Artists go to school: the experiences of artists in residence.

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ARTISTS GO TO SCHOOL: THE EXPERIENCES OF ARTISTS IN RESIDENCE

A Dissertation Presented

by

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ARTISTS GO TO SCHOOL: A STUDY OF THE EXPERIENCES OF ARTISTS IN RESIDENCE

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My dissertation advisor, Dr. Arthur Eve, has guided and inspired me throughout the dissertation process. My gratitude for his support and respect is great. I am also appreciative of the insightful advice of Dr. Michael Greenebaum who encouraged me to undertake an investigation that had personal significance and to pursue an approach that was genuinely exploratory rather than simply neat and expedient. Dr. Joseph Litterer provided needed direction in shaping the study. I am grateful for his confidence in my ability and his willingness to challenge my thinking at crucial stages of the research.

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ABSTRACT

ARTISTS GO TO SCHOOL: A STUDY OF THE EXPERIENCES OF ARTISTS IN RESIDENCE

(May 1984)

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The artist-in-residence concept has grown in popularity in the last fifteen years. During the 1970s artists were employed in a variety of arts and general education programs calling for curriculum change and school reform. In programs designed to increase the impact of artists' residencies, they found new relationships to schools through teaching, curriculum development and teacher training. Little has been written about the actual experiences of artists in these kinds of programs.

This research addresses the need for a more thorough description and understanding of artists in schools and provides insights for the management of creative people in other types of organizations. A qualitative study was conducted which examined experiences of eight artists--four poets and four visual artists. Artists and twenty-three related teachers and administrators were interviewed.
A core outcome of the study is a description of the circumstances encountered by artists and their processes of adjustment to their work environments. Artists' experiences were shaped in significant ways by their professional self-definition, work history and beliefs and values. Characteristics of the settings that impacted outcomes were: the socializing forces of the schools, scope of the programs, extent to which artists were required to perform tasks beyond their art and the degree of interdependence called for among artists and teachers.

"Artist/educators" for whom teaching was a kind of a "second career" tended to be more successful in negotiating satisfactory roles than artists who saw themselves more narrowly. Administrative structures to bridge the differences between artists and teachers are crucial in reducing conflict and aiding collaboration.
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CHAPTER I
STATEMENT OF THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

Purpose of the Study

Since the creation of the National Endowment for the Arts' (NEA) Artists-in-Schools Program in 1969, professional artists have found their way into school-based programs in increasing numbers. Writers, visual artists, craftspeople and performing artists have become part of a variety of programs to advance the arts as well as ambitious schemes to change education in other ways. In 1982 alone the Artists-in-Education Program at the Endowment placed more than 3300 artists in 7,000 different sites throughout the country to work with 43,000 teachers and 1.3 million students. An estimated 20 million dollars of federal, state and local funds were spent on these artists' residencies in all 50 states. (Marks, 1982)

These numbers are modest because they do not include the many artists' residencies sponsored independently by enterprising school systems, funded by other sources and springing up in conjunction with a host of local cultural and educational programs and organizations. They also leave out the proliferation of arts programs funded during the 1970's by categorical funds under the the U. S. Office of Education title programs, the Alliance for Arts Education and by foundations like Rockefeller Brothers. (Jones, 1979)

This study was undertaken to describe the experiences, not of
short-term, two week or even three month visiting artists, but of artists-in-residence in programs of extended duration. The goal is to provide an understanding of the residency experience from the points of view of the participating artists.

Little has been written about the process of adjustment of artists, their perceptions of the roles into which they are hired and their interpretations of events as they responded to the demands of what may be ambiguously-defined jobs in a complex organizational setting. The study of artists as organizational members, albeit temporary members, is a new area of research. Several exploratory studies of artist/teachers in colleges and universities have been conducted by Risenhover and Blackburn, 1976; Bacon, 1979 and Adler, 1976. However, aside from isolated anecdotes and unpublished journals kept by artists, little systematic, descriptive material exists about artists working in elementary or secondary public schools.

The literature in the artists-in-education area typically focuses mainly on curriculum and pedagogical concerns, rather than on organizational issues. Documentary writings about artists-in-schools programs tend to be designed for public relations and fundraising, hence, they are most often laudatory and self-serving, rather than critical or descriptive. A notable exception is two books by Phillip Lopate, Being with Children (1976) and Journal of a Living Experiment (1979). Lopate was writer-in-residence in the New York Public Schools in the 1970s; he writes candidly about his personal experiences and about other artists' adjustment to jobs in schools. His accounts are
richly detailed and suggest some of the important issues which demand further exploration.

As artists' roles have been expanding in many educational settings, program advocates are arguing for longer residencies, greater impact on the educational process and more integration of the artist's services with the on-going curriculum and program. These steps require a more thorough understanding of what artists experience in schools—a story not easily told when both schools and artists are pressured to present the most positive picture possible in order to obtain or renew scarce grants. The place educational work holds in the artist's total career, how it meshes with artistic productivity, and how the many forces in both the artist and the school environment influence the outcome of programs all require examination.

A growing number of artists have become "regulars" in educational circles; these veterans help train new artists for school programs, passing on "tricks of the trade." They are a source of wisdom about how to negotiate the multiplicity of demands imposed on artists-in-residence, how to win over reluctant teachers and how to survive the sometimes-awkward conflicts that arise when schools try to integrate highly specialized, highly individualistic outsiders.

Policymakers, program planners, administrators and artists themselves could benefit from a thorough description and analysis of artist-in-residence experiences. This study is timely because of the unprecedented growth in cultural programming and artistic activity in recent years. Despite threatened cuts at the federal level, some states
have launched ambitious, new efforts to bring students and artists together. Increasingly, new bridges are being built to link arts organizations with other community enterprises creating new roles for artists in a variety of organizational settings. More insight into the dynamics of how creative individuals can adjust satisfactorily to complex organizations may aid both artists and the institutions that could ultimately benefit from their talents.

Background to the Problem

Artists-in-residence in colleges, public schools, community centers, old age homes and even in prisons have become increasingly common in the past 10 years. The concept of an artist who lives and works in a particular setting is rooted in historical patterns of patronage under which an artist would become a temporary "resident" in the court or church. The earliest recorded artist-in-residence in an educational establishment was at the University of Paris in the thirteenth century when that institution hosted a musician-in-residence (Harris, Morgenbesser, Rothchild, and Wishey, 1960, p. 38).

Today artists teaching in American colleges and universities function on a modified apprenticeship model, instructing students and serving as role models for their students. Artists began teaching in American colleges and universities after World War II when professional art schools merged with universities. Some schools went out of their way to hire prominent artists who had already established themselves in
the art world. Others took advantage of special funds to bring well-known artists to campus on a visiting basis (Risenhover and Blackburn, 1976).

Although teaching the young has never been uncommon for artists, the placement of artists in public schools to function primarily as artists is a fairly recent phenomenon. With the founding of the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) in 1967 and the creation of the Artists-in-the-Schools Program in 1969, artists began to be hired for residencies of anywhere from 2 weeks to a full year (Schiff, 1973).

As the idea grew in popularity, other public and private funding sources and program models were found. Schools experienced a dramatic growth in arts education in the 1970's. Many of the new approaches opened school doors to utilize the resources of local museums, performing arts groups as well as individual poets, painters and other artists (Jones, 1979 and Goor, 1979).

In 1981-82 the NEA reaffirmed its educational mission broadening the focus of the Artists-in-Schools Program to all types of educational institutions and changing its name to the Artists-in-Education Program (Mark, 1982).

Since its inception two central purposes of artists-in-residence programs have continued to be somewhat at odds with each other—jobs for artists and the enhancement of education (Eisner, 1978). In the standard residency in the early years of the NEA Artists-in-Residence Program, the artist would enter the school environment practicing his/her art and working with students in small groups. The audience
might be a new one for the artist who was transplanted from his or her studio to a make-shift studio in the school, but the individual's role was essentially to remain an artist and to represent the art world by talking about art and the life of the artist. Artists came to expect that all programs employing artists should be grounded in these purposes and provide for artists to spend part of their time on their own art work.

The picture shifted some during the late 1970s when the availability of categorical funds for education programs increased and school officials, art educators and parent groups began to see the broad potential in artists' residencies for improving education (Fitzer, 1979 and Goor, 1979). Arts advocates saw opportunities for increased benefits to both the schools and artists. Many spoke of an expanded role for the arts in schooling and in American life (Chapman, 1982 and Madeja, 1977).

The results of a Louis Harris poll (1975) verified the growing conviction among arts advocates that children's early experiences in the arts were essential to their future participation as practitioners of the arts, as audiences and as patrons.

With the dramatic increases in federal funds during the 1970s, new programs proliferated and employed artists in a variety of expanded, special roles. Although their formal titles may have remained artist-in-residence, they were given a variety of new responsibilities as teachers, curriculum designers, trainers of classroom teachers and "change agents" in the service of a revitalized school climate, more
creative teaching, racial integration and basic skills improvement (Goor, 1979). This was the era of "integrated arts," heralded as an approach to general education where the arts become tools for teaching other subjects from reading to mathematics. Special student populations were targeted for arts-related programs including minorities, handicapped students, the gifted and talented and the economically disadvantaged (Madeja, 1977).

Lorna Jones, writing about the growth of arts education during this period, has commented on the aggressive advocacy through which funds were "bootlegged" into diverse titles for arts-related programs (Jones, 1979, p. i.). The consequence was that artists had a role in most of the major school improvement schemes of the 1970s.

The single performance and short visit by an artist continued as the standard, but there was a trend that began in this period toward longer, more complex residencies. The notion of general school reform and organizational renewal through the arts was at its most global under the John D. Rockefeller 3rd Fund's Arts in Education Program, ambitiously called All The Arts for All the Children. Beginning in New York City in 1973, the program's mission was "to integrate the arts into the teaching learning process and thereby alter the entire climate and operation of the school" (Remer, 1982, p. 3)

Although programs varied in how they used artists, the more straightforward model of visiting artist working on his/her own work half of the time, gave way in some instances to a much more complicated role. The contributions of artists to the success of arts in education
programs were lauded in reports like the Rockefeller Panel's *Coming to Our Senses* (1977) and the Junior League's *Arts in Education Partners* (1977). However, neither publication conveys a sense of how artists were adjusting to their new roles or were effected by their involvement with complex, educational reform. There are no systematic studies that account for the problems artists typically encounter in school programs or even that distinguish between types of program models and the demands those models place on artists-in-residence.

Several prominent art educators have spoken out against expanded roles for professional artists, arguing that a gifted artist is not necessarily a skilled teacher; critics of the trend to give artists increased responsibilities in schools have claimed that ambitious, reform oriented programs may assume abilities where they do not exist (Eisner, 1978, Smith, 1980 and Chapman, 1982). These critics have emphasized the dangers of replacing professionally trained art educators with short-term artists-in-residence. Because of its eagerness to see more artists in more American schools, the Rockefeller Panel on Arts and Education was accused of attributing

almost unbelievable curative and redemptive powers to artists. It is dubious, to say the least, that art is the potent force for educational change which it is assumed to be (Smith, 1978, p. 15)

Even though evidence suggests that there are many strong successful programs and satisfied artists-in-residence (Western States Arts Foundation, 1976 and Quinn and Hanks, 1977), there are also stories of problems, conflicts and frustrations (Lopate, 1979, Gross, 1976 and Aquino, 1978).
Both research and folklore about artists suggest likely areas of tension and lead one to speculate about the limits of artists' comfortable accommodation to schools which can be complex, conservative and bureaucratic. In their review of the research on artists' personality orientation, Getzels and Csikszentmihalyi point out the contrast between the factors that are critical for artistic integrity and those necessary for harmonious interchange with the social environment.

Consider the asocial syndrome that turns up again and again as a component of the artistic personality and value system. A person whose work involves paying constant attention to idiosyncratic inner events could not do his job if he were extroverted, sociable, and moved by external norms. (Getzel and Csikszentmihaly, 1976 p. 338).

Focusing on artists as a group, on the one hand, and schools as organizations on the other, suggests some inevitable tensions. The American educational system has traditionally been the guardian of conventional values (Lortie, 1961), while the very choice of art as a career may be a rejection of the status quo, of what sociologist Mason Griff has called "a middle class ethos" (Griff, 1970, p. 75) Margaret Mead (1967, p. 137) wrote about the role of education in preserving the values of "prudence, caution, and respectability," all of which are at odds with artistic freedom and expression. Art by its very nature challenges these virtues and presses the boundaries of convention and compromise.

Although artists can obviously vary dramatically in their backgrounds, values and social skills, their independence (Barron, 1972, p.49) and strong preference for uniqueness and originality (Getzel and
Cziksztenmihaly, 1976, pp.172-174) lead one to anticipate an uneasy fit with the demands for conformity and standardization that characterize some school systems.

Much more needs to be understood about why some artists flexibly adjust to jobs in schools without experiencing a sense of personal compromise and why others are frustrated even by the demands of short-term residencies. Information about the interplay between artists and schools may shed light, not just on artists-in-residence programs, but also on the more general issue of how specialized professionals can be integrated into schools and other organizations.

Phillip Lopate, writer and artist-in-residence, has pointed to the evolution of a kind of "second career" among some artists who seek regular employment in school programs and who have come to define themselves, not as art teachers, but as artist/educators (Lopate, 1979, pp. 338-339). The phenomenon of the veteran artist-in-residence has important implications for this study. Artists who have experience, as Lopate argues, are more valuable to the schools that hire them; however, they are also more likely to assert their own demands and want greater influence in shaping their residency experiences.

Artists are likely to vary in their capacity to meet the demands that emerge in the course of a residency. Unless there are clear guidelines at the outset, negotiating a satisfactory role must be left to the artist. Information on this process of negotiation and adjustment is difficult to find. Tales of conflict and frustration seem only to surface in the occasional publication and among artists'
networks where stories are exchanged. John Aquino in his study of artists as teachers (1978, pp. 21-28) cited several cases where programs of extended duration were characterized by conflicts. Lopate documents the complexity of problems in both his books (1976 and 1979). The higher the stakes for the school, the more complex the expectations for of artists, the more conflict seemed to surface.

Kahn, Wolfe, Quinn, Snoek and Rosenthal (1964) have written that conflicts are more common in situations where a position is not well defined but where it relies for its success on other groups or individuals in the system. Conflicting expectations about how a person should function, along with ambiguity, can create conflicts both between individuals or inside an individual who may find him/herself called upon to function in ways inconsistent with professional or personal values (Kahn, et. al., 1964, p. 125).

Artists' reports suggest that tensions may be heightened in educational programs employing groups of artists (Lopate, 1976, p. 339). While the artists provide a support system of similar specialists, like any specialized subgroup, they may rely too much on each other and isolate themselves from those who are harder to work with because they may view the world differently (Miles, 1973, p. 317). The response to conflict in these situations is failure to cultivate the linkages that will make artist-groups effective among teachers in the system.

Kornhauser (1962) and Pelz and Andrews (1976) have written about the challenges of integrating highly specialized professionals into
organizations where they have to work with groups possessing different values and work styles. Like creative scientists, artists are likely to be influenced, not just by their individual perspectives, but also by their professional identification. How artists are linked into their schools and how their collaborative relationships are managed are critical factors in making the most effective use of their special skills. For schools, the integration of their artists-in-residence is a challenge with important consequences for program outcomes.

Methodology of the Study

The purpose of this investigation—to describe and understand the experiences of artists in school settings—calls for a research methodology that respects the interconnectedness of elements and phenomena. Looking at individuals, at settings and at the exchange between the two, the researcher has sought patterns in the detailed statements of individuals. Personal perceptions and descriptions of events were gathered through interviews and considered in their full complexity and interdependence.

A qualitative approach was selected because it allows for the examination of complex, social phenomena. Schwartz and Jacobs state the objective of this kind of the research as attempting to "see the world as subjects see it" (Schwartz, 1979, pp. 7-8). This aim could not be satisfactorily met by a survey or other quantitative device. Personal statements are the best source of detailed description and
perceptions of past events. The kind of information sought is, by its very nature, descriptive, anecdotal and ranging across many subjects.

Hence, two major qualitative research tools are employed in this study: intensive interviews and the examination of written documents. Sources are divided into two groups: artists and school personnel with whom the artists worked. The first group includes four writers and four visual artists while the second group includes 23 school and program administrators, teachers, and art specialists from four separate program settings.

**Design of the Study**

The intensive interview, as described by Patton (1980, p.152) and Bogdan and Taylor (1975, p. 4), was selected as the primary means of collecting information for this study. An interview guide was developed for each group structured around focusing questions central to the main thrust of the research. The guide was designed to assure that the same general topics would be addressed in each interview, while allowing flexibility to pursue potentially significant additional areas of interest with each subject.

Formal written documents, the second intended source of information, turned out to be somewhat less useful than was initially hoped. Program documents, memos, letters, proposals, reports and meeting notes, etc., were minimally useful as corroboration for information gathered in interviews. It became evident that much of the
"paper trail" left by publicly funded programs like those represented in this study are not particularly useful in understanding the processes and events of the program.

Of substantially greater interest for the purposes of this study were personal documents, diaries, logs, journals kept by artists and program administrators. These more frequently contained the kinds of intimate, uncontrived reflections which disclosed spontaneous reactions to events or attempts to come to terms with circumstances encountered in the course of the job.

Selection of Subjects

Two groups of subjects were selected for participation in the study. Artists and individuals in the school or program who interacted with each artist were interviewed. Because the relevant information for understanding the experience of artists-in-schools, is resident in people and in their perceptions of social events, both groups were deemed appropriate and necessary sources.

First, four poets and four visual artists were selected based on the following criteria and assumptions:

1. Artists were sought who had served in a residency position for an extended period of time ranging from six months to four years. All residencies were longer than the standard artist's visit of two weeks to three months in one school.

2. Four visual artists and four writers were selected in order to explore the importance of the artist's artistic discipline for adjustment to residency positions.

3. Artists were selected who had continued to be active producers of their own art despite their work in schools. Each had published or exhibited recent work.
4. Artists were drawn from four different program settings in elementary and middle schools ranging from urban to rural communities in three New England states.

The second group of subjects were twenty-three teachers, program administrators, principals, curriculum specialists, and others with whom an artist worked. These individuals were located by using a "mapping" technique described by Schatzman and Strauss (1973). Mapping is a tool to help the researcher gain "a working conception of the relevant dimensions of the site" and to locate appropriate "classes of things, persons, and events which inhabit these locales" (Schatzman and Strauss, 1973, p. 34).

Interviews and Focusing Questions

These focusing questions provided the basis for the choice of a methodology, design of the study and collection of information. They were set out at the beginning of the study to circumscribe the area under consideration and to develop an interview guide for both groups of subjects.

1. What actually occurs in complex, long-term artists-in-residence programs? How do artists regard these experiences?

2. What expectations did the various parties--artists, program developers, managers and teachers--have of each other? How did these change over time? How were they communicated?

3. Why are some artists seen as successful and others not? What does success mean for an artist in residence?

4. What is the relationship between the artist's values, beliefs, training and professional self-image and outcomes of the residency experience?
5. What is the nature of the process of an artist's adjustment to a job in a particular setting?

6. What conflicts arise? To what are conflicts attributable and how do artists and key school personnel respond to these conflicts?

7. What are the important considerations in planning and managing successful artist-in-residence programs?

**Interpretation and Presentation of Findings**

In this type of study descriptive detail is the key outcome. The decision to present a sampling of the results of interviews and document review in the form of a case description reflects a commitment to presenting evidence in its fullest complexity rather than as fragmented conclusions. It is also important that the reader have an opportunity to experience something close to "raw data" in order to understand the researcher's subsequent commentary and to appreciate the interconnection of elements even as they are interpreted separately. Therefore, Chapter V contains a detailed case describing the experiences and perceptions of two artists-in-residence in one program.

Conceptual categories that govern the presentation of additional descriptions of artists and their settings in Chapter V are drawn from the Case Study. These form the basis for interpretation of evidence in Chapter VI and for the formulation of speculative propositions in the final chapter.

Interpretation of evidence in this study relies on no single theoretical orientation or body of thought. Instead, concepts from
social psychology, sociology and organizational theory are employed to illuminate important themes that emerge from the research evidence. Artists' experiences are examined in relationship to notions about professional identity and self-image, role and intergroup conflict and organizational socialization.

As an exploratory study in a new research area, the results of this study are twofold: a richer, clearer description of a complex phenomenon and a set of insights that further define and focus the research territory by pointing to important issues and dimensions for further examination. Because the study does not fall within a previously defined field with its own body of background research, it is deliberately broad in focus and relies on a relatively small sample of artists whose experiences have been explored in depth. The final section of Chapter VII outlines a set of summary propositions about the interchange between artists and their work settings and specifies implications of the study for future research and for program design and management.
The burgeoning of publicly funded programs in the arts can be traced to the formation of the Arts and Humanities Program in the U. S. Office of Education in 1963. John Kennedy was the first President since Thomas Jefferson to argue for a national policy on the arts and education. Kathryn Bloom, the first director of the Arts and Humanities Program, became special advisor to Commissioner of Education Francis Keppel and represented the Office of Education in collaboration with the National Endowments for the Arts and Humanities when they were created in 1965.

Funds became available for other arts programs through the passage of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act in 1965, creating programs under Title I (disadvantaged education) and Titles III and IV (innovation and exemplary models) (Murphy and Jones, 1976, pp. 1-5) and (Eddy, 1970, p. 1).

In 1969 the Artists-in-the-Schools Program came into being supported jointly by the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) and the Office of Education. Building on the success of a program placing poets in schools under the auspices of the Endowment's Literature Program, the Artists-in-the-Schools Program was funded by $100,000,000 from the NEA and $45,000,000 from the Office of Education. It began as
a "pilot" in six states with the Endowment's investment viewed as "advocacy or seed money for a concept whose nationwide acceptance would eventually generate the substantial funds necessary to place artists in a majority of the schools in this country" (Bloom, 1977, p. 10.)

The new attention to the arts were in some ways the by-product of a reassessment following Sputnik and a renewed emphasis on science education. The Panel on Educational Research and Development, chaired by Jerrold R. Zacharias, an M.I.T. physicist and musician, was organized to propose new directions for education. Released in 1964, the results of the panel's three year study, *Innovation and Experiment in Education*, pointed to a serious "lack of balance in Federal assistance to the arts as compared to science" (Murphy and Jones, 1976, p. 3). The implication that education in the arts was related to the quality of education necessary for generalized creativity and technological advances was a theme that had marked other important moments in the history of art education in America (Whitfield, 1975, p. 20).

It is difficult to trace the many influences and precise contributions of individuals and special interests involved in this important period of growth in arts education. However, some patterns of initiative and emphasis are implicit in the presence or absence of various forces.

Herbert Kohl, an originator of Teachers and Writers Collaborative, remembers the direction represented by Zacharias and his Panel on
Educational Research and Development thus:

They were all working at the time in the Offices of Science and Technology. They were scientific advisors to the President and part of the executive offices of the White House. So they were directly responsible to the President, L.B.J. ... It's very important to realize that they were opposite the Office of Education bureaucracy... the Kennedy people were involved in the conferences, but the old psychological-behaviorist-oriented school people, and the old bureaucratic school administrators, were not part of the process (Lopate, 1979, p. 21).

The growing influence of artists and their public policy advocates on the national level brought a mixed response from public school educators in the many conferences and planning efforts that characterized the late 60's (Murphy and Jones, 1976, pp. 34-36). Tensions between educators in the National Arts Education Association and the National Music Educators Association and the professional arts community are foreshadowed in these deliberations. They represent the beginning of a debate about who should instruct the young in the arts, a debate that extends into the 1980s (Smith, 1980, p. 8).

Despite some philosophical differences within their ranks, the growing networks of educators, artists, and cultural advisors found ways to channel vast sums of money to arts programs from many sources. Besides ESEA Title I and III, categorical money found its way into arts related programming from Gifted and Talented Programs, Magnet School Programs, and Emergency School Aid Act, Education for the Handicapped and later from The Comprehensive Education and Training Act (CETA) (Jones, 1979, pp. 1-8).

As programs proliferated, more of them turned to professional artists and to cultural organizations for expertise and innovative ways
of teaching the arts (Murphy and Jones, 1976, p. 35). One such model was the ambitious plan of the John D. Rockefeller 3rd Fund—to design and implement comprehensive arts in education programs—which brought together educators, artists, and cultural resources in several communities under the League of Cities for Arts in Education and the Ad Hoc Coalition of States for the Arts in Education (Bloom, 1977, p. 13).

The professional art and music educators were critical of major conferences issuing recommendations on arts education with no arts educators in attendance (Murphy and Jones, 1976, p. 35). But perhaps the most visible event in the growth of arts in education was the convening of a national study panel by the American Council for the Arts in Education chaired by David Rockefeller, Jr.. While an impressive array of experts served on the panel, leaders of the professional associations of art and music educators were resentful of the relatively minor voice they they were given. The strong bias of the panel for bringing more artists into schools drew criticism from art educators. They took particular exception to the emphasis on the arts as "tools for learning", as motivators rather than as valid and unique disciplines to be taught by highly trained educational specialists. They questioned the capacity of most artists to deliver the systematic, sequential instruction arts educators are trained to deliver (Smith, 1978, p. 15 and Chapman, 1978, p. 5).

The final report of the Rockefeller panel Coming to our Senses was widely circulated and quoted by arts advocates across the country. It was the most comprehensive compilation to date of the ways the arts can
benefit young learners and made sweeping recommendations for new links between the arts community—artists, arts centers and museums—and schools (Quinn and Hanks, 1977). The report was hailed by Ralph Smith, spokesman for art educators around the country, as "a case of the political tail wagging the pedagogical dog" (Smith, 1978, p. 15). Smith and other art educators defended their professional territory from encroachment by a growing force of politically minded cultural advocates, claiming that the report did not "represent fairly the current practices, needs, aspirations and priorities of professionals in art education" (Chapman, 1978, p. 5).

Although a new awareness of the potential of the arts to contribute to general education and the school milieu forced some reassessment within the arts education professions, there was a sense of threat in the zeal for "real" artists and the encroachment of a growing force of extra-school instructors of the arts (Smith, 1980, pp. 8-10). Conflicts over goals and strategies have played themselves out at the national level and in individual programs, schools, and classrooms. While many harmonious collaborations have been documented, differences between educators and artists are often aggravated by broad agendas for reform embedded in many artists' programs. Often the arts and artists are seen as a wedge for far reaching school change. At both the national and local levels the arts and artists have increasingly been seen as catalysts for changes in curriculum, classroom process, and school climate. Resistance is frequently directed at artists-in-residence who have unknowingly become part of
efforts to make changes or who have their own change missions and reasons for feeling that the schools should be doing things differently.

For many the very notion of the artist-in-the-schools calls forth visions of individualistic, rebels challenging the status quo and encountering the tradition-bound bureaucracy intractable to change (Lopate, 1979, p. 21). Although this view may be overly dramatic, an examination of the artistic personality provides some insight into the potential mismatch between artists and schools.

The Artist

The public has long held the view that artists are a special type, different from other people. Two books chronicle the not uncommon literary view of the artist as magician, mystic, and madman. Ernst Kris and Otto Kurz's *Legend, Myth, and Magic in the Image of the Artist*, (1979) and the scholarly study *Born Under Saturn, the Character and Conduct of Artists*, (1963) by Rudolf and Margot Witthower. Both draw from literary and historical accounts and from aesthetic theory and biography to describe the mystery and ambivalence surrounding the person of the artist. Literary analysis, like Maurice Beebe's *Ivory Towers and Sacred Founts: the Artist as Hero in Fiction from Goethe to Joyce*, (1964) point to a set of assumptions about artists' alienation and unique vantage on society that still influence present day
attitudes. In modern day America we are heirs to both the Romantic heroization of artists and a Calvinistic notion that the arts are frivolous and artists outside social conventions (Cheatwood, 1979, p. 25).

Early medical and psychological studies of the creative personality reinforced the commonly held belief that genius and insanity were closely related. In the late nineteenth century Cesare Lombroso, an Italian psychiatrist, released an intensive biographical study of artists and "other genuises," tracing creative genius to various physical and psychological afflictions (Lombroso, 1895).

Freud and his followers have been particularly influential in both our understanding of artists and of creative process. Freud examined the artistic products of his patients and made detailed studies of Leonardo Da Vinci and Dostoevsky (Rothenberg, 1979). Artists, Freud believed, have great "flexibility of repression" and easier access to a dream-like state he labeled "primary process" thinking. It was post-Freudian psychologists who emphasized the similarities between psychosis and creativity (Rothenberg, 1979, p. 48).

Frank Barron and his colleagues at the Institute of Personality Assessment and Research were among the first researchers to apply modern psychometrics to artists. Barron and MacKinnon studied writers and architects in an attempt to define the psychology of the creative artist and characterize a personality "type" (Barron, 1958, p. 9).

The profile that emerges in these studies is of a highly individualistic, competent, and independent person. The writers Barron
studied showed a high degree of personal effectiveness. They are able to "achieve through independent effort as opposed to achievement through conformance." (Barron, 1969, 29). MacKinnon studied creative individuals in the arts and also in business and the sciences, describing them as: self-confident, flexible, self-accepting, and having less regard for social restraints or the opinions of others than their counterparts in other professions (Taylor, 1975, p. 15).

Distinguishing artists from creative people in other fields, MacKinnon found research scientists, engineers, and business managers to be "judging types" as compared to writers and architects who are "perceptive types" (Guilford, 1975, p. 47). The judging-perceptive typology is adapted from Jung and reflects preferences for a general mode of knowing and experiencing the world. In MacKinnon's terms:

the judging type places more emphasis upon the control and regulation of experience while the perceptive type is more open and receptive of all experience (Guilford, 1975, p. 47).

The independence of the creative artist and relative unwillingness to be controlled by convention or social environment is a reoccurring theme in psychological studies and descriptions. Barron examined this feature directly in group studies finding artists remarkably independent of social pressure (Barron, 1958, pp. 8-11).

Robert Burkhart, in a study of student artists, pointed to two personality types, the "spontaneous" and the "deliberate". Spontaneous students were the more creative students in his sample. They were consistently more imaginative and inner-directed but open to advice. In contrast, the deliberates were more outer-directed and, though
technically skilled in their art, more conventional and influenced by the standards of the community and their instructors (Getzels and Csikszentmihalyi, 1976, p. 5).

Irving Taylor (1975, pp. 8-15) has pointed to the desire of creative people to want to shape or design their environment and to resist being influenced or controlled by it. Torrance, Getzel, and Jackson (Getzels and Csikszentmihalