emancipatory learning and social action, and argues that the age of technology must be more about searching for meaning than the accumulation of information. Alternatively lifelong education, and the pressure to assume the need for it, can be interpreted as driven by conservative economic forces bent on shifting control of education away from systems of schooling and into the hands of business and industry, perhaps in response to incessantly changing technology, global competition, and the need for a perpetually flexible and unstable worker.

The "threat" of de-schooling which tenets of lifelong learning pose can also be read as revealing progressive or conservative values. Wexler et. al (1981) explain this puzzle by suggesting that although support for de-schooling initially grew out of charges that schooling served the interests of a free market economy—as in Illich's (1977) radical critique of schooling—the kinds of skills that are now required by the North American workplace are changing. Now the requirement is for a worker who is not only technically skilled, but flexible and knowledgeable about the full process of industrial production. The authors argue that at this level of critical awareness and analytic skill there can be no guarantee that workers will also be docile, and may even seek increased control over the production process. In this scenario, business and industry may argue for de-schooling so that greater control over the training process and the worker can be achieved. In addition, the authors suggest that, in times of economic restraint, the society in general—including schools and teachers—becomes more critical, and ideological assumptions begin to break down. If schools become sites of greater critical awareness, they also represent a risk for industry and may not serve as efficiently in accommodating the needs of the workplace and of the economy for amenable workers and consumers.

All of this means only that the education agenda will continue to be, as it always has been, a focus for struggle and negotiation. In this sense we are naive if we assume that moving into lifelong learning modes can be done neutrally. It is perhaps more useful, however, to think of education not as a pawn caught between dualistic interests, but as an active player on a field of shifting ground. Further, as education changes and evolves, so do the arenas surrounding it. Apps (1985) cites Ireland (1978) on this issue, arguing that lifelong learning is about taking on...
a new approach to a whole concept of education [and to consider] the relationship between education and work, education and leisure, and that between the individual and the collective needs of man [sic]. (Apps, p.7)

Art Education and Lifelong Learning: A Summary

If we think of the lifelong learning framework as implying a reconceptualization and shifting of relationships between education, work, and leisure, then finding how art education fits into the scheme means considering its link to each of these realms. What emerges from this discussion is not the need simply to convince others that art is "work," but to consider what kind of work we want art to be. In addition, I have suggested that if we want to promote a conceptualization of art in Feldman's sense of personally and socially satisfying work, a conceptualization which would reposition art as valued knowledge, then we need to change the nature and structure of work in our society. (The discussion concerning dichotomous notions of art/leisure and education/work also implies a danger in blindly embracing technological forms of art education because they are more readily perceived as traditional forms of "work," as well as the danger in the emphasis our literature places on art as a special kind of "play," because of the misconceptions it tends to perpetuate.)

My understanding of working realms that approach art work—in the sense that they merge conceptions of work and leisure, personal satisfaction and social obligation is one in which workplaces offer increased voice, empowerment, and cooperation and less obedience to hierarchy. The use of knowledge—in this case art knowledge—as power, and a more equitable distribution of power—are interconnected. May (1994) argues eloquently that we can begin by examining our own working worlds, the worlds of schooling and education. And I will extend her challenge to those who work outside of schools, conducting art education in recreation centres and art institutions. Do we have the courage to make all our working worlds personally and socially satisfying by empowering our students and communities, creating more equitable access and cooperative structures, and breaking down hierarchical relationships in our organizations and our society?

Because this, in the most positive and progressive sense, is also what a call to embrace lifelong learning can mean. It means breaking down structures that have disempowered—in both work and education—and creating new structures which are more egalitarian and which provide opportunities for a balance of personal satisfaction and community commitment.

In this view, neither a territorial stance nor a simple call for cooperation between art education agencies is very useful in considering issues of non-formal art education. A call for cooperation among existing agencies ignores the troublesome conceptualizations and competitive strands out of which different institutions grew in the first place. It may further naively encourage non-formal agencies to solidify and perpetuate commonsense notions of art as non-work and non-school, and to become complicit within a traditional conservative economic agenda. Especially where an increase in non-formal art programming takes place simultaneously with a decrease in art within school curricula, such programming clearly threatens the fundamental value of democratic access to knowledge. If non-formal art institutions do choose to take on more art education, they cannot ethically abdicate the responsibility that goes with it, to provide truly equal access to all. This is a huge challenge, for the market-driven programming of most non-formal agencies is dependent on patrons that are able to pay. Further, these organizations must be prepared to endure the kind of scrutiny and evaluation that claims to doing "education" justify. (Trend [1992] and Giroux [1991]) offer some assistance in suggesting that those doing social and educational work in all realms think of themselves as "cultural workers" working toward a more equitable society through critical pedagogy.)

Alternatively, an argument that art education should move entirely under the wing of formal education, as in the call for certification of non-formal practitioners, may miss valuable
critiques of schooling by writers on lifelong education. A call for certification of non-school teachers, for example, may be seen as a contradiction of certain understandings of lifelong learning goals, which emphasize the non-credentialled resources of the community and shifting roles of learners and teachers through recognizing the expertise of learners and the capacity of teachers as learners. This implies a recognition of amateur knowledge and an empathy with non-expert values which art educators need to consider in moving into varied art and education contexts.

In terms of considering a future agenda for education and art education, it may be simplistic to say that the notion of lifelong learning is neither inherently good nor inherently bad. It is a concept which must be infused with social and educational values by the people who embrace it, and it is these values that must be agreed upon if formal and non-formal organizations are to form a collective net for art education. In light of this discussion, those values must centre around a concern for democratic access to education. The only certainty is that both school and non-school organizations will become targets of change as conceptualizations and institutions in our postmodern world shift. Art educators need to be reflective, however, about forces which may underlie our choices and be careful not to pursue many of the commonsense understandings of art, work, education, and leisure in building new relationships in the art education network.

REFERENCES


"Truth" that Sells: Broadcast News Media In Video Art and Art Education

Mary Wyrick

Vincent Lanier (1969), Manuel Barkan and Laura Chapman (1967), Laura Chapman (1982), Paul Duncum (1987, 1989), and Dan Nadaner (1985) have written about the implications of using mass media sources in art education. In their writings, each of these authors acknowledged the importance of film, television, and other mass media to student populations in art educational contexts. Even with these precedents and extensive literature in media studies, students today continue to uncritically consume the visual media that permeate their lives. They need to understand how contemporary culture is at least partially shaped by representations in visual media. Whether these representations are discovered in mass media, visual art, or a textbook, engaged criticism in which students question how power constructs "truth" should become central to the art curriculum. To become aware and critical viewers, students must displace the common-sense belief that news, art, and other representations present a transparent reflection of what is "real." Students and teachers need to be educated to question control and definitions of reality in news media that increasingly have one foot in the entertainment industry and another in the

systematic delivery of public information. Teachers should also seek to study contemporary artists and critics that enjoin us to examine ourselves and our institutions to acknowledge the complex of notions that reproduce oppression. In this paper, I will examine contemporary video artists and critics as potential models for student art making and written criticism.

The New Face of Broadcast News

Rapidly advancing technologies that broadcast twenty-four-hour-a-day news reports impact as never before on local and global communities. While traveling in Yucatan and Chiapas, Mexico, in 1992 (prior to the Zapatista uprising in 1994), I saw numerous apparently indigenous people living in homes with thatched roofs similar to those pictured on the walls of ancient Mayan pyramids in that region. Much to my surprise, many of these otherwise basic homes were equipped with televisions and some had access to cable TV. While visiting Costa Rica in a hotel room that was without hot water, I watched Cable News Network (CNN) broadcasts of dirt track races from Charlotte, North Carolina. Our broadcast news media in the United States, for better and for worse, are not only bringing other cultures to us, but are spreading our culture on a global scale.

CNN's continuous and immediate live visual coverage of world events has changed the face of the news. CNN viewers witnessed the moment troops first landed on the coast of Somalia and were met not by clan factions, but by legions of journalists with cameras and camcorders. Live broadcast tours of battleships, terrorists' attacks, and courtroom drama alike are staged to coopt the broadcast news media. It is easy for broadcast rhetoric to become part of our popular culture because of its accessibility to the public on television and in ensuing printed news journalism. I can, at any time, watch several versions of the news along with viewers all over the world. This immediacy of news broadcasts and the increased accessibility to TV makes it possible for these mediated events to become enmeshed in my own experience. Distinguishing between news rhetoric and reliable information becomes more critical as today's technologies make global communication more accessible.
In addition to mediated news becoming part of the backdrop of my experience, new technologies in interactive broadcasting and access to the "information highway" will enable viewers to actively participate in the global drama. I can already call in to vote in a poll, to speak to a commentator, or to question a speaker simultaneously broadcast on screen. Video images and voice may replace text in the future "on-line" world. Christine Tamblyn wrote that several video collectives, People's Video Theater, Global Village, Raindance, the Video Freex, Optic Nerve, and TVTV formed in the sixties in anticipation of a "global village" in which everyone would be linked together in a two-way communication system" (1987, p. 34). News media in the nineties continue to become more interactive, and developing electronic technologies will enable news media to spread more deeply into the world's wildernesses. Students need to learn to use news media critically to understand the interrelatedness of current events in their own lives to social issues in other cultures and communities.

News Media Criticism

Contemporary visual artist Barbara Kruger has addressed how news is constructed and how written criticism can be used to explore representations of truth in news media. Kruger's writing, like her visual art, has related image, idea, and subtext to question objectivity in visual culture. Excerpts of Kruger's writing here encapsulate similar ideas expressed by artists, art educators, and media theorists that will be described later in this paper. Kruger critiqued television news programs, identifying strategies used in news media. In a 1989 review, she discussed a "new brand of stupidity" which "appears to blur the distinctions between what's 'news' and what's not" (p. 9). She began by criticizing the recent proliferation of news magazines, talk shows, and other programming in which news stories are sensationalized. She built on this critique by turning her criticism to the truth claims of "hard" news media, (network news, for example), exposing the subjectivity of any news presentation:

After all, the difference is not always in the story, but in the telling; not in the moment, but in its

representations and how these representations coalesce into an official history—not that one is more informed than another, but that the mode of presentation "legitimizes" or "illegitimizes" the story. Why are we shown one picture and not another? Why this sound bite and not that one? These decisions reveal a web of preferences that are determined by economic and social relations—filtered through the heady discourse of taste—and emerge as opinion, but are never named as such. (p. 10)

Kruger pointed out how selection and omission control information before the broadcast images take shape. She also indicated how power and wealth influence what will be told and serve to maintain the status quo. The danger, for the passive viewer, lies in the expectation and acceptance of news media as an objective source of information. She wrote, "Embalmmed in a kind of electronic amniotic fluid, we are frozen like kitties patrolling mouselike movements" (p. 10). Our passivity empowers news programmers who create a theater where "Current events, national struggles, and sexualities are created, renewed, or canceled like sitcoms" (p. 11). Kruger concluded that a power of the representation of the news on television lies in its ability to make us passive.

In an essay about television broadcasting of weather reports, Kruger compared weather reports to other reporting of news, "reported as a series of gestures framed and inflated into 'events'" (1988, p. 13). Writing that the weather report gets caught up in the spectacle of news reporting, with weather reporters, "part Mr. Wizards, part carny schtickers" playing "nature" against "culture" (p. 13), she touched on the tendencies to polarize issues in news reporting. In her analysis, Kruger underscored how often insignificant information is manipulated into pseudo news that will titillate the audience. When viewers are not prepared to critically consume news media, they do not discriminate and are drawn to information with the loudest hype. For Kruger and other artists commenting on broadcast news, even the weather has become carnival. Kruger's ideas about broadcast news and the power of mass media are echoed in the visual art of many contemporary artists and media theorists, and a few art educators.
Contemporary Video Art and Broadcast News

How do visual artists explore representations of truth in news media? In this section, I discuss a number of ways in which artists, using video art, challenge the objectivity and reliability of information in broadcast news. My descriptions are divided into four sections, each one revealing a different strategy. By appropriating traditional news presentation techniques, artists in the first section show how "News and Nonsense" can take on an air of credibility. In the next section, "Deconstructive Video," artists go beneath surface information to examine underlying assumptions implicit in reporting of information. They also question creation of meaning through technical simulation and pairing of unrelated ideas and images. In "News Manipulation as Intervention," the artists described use specific cases to show how news presentation can skew information. These artists co-opt news presentation techniques to provide alternative and contrasting viewpoints. In the "Disinformation" section, artists, curators, and critics are cited to explain large-scale "spin-doctoring" of information to garner support for the U.S. government. Like Barbara Kruger, all of the artists discussed demonstrate methods that can be used to question media representation and the importance of becoming more actively engaged in viewing and responding to current events.

News and Nonsense

In an installation, Sears Style with Psalms, shown at the Ronald Feldman Gallery in New York in March 1992, Soviet artists Komar and Melamid appropriated a televised news broadcast of former President Bush and showed it in a hellish consumer world of Sears and Roebuck discount products. A washing machine, dryer, plastic rubber tree plants, simulated brick and wood siding and other merchandise were arranged, in situ, around the gallery. Anonymous stick figure mannequins without faces modeled polyester clothes having what appeared to be bullet holes in the fabric. Silhouette human targets on the walls had also been fired upon, leading the viewer to conclude that repeated small holes were evidence of a gun having been fired into products around the room. Bullet ridden domestic products seemed to fill all niches of the U.S. American landscape as it was spread about the gallery, and to hold equal place with cultish images of celebrity presidents.

A Sears television with plastic Halloween mask, atop a washing machine, broadcast a news program and other random network programming. One tape, The State of the Union, was an altered broadcast news conference tape of a State of the Union address showing a close-up of former President Bush. After each line, the camera panned to the crowd that appeared to be applauding, but a raucous laugh track had been dubbed into the tape in place of the crowd's applause. Occasionally, the camera panned to former Vice-President Quayle, also accompanied by loud synthesized laughter. The artists combined altered broadcasts with merchandise to imply that substance and quality have been usurped in a chaotic consumer culture. The news conference was equated with the glut of products designed for the home that had tenuous and absurd existences on the showroom floor.

In 1979, Chip Lord, Doug Hall, and Jody Proctor made an absurd video, Amarillo News Tapes. It was a parody of irrelevanl news stories, featuring "Pro-News" casters (the artists) roaming about Amarillo, Texas, taking shots of local architecture and reporting that "Local experts told Pro-News that the usage of architecture is on the rise" (McGee, 1982, p. 8). The "story" is based on observations of people going about their routine affairs, such as "Area residents drove to and from buildings today on roads and streets specifically designed for such purposes" (p. 8). The Pro-News team appropriated the language and visual form of news broadcasting in a mock serious tone to expose the superficiality in news production that can give credence to nonsense.

Deconstructive Video: Simulation and the Manufacture of Meaning

"Virtual Memories," an exhibit curated by photographer Mike Mandel and shown at the Ansel Adams Center in San Francisco, was devoted to critique of mass media through new video techniques in computer enhanced photography. In many works, broadcast media were appropriated to show how
authentic looking images could be generated. Art critic Christine Tamblyn wrote of the artworks:

George Legrady altered stills captured from broadcast television, interrupting the medium’s ubiquitous flow to analyze its ideological premise. In “Fire in the Ashes” (1989), and “Ashes in the Wind” (1989), he analyzed the media’s use of cyclical structures to create parallels between human events and natural disasters. Political and economic processes were thereby imbued with the inevitability of fires or floods. Steve Bradley’s “Clinical Impressions” (1990), deconstructed the juxtapositions of disparate imagery that occur regularly on commercial TV. The five triptychs contained montages of a map of the Middle East flanked by aspirin ads. Actors dramatizing domestic disputes on soap operas were interspersed with photographs of bomber pilots and Saddam Hussein. (1991, p. 54)

The critic has used the word “deconstructed” to describe the practice of an artist who is examining the effects of the news media’s pairing up of seemingly unrelated images. In many artworks and samples of written criticism, artists/critics use deconstruction, a critical strategy based on the belief that language is the basis for understanding, yet language is unstable. “Meaning,” therefore, is found in examining underlying assumptions that support truth claims. Many artists critical of news media pair random, blurred computer data and advertising images with news images to show how meanings are manufactured in the media. In many cases, the artists are critical in their implication that media “realities” are based on false assumptions and thus have little connection to the real world.

Fritz Bacher’s 1991 video Serenade to CNN was a video montage of scenes taken from CNN footage of the Persian Gulf War and scenes of former President Bush receiving standing a cellist. According to critic Alan Bigelow (1991):

Bacher delivered a powerful series of monologues in his persona as an American TV viewer who, after watching nonstop CNN coverage of the war, begins to believe he’s the president of an unknown international media network. The narrator’s passive/active relationship with the war informs his monologues, which varied from chiding memos to employees, pleading telephone calls to foreign correspondents and paranoid letters to well-known American political figures. Occasionally during these monologues, Bacher interviewed various talking heads—historians, activists, and Iraqi citizens—who were image processed and framed in bright circles or squares within the video. All of these interview subjects had anti-war agendas that had been censored during the Gulf War, either inadvertently or purposely by the news media. (p. 55)

Bacher joined the critique against White House control of reporting about the Persian Gulf War by creating a fiction that demonstrates his own anti-war ideology. He also demonstrated, as did the artists in “Virtual Memories,” the ease with which news images can be simulated. Even though he acted as a delusional viewer, he was critical of the inner workings and organization of news production. He dismantled news manipulations, showing how public information is constructed. Bacher used video montage in combining broadcast television and other documentation with their own manufactured images to demonstrate the ease with which images can be altered with new technologies. He also suggested how personal identity can be distorted by media stars made larger than life with scripts, microphones, camcorders and tabloid hyperbole.

News and Manipulation: Art As Intervention

In 1977, Tony Ramos made an independently produced video, About Media, that investigated production of TV news from the standpoint of the artist’s involvement with media events surrounding his arrest for refusing to serve in the Viet Nam war. According to Micki McGee, this video served as intervention in the practice of using staged events in the
production of television news (1982, p. 8). In “About Media,” Ramos revealed conventions of television news gathering that create a forced staging of events to mediate how stories are told. Ramos had previously been interviewed by a newscaster about his reaction to President Carter’s announcement of amnesty for draft resisters. Ramos had served 18 months in federal prison for his refusal to serve in the military during the Vietnam War. In Ramos’ alternative video, he disclosed how the original newscast was produced, replete with details showing the creation of subtitles, the splicing-in of tapes about his arrest and other action-oriented media events, and the uncaring off-camera conversation among the technical crew. Through his video, Ramos demanded that the audience see through the overproduced visuals to empathize with his personal experience. He implied that a flaw in some news reporting lies in its absence of counter arguments and unpopular opinions. He showed how editing and other production techniques could be employed to use video as a form of protest. Whether or not students choose to engage in this kind of activism, it is important that they understand the struggles of their contemporaries and the potential for changing viewpoints of others through using media criticism as protest.

In her performance video Born to Be Sold: Martha Rosler Reads the Strange Case of Baby M (1988), Martha Rosler assumed different characters to comment on the highly publicized story of the “Baby M” case. The case involved a surrogate mother, Mary Beth Whitehead, who unsuccessfully sued a prominent couple to regain custody of her child. The video was produced for public access cable television, and humorously addressed the legal, technological, and social systems interacting in the case. Rosler portrays possible viewpoints of individuals in the story who were not represented in mainstream news media, such as “Baby M,” who addressed the viewer from a crib. Wearing an exaggerated baby bonnet, a placard which read “Melissa Stern,” and alternately speaking and sucking on a pacifier, Rosler performed in the “talking head” format of news programs. These role playing performances were mixed with clips of actual television news broadcasts on the case that included close ups of news casters speaking directly into the camera. Rosler enacted how the news casters reinforced the privileged position of the couple through simple techniques such as referring to them as “Dr. and Mr.” while repeatedly naming the surrogate mother “Marybeth.” Rosler used familiar conventions of news presentation to show how the child custody case revealed the political hierarchies that shape the lives of individuals such as “Baby M.”

Disinformation

The theme of the “Disinformation: the Manufacture of Consent” exhibition at the Alternative Museum in New York was the control of information by governmental agencies (Rodriguez, 1984). The topic of “disinformation” was addressed in various ways in video installations that are discussed in this section. “Disinformation” was defined by Linker as the “media’s distortion of political events through selective coverage, bias, and deletion of information” (1985, p. 106). In the catalogue for the exhibit, curator Geno Rodriguez defined disinformation as “a technique used by the printed and electronic media in order to create national opinion and consent. It is a technique of half-truths, biased editorialism and deletions of pertinent information. It pretends to be objective and fair. Most importantly it plays on a people’s belief in a ‘Free Press’” (Paoletti, 1985, p. 133).

In another of Rosler’s videos, If Its Too Bad to Be True, It Could Be Disinformation, the artist compared broadcast and printed news stories, showing how information was manipulated and obscured by news reporting and presentation. One of the news stories reported practice maneuvers on a military compound on Vieques, an island off the coast of Puerto Rico. Rosler sympathized with Puerto Rican protester Isabel Rosado who believed that the Naval base in Vieques was a drain on resources in Puerto Rico and an emblem of the cultural exploitation of the small island by the U. S. Government. This video was part of the “Disinformation” exhibition. According to art critic Kate Linker (1983), Rosler “combined video installation with newspaper documentation— all thoroughly researched and underlined for effect—to point to the amount, and scope, of media ‘deflection’” (p. 106).
Another piece shown in the “Disinformation” exhibit by Terry Berkowitz was entitled Remote Control. In this installation, a worn cushioned rocker faced a television covered with bandages that obscured an altered videotape of a broadcast news program. Electronic speakers in the chair emitted mixed sounds that garbled the broadcast news with deliberately monotonous noises. With its poor quality of sound, image, and a shabby armchair, the work appeared to parody high technology. Like many of the artworks that use broadcast footage, Berkowitz alludes to mediation in broadcast news presentation and the passive armchair consumption of news as entertainment.

Video artist Mimi Smith explored the connections between television news and nuclear annihilation in This is a Test. Smith showed how trivialized news has become part of a meaninglessness background noise known as “news speak.” As in Berkowitz’ bandaged television, Smith critiqued the filtering out of information that occurs in news production. She also recreated an experience of homey television viewing for pleasure, juxtaposing it unnaturally in a museum setting with representations of nuclear destruction. To show how the presentation of “news speak” removes rather than empowers the viewer to deal with the horrible realities in the world, Smith combined drawings, artists’ books and videotapes of public performances reiterating news broadcasts (Wye, 1988, p. 66).

Peter Fend’s installation at American Fine Arts, News Room, dealt with the topic of disinformation and purposeful distortion of news. Art critic Eleanor Heartney wrote about Fend’s installation and how it represents a threat posed by control of public information:

For the “News Room” installation, the walls were lined with world maps on which red marks identified trouble spots. A bank of video monitors played clips from various news broadcasts above a long table scattered with newspaper clippings. These included information on some of Fend’s pet stories, among them the Iran-contra cover-up and Chernobyl, which suggest the news media’s collusion with government in dissembling and withholding important information.

While perhaps a trifle paranoid, Fend’s gallery installation did focus attention on the dangers to functioning democracy posed by a news establishment pulled about by the demands of ratings, advertisers, government sources and an indifferent public which places higher priority on entertainment than on information. (1990, p. 209)

As with many artworks in the “Disinformation” exhibit, Fend suggests that one of the biggest problems of the news media is that it has entered the capitalist marketplace as a commodity that must compete with other products. This view is critical of the news establishment’s reliance on advertising for income and on information provided by government sources with a vested interest in preserving public illusions.

Many of the artists in this section demonstrate in their work how the media is a tool used by the powerful to maintain access and authority to deny access to the disenfranchised. It is through parody and appropriation of these media that many artists and writers expose how individual struggles are hampered or enhanced by manipulations in the news media. If the audience is to model artists and writers to access visual culture and address their struggles, they need to go beyond becoming consumers. They need to become engaged viewers, developing and activating a visual literacy that cuts across various forms of visual culture.

News that Sells: The Need for Media Literacy

The need for education toward media literacy to offset “disinformation” and consumption of news as entertainment has been powerfully articulated by media theorist Stuart Ewen. Ewen critiqued the news coverage of the Persian Gulf war and the attempts of the Bush administration to control the images and information gathered by teams of reporters. He discussed how the Viet Nam war was the first “living room” war people could experience at home by watching television. According to
Ewen, the Bush administration blamed the loss of the Viet Nam war on the public outcry which arose as a result of the horrifying news images and resolved to prevent similar public opinion crises. In his criticism, Ewen details how coverage of the Persian Gulf crisis was carefully orchestrated and censored by the Bush administration.

In his book *All Consuming Images: The Politics of Style in Contemporary Culture*, Ewen (1984) questioned how news has entered the realm of popular culture by becoming an entertainment commodity. He analyzed how visual news presentation has been adversely affected by the stylization of broadcasters, newsroom sets, camera angles, and graphics, all designed to attract viewers and good ratings. In televised news broadcasting and printed journalism as well, "truth must be transformed into drama, a thriller, entertainment. Within such a context, the truth is defined as that which sells" (p. 265). Ewen believes the power of news to utilize new technologies in information gathering and transmission has been compromised by its increasing tendency to merge with the corporate world. While broadcast news has always required sponsorship, news has become more influential as an instantaneous force in the marketplace and through popular news magazine programming. Ewen argues that we need to teach news and media criticism to help viewers become critical consumers who demand complete coverage that is more than entertainment from news broadcasters.

**Connections Between Media Literacy and Socially Critical Art Education**

Visual art education could serve to educate critical consumers of mass media while using media studies to enhance understanding of the artistic process and its potential for social change. Beginning with Vincent Lanier's (1969) description of socially critical art education, Paul Duncum (1987) built on research of Dan Nadamer (1985) and Laura Chapman (1982) to assert that we must look at "issues of power and domination" in culture (p. 14). He used the word "interventionary" to describe art education that is neither passive nor "reactive," but that is directed at "being at the centre of social issues and ethical considerations" (p. 22). Duncum advocated a dynamic use of popular culture in the classroom, maintaining that "cultural standards are the product of argument as much as agreement" (p. 213). Here, he defined a cultural dynamic in which people not only consume but can be educated to use mass media to challenge social norms. In his 1989 article, "Clearing the decks for dominant culture: Some first principles for a contemporary art education," Duncum cited mass communications theorists such as J. W. Carey (1989) and D. McQuail (1987) to support his identified need for using mass media in art educational contexts. Referring to Carey, who suggested that mass media be studied as a site where culture is made and transformed, Duncum further argued that students are familiar with and value what he calls "dominant culture," or popular mass culture. According to Duncum, many art teachers reject popular culture as a subject for study and do not take into account the complexity of establishing boundaries between "high" and "low" artforms. He showed how the boundaries between "fine" and "popular" arts have been blurred through history (Shakespeare's plays, he pointed out, were performed for mass audiences). He advocated that to:

seek an insider's experience, with a collaborative model of production, to respect students for how they cope with the conditions imposed upon them, to acknowledge the perennial nature of dominant culture content, and to recognize the changing political and social contexts in which cultural standards are established, maintained, and revised are first principles for a socially relevant art education. Such an art education would both earn the right and possess the potential to contribute critically to the meanings, values, and beliefs students form with dominant culture. (1989, p. 214)

Duncum has set a useful precedent for advocating use of mass media in art education. He has also defined a collaborative model in empowering students to critically consume and utilize their own cultural literacy in contemporary media.
News broadcasts, available to students through TV and radio, can be used with study of contemporary art to engage in cultural criticism that draws on students' own cultural literacy. Visual artists in this paper used strategies that can be modeled by students to help them critique and change their communities. Students can first study news to critique representations of issues as far ranging as war and reproductive rights. Deconstruction can be used by students to question assumptions and to critique the effects of the news media's pairing up of images, text, and events to render "truth." Students can go on to study contemporary artists and their responses to current news sources to provide a springboard for debate and a critical framework for discussion of socially relevant issues in the classroom. Video artists dealing with news media can be used in class to study parody and caricature, and to critique the promotional techniques of telecast media operatives that create news. Like Ramos and Rosler, students can critique news presentations using video and performance to expose the social stratification that is often masked in mass culture. Students can critique other issues and explore in their own art production how representations in media reproduce a class system or other hierarchies in their own schools and communities.

The contemporary artworld is a fertile resource for engaging teachers and students in an engaged cultural criticism. Some argue that the artworld as an institution is not a valid site for cultural critique since it caters to an elite audience and is driven by the same market economy that commodifies the news. In spite of the art market, art museums and galleries are public places that school children, tourists, collectors, and senators visit. Educators can learn about and promote using galleries, museums, and other cultural institutions as laboratories for engaging students directly with meaningful art and art criticism. Today's artworld is a diverse terrain of studio art making, criticism, and activism where emphasis often shifts from the visual art object to the praxis of the artist within a political context. When students study how contemporary art reflects cultural context of the times, they can better understand the art and see how political issues are inextricably linked within their own lived experiences. Through writing and making art about political issues, students can learn how cultural expectations are learned and rewarded in nurseries and newsrooms.

Contemporary political issues are grounded in struggles that are not new, but are constant themes in art and other school subjects. Students need guidance to understand art and mass media as cultural production with embedded social and ideological dimensions. To gain such understanding, students should develop skills in dialectically approaching truth seeking, in seeing wider contexts, in making connections between seemingly unrelated events, and in telling untold stories. Critical study of news media combined with study of artists using those media provides students with strategies for criticism and eventual social transformation. Contemporary activist art and criticism can help enable teachers and students to reconstruct and defend plural, fair and progressive systems.

References


Terry Barrett (1994) Criticizing Art: Understanding the Contemporary
Mountain View: Mayfield Publication Company.
200 pages. ISBN 1-55934-147-5 (paper) $14.95

John H. White Jr.

Terry Barrett's newest contribution to critical practice, Criticizing Art: Understanding the Contemporary, Mountainview, CA: Mayfield Publishing Co. 1994, provides the fields of art criticism and art education with a much needed and long overdue practical introduction to contemporary art criticism. The boundaries within which Barrett is developing this critical mapping are marked by a receding Modernism and an emergent site constructed in relation to Postmodernism, Feminism and Multiculturalism. In this text Barrett judiciously combines two elements that less skillful authors have failed to bring together; a verbal and presentational style which is accessible to incoming undergraduate students and a diverse sampling of engaging contemporary ideas embodied in works of art and critical writing. Criticizing Art succeeds in defining a pragmatic base for critical inquiry without collapsing into reductive method.


BOOK REVIEWS

Terry Barrett (1994) Criticizing Art: Understanding the Contemporary

John H. White Jr.

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Barrett offers an invitation to his readers to join a community of people who obtain pleasure through their conversations around and about contemporary works of art. The author guides his audience into this critical community through a range of techniques that are present in all great teaching—clarity of purpose, rich examples, meaningful ideas, identifiable structures, non patronizing language, and empathy with his audience. As an experienced teacher, Barrett recognizes that to convert his readers to the value of critical conversations he must demystify the critical act. He must address our students' doubts, including their fears of the critical, the contemporary and the art world that many bring with them to this text. As an activist, Barrett hopes to change his readers' beliefs as he skillfully assures them that the critical community into which they are invited is not the alienating and competitive space that they might fear but a place for infinite fellowship, growth and pleasure.

In both the long and short runs of education, showing rather than telling makes classrooms work. For Barrett to merely tell us that criticism is not negative is by itself not a convincing strategy. Consequently to gain the readers' trust Barrett, in effect, conducts a house tour of the society of critical inquiry into which they are to be initiated. The critical structure that Barrett uses to ground this community is Morris Weitz's operational functions of description, interpretation, judgment and theory. Each of these inquiry processes forms a chapter into which we are led. The author simultaneously develops the implications of each operation in relation to specific works of art, critical passages, and theoretical connections. For example in chapter five, *Theory and Art Criticism,* we are introduced to Modernism, Postmodernism, Feminism and Multiculturalism through the art work of Sherrie Levine, The Guerrilla Girls, Richard Deagle and Victor Mendolia, Fred Wilson, and Hachivi Edgar Heap of Birds, and through the critical voices of such theorists as Arthur Danto, Philip Yenawine, Mario Cutajar, Karen Hamblen, Lucy Lippard, Harold Pearse, Hilda Hein, Kristin Congdon, Elizabeth Garber, Griselda Pollock, Michael Kimmelman, David Bailey and Douglas Crimp. Barrett's section on Feminist theory is particularly well developed.

Although Barrett uses Weitz for the structure of this text in an explicit way, he is careful to let us know that Weitz's operations are not programmatic. He is fully mindful of the problems that taxonomies in general and method in education in particular have perpetuated. Keeping this in mind, it is revealing then that it is Barrett's skillful guidance of his readers through the carefully selected quotations of contemporary art, artists, critics and art educators not Weitz's operations, that really does the work of this volume. These quotes are dense sites which refuse to be fully reduced into Weitz's operations and subsequently link most directly to the reader's own voice. Consequently Barrett reveals Weitz's categories to be markers contingent upon their usefulness as tools, not dogmatic rules or natural law.

In the last chapter, after a look at each of Weitz's operations in relation to artists, critics and art educators, Barrett again reassures us that the critical community is open to all who wish to enter through a variety of formats, including student papers, professional publications and casual conversation. In this useful appendix-as-last-chapter, Barrett provides some practical advice including two rich examples of student writing and a do-it-yourself breakdown of pitfalls and procedures. This closing reads effectively but differently than the previous chapters, much like a pedagogical book of manners or tips from a wise uncle to aid our students in their further encounters.

All texts occupy an ideological location in relation to other texts and this is no exception. For those readers that would like to see a more radical break with the traditions of Modernism, Barrett's dependence upon Weitz's categories comes across as being tied to a positivist methodology in which criticism "discovers" the "it" of its object. In contrast, those readers who seek a definitive method, Barrett's extravagant use of quotations and explicit attraction to post-structural, Feminist and Multicultural theory allow the reader a wide range of option for their own interpretive ventures. Barrett himself clearly is in sympathy with pluralist forces in culture and theory.
It is consequently interesting to note the degree to which the quotation, a device not mentioned by Weitz, is a most pervasive and persuasive element in this volume. Much of the text is comprised of quotes. Some of the text in the theory section's discussion of the work of Sherrie Levine specifically speaks of the artist's own theoretical concern with quotation. But quotation in art criticism never truly emerges from the shadows of Weitz's critical process. Critical inquiry in general and Modernism in particular are so tied to the act of framing the objects of their gaze, that quotation is perceived as a neutral act and unconnected to description, interpretation, judgment and theory. But in grounded inquiry, which shapes much of what is useful in post-structuralism, feminism and multiculturalism, it is the fore grounding of those quotations that can be identified as components of our own communal selves that locates those spaces where change might occur.

While these questions do help to reveal how Barrett's own practice pushes the boundaries of theory, for instrumental reasons they are best reserved for Barrett to resolve in a subsequent, more theoretical text. In the meantime, this volume serves as a reliable, long awaited and uniquely pleasurable introduction into critical inquiry, providing theoretical structure, rich examples and a reassuring voice for our yet-to-be-initiated students of art.

Leslie Weisman (1992)
Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press.
190 pages. ISBN 0-252-01849-6 (paper) $11.95

Joanne K. Guilfoil

The scholarship and sensibility in Weisman's Discrimination by Design are clearly inspired by but are not limited to the consciousness of the women's movement. The author unravels complex social problems and identifies power struggles involved in the building and controlling of space. She proposes a new structure for understanding the spatial dimensions of not only gender, but also race and class. Her framework is based on extensive research in settings such as the skyscraper, maternity hospital, department store, shopping mall, nuclear family house, high rise public housing, public parks and streets. She traces social and architectural histories, and documents how each setting embraces and communicates privileges and penalties of social caste. The author presents feminists' themes from a spatial perspective and introduces us to the people, policies,
architectural innovations and ideologies that are shaping a future in which all people have a place.

The introduction describes her interpretation of the spatial dimensions of feminism. Her story begins over twenty years ago when seventy-five women realized that the allocation of space was a political act and that access to space was inherently related to status and power. They took over an abandoned building owned by New York City for the purpose of creating a women's shelter. These women also knew that change in appropriation of space was fundamentally related to change in society.

However, despite these past achievements, Weisman says we understand little about the spatial dimensions of women's issues, or how knowledge of these dimensions could be used to chart the mental and physical course of struggle for human justice and social transformation. I believe we need a greater awareness of how the built environment shapes our relationships with other human beings. We all could better understand the experiences in our daily lives and the cultural assumptions in which they are immersed.

According to Weisman, the problem is most people see the built environment as somewhat neutral background for their activity. The built environment is actually an active shaper of human identity and experiences, and is not neutral or value-free.

Weisman explains how our use of space contributes to the power of some groups over others and to the continuance of human inequality. Space (the built environment) is socially constructed and spatial arrangements of buildings and communities mirror and support the nature of gender, race and class relationships in society. She defines architecture as "a record of deeds done by those who have had the power to build. It is shaped by social, political, and economic forces and values embodied in the forms themselves, the process through which they are built, and the manner in which they are used. Creating buildings involves moral choices that are subject to moral judgement" (p. 2).

The cultural conflict between designer/developer and the users is what Weisman is attempting to expose and change, through a feminist analysis of the male-made environment. Within this social context of built space, feminist criticism and activism have a key role to play. As an example of such criticism, Weisman clearly explains how the acts of building and controlling space have been male prerogatives and how our built environments reflect and maintain that reality. She also demonstrates how everyone can and must challenge and change forms and values embodied in the male-made environment, therefore supporting transformation of the sexist and racist conditions shaping our environmental experiences. Weisman addresses these concerns in five chapters, with explanations of how buildings and communities are designed and used, and how they reflect and reinforce the social places held by various members of society.

In chapter one the spatial caste system is defined as a deliberate, conscious approach to architectural design for social inequality. Terms such as "dichotomy" and "territoriality" reappear later in other chapters, but are introduced and explained here as theoretical spatial devices which have been used to construct and defend the patriarchal symbolic universe. Weisman identifies and uses several spatial terms from ordinary conversation, such as "political circles", "take place" to remind us of the framework we establish and use for thinking about the world and people in it. Less familiar terms such as "cognitive maps" (mental pictures we carry in our head of the world around) are used to illustrate how gender roles, race and class influence attitudes toward, perception of, and experiences in the environment. She concludes these discussions with the idea that women design and evaluate buildings with values and concerns to architectural form that are very different from those of men. The degree to which the reasons are biological or social raises other questions, which she says will require a greater self-knowledge and understanding of history and culture than are now offered by contemporary theories. In art education, we should continue to include the notion of architecture as a
translating social power and status and present these ideas to our youngest students.

In chapter two on public architecture and social status, Weisman discusses public and private settings. She explains how gender, economic class and related social power and status are translated into spatial organization, use and visual appearance of various settings. Large scale public buildings such as skyscrapers, department stores, shopping malls are analyzed. I wish she had included public schools, institutions of higher learning and nursing homes in her analysis of the hierarchy of oppression. I believe age of the user, as well as gender, race and class must be figured in any analysis of how social power and status are translated into spatial organization, use of space and visual appearance. The voices of our youngest and our oldest citizens often remain unheard, and they desperately need a place in this architecture of inclusion. I believe art educators should help students in preschools, public schools and nursing homes understand the use of space, spatial organization and visual appearance of the buildings they occupy, and continue to work toward change or redesign when necessary to their well being.

In chapter three Weisman talks about another kind of change, that is the private use of public space. With her examples of porno strips, skid row, and the neighborhood park, we see how these public spaces are claimed, controlled and experienced differently according to a person's social position. Young children, women and the elderly eventually learn that public streets and parks by design, belong to men. However, these vulnerable citizens do have the right of safe access to the cities in which they live. Art educators should support the development of criteria for guidelines and standards for all buildings in the city, especially humane emergency shelters and transitional housing for the homeless and permanent low cost housing. The politics of public space belongs on the art education agenda as much as it does on the feminist agenda, especially when the streets are becoming the home place for too many of our citizens.

In chapter four Weisman discusses how the social caste system, our patriarchal society, is designed to separate women and men, black and white, servant and served. We see how this plan is encoded in floor plans, image, and domestic architecture in private houses and especially in public housing. Weisman sees our public housing policy as a form of social control that supports and reinforces the patriarchal family. She says residents are heavily influenced by the power of their public landlord and by the architecture built for their rehabilitation. Residents are stripped of their privacy, choice and dignity, and as a result often feel frightened, outraged, depressed and powerless. Weisman believes that subsidized housing through its design becomes not a gift from society but a humiliating punishment for being poor.

In chapter five, Weisman redesigns the domestic landscape. She demonstrates how the dichotomization between private housing and public workplace coupled with today's diverse households have created misfits in conventional housing and neighborhoods, all due to the changing conditions of work and family life. Instead, our housing must become spatially flexible, changeable over time to accommodate household size and composition. "Spatial variety is essential for supporting household diversity" (p. 125). People will need to learn how to adapt their living space to suit their needs much like one redesigns a piece of sculpture or a stage set for a play. Weisman ends the chapter with examples of housing that works for single parents and a hint at the future — designing for diversity: the need for flexible architecture. "One of the first changes we must incorporate in socially responsible housing is spatial flexibility. Our domestic architecture should be a stage set for various human dramas. It must be demountable, reusable, multi-functional, and changeable over time" (p. 149). Weisman says "the biggest obstacle we face in developing pluralistic, flexible housing is not design, technology or even the profit motive. It is our own attitude. If we are to implement new ideas, we will just have to recognize how conceptually disadvantaged we are by the immutable social and architectural preconceptions we have about our housing and our households. Then we will have to find ways to free ourselves of the inhibitions they cause" (p. 156).
In the last chapter Weisman speculates about home places of the future and the nature of dwellings, neighborhoods, cities and workplaces. She presents two different views of the future, one whose built environment supports the development of human potential and relationships of equality, and another based on the development of technology and the perpetuation of social inequality. Weisman concludes the book by explaining the role women should play in designing a society that honors human difference and in shaping an architecture that will house those values. Art educators should also play a role in forming new attitudes that honor human difference relative to the built environment that includes developing in students an understanding of the various influences of architecture on human social behavior.

In summary, we all should read this valuable and pioneering contribution to the understanding of the socio-political issues of our time: health care, homelessness, racial justice, changing conditions of work and family, affordable housing and preservation of the environment. Weisman provides a readable and practical guide for educators, policy makers, architects, planners, and housing activists. We should add ourselves to this list, and like the others, become motivated and use our expertise to benefit women and other groups who are socially disadvantaged – by the design of our built environments.

Robert Hughes (1993)
Culture of Complaint: The Fraying of America
New York: Oxford University Press.

Patricia Amburgy

In his latest book, Culture of Complaint, Robert Hughes examines the increasingly strained relations between culture and politics in American society. Hughes argues that in contemporary society victims have become our heroes, and victims’ complaints have become a means of political power. Every group imaginable has begun to lay claim to the status of victim, even white heterosexual males. Hughes criticizes both the left and the right for this state of affairs. He criticizes the left for promoting cultural separatism and the right for promoting what he calls “monoculture,” arguing that both have significantly diminished the possibilities for an American society that is grounded in commonality as well as diversity, what is shared as well as what is different among groups. The major point of contention between the left and the right—and an issue on which they also converge in significant ways, according to Hughes—is the idea of multiculturalism.

Hughes’s analysis of current disputes over multiculturalism is mixed in quality. His book is a mixture of fresh insights and conventional reactions, thoughtful reflection as well as superficial jerks of his mental knee. Hughes is at his best in
Hughes is most convincing in passages such as this one, where he discusses multiculturalism in general terms; it is in the details that his analysis falters. An example is what he calls a “therapeutic” view of art. Throughout the book Hughes argues that in many of the current debates over multiculturalism, there is an underlying assumption that works of art are (or ought to be) therapeutic in nature. Disputes over the literary canon, the emphasis on public education in American museums, much of the political art that is currently produced by American artists, and recent attempts by conservatives such as Jesse Helms to regulate government support of such art—all reflect an assumption, according to Hughes, that art has or ought to have therapeutic effects on people. This might have been an interesting point if what Hughes refers to as the “therapeutic” effects of art were, in fact, more or less distinctively therapeutic, but they are not. As Hughes uses the term, having a “therapeutic” view of art means nothing more specific than believing, in some broad and general way, that works of art have (or should have) good effects on people. He repeatedly conflates a therapeutic conception of art with a broadly moral conception, as if believing art has (or should have) therapeutic effects on people is the same as believing art has (or should have) moral effects.

It is not. Nor is a moral conception of art as simple as Hughes makes it out to be when he characterizes “the idea that people are morally ennobled by contact with works of art” as a “pious fiction” (p. 177). Both a therapeutic and a moral conception of art are much more complex and interesting ideas than Hughes suggests in his account of them; more importantly, the social issues that turn on them are more complex as well. The superficial treatment of these and other ideas tends to function as a kind of name-calling in Hughes’s analysis. Sometimes he calls out “therapeutic” in reference to others’ views of, say, the literary canon or the work of contemporary artists, while at other times he calls out “Marxist” or “feminist” as a way of discrediting others’ views. Instead of carefully examining the diversity of others’ ideas or the full complexity of current issues, his analysis proceeds all too often by simply flinging out labels.

One of the clearest examples of this is his discussion of the 1991 exhibition The West as America at the National Museum of American Art in Washington. Although Hughes praises some aspects of the show, he notes that at the time it opened he had reservations about the “late-Marxist, lumpen-feminist diatribes” (p. 189) that characterized the catalog and the wall labels. He notes, too, that he was amazed by conservatives’ reaction to the show at the time, especially since the legendary history of the West had been under attack for years by social historians, and in that respect, the show was nothing new. He goes on to say that having weathered this conservative “murk of rightwing censoriousness,” the director of National Museum of American Art, Elizabeth Broun, “decided to do a little correcting of her own.” A month later Broun, in “a transport of political
correctness," tried to ban a work by Sol LeWitt from a show at the museum on the grounds that LeWitt's work caused viewers to look at images of a naked woman in a sexist, voyeuristic manner (p. 190). Hughes concludes by remarking on what he sees as the lesson of the two shows:

Good censorship—no, let us call it intervention-based affirmative sensitivity—is therapeutic and responds to the advantage of women and minorities. Bad censorship is what the pale penis people do to you. (p. 191)

This kind of unreflective, superficial treatment of ideas and issues is but one of the details on which Hughes's analysis falters. Another is his choice of examples. Examples of what he sees as being wrong with the contemporary artworld include the recent flurry of attention surrounding the work of Robert Mapplethorpe, someone Hughes has "never been able to think of... as a major photographer" (p. 159), and the "exhausted and literally de-moralized aestheticism" displayed in defense of Mapplethorpe's work by critics such as Janet Kardon (p. 183). Other examples of what is wrong with the artworld include two works from the last Whitney Biennial, one "a sprawling, dull piece of documentation like a school pinboard project by Group Material called Aids Timeline," the other "a work by Jessica Diamond consisting of an equals sign cancelled out with a cross, underneath which was lettered in a feeble script, 'Totally Unequal'" (p. 186) which, according to Hughes, exemplify the point that activist art is often badly made. He chooses the performances of Holly Hughes and Karen Finley as examples to show that "the abiding traits of American victim art are posturing and ineptitude" (p. 186). Turning to recent attacks on conventional conceptions of quality in art by contemporary critics and historians, Hughes selects (as "one example from a possible myriad," he says) a passage from a catalogue essay by Eunice Lipton (p. 194). He notes that "it now seems that the pseudo-heroics and biographical panting that critics like Lipton deplore in the treatment of the likes of Michelangelo or van Gogh, however repressive and hegemonic when applied to whites, are positively desirable for blacks" (p. 195), and he goes on to discuss critics' treatment of the work of Jean-Michel Basquiat as an example.

Hughes often selects the work of women, people of color, homosexuals, and members of other nondominant groups as examples when discussing what he sees as being wrong with the contemporary artworld. When it comes to what is right with the artworld, however, he often selects the work of white European males as examples or—perhaps even more telling—the work of people from nondominant groups who are working within white male European traditions or whose work has been significantly influenced by dominant traditions in some way. Hughes argues, for instance, that Homer's Odyssey continues to have meaning for contemporary readers (p. 111) and he cites Omeros by Derek Walcott (a black Carribean writer, winner of the 1992 Nobel for literature) as an example. Similarly, he selects the work of Anselm Kiefer and Christian Boltanski as examples of laudable work in the visual arts. In contrast to the "posturing and ineptitude" of much of the "victim art" exemplified by the performances of Holly Hughes and Karen Finley, Hughes describes Kiefer and Boltanski as examples of political artists "of real dignity, complexity and imaginative power" (p. 186).

Do Hughes's choices in selecting examples, his superficial name-calling at times, and other problematic details of his analysis outweigh its general merits? Other readers will decide for themselves, of course, but I did not find Culture of Complaint to be a convincing analysis of contemporary issues. Rather than analyzing current problems in art and politics, Hughes's book seems to me to exemplify many of them.
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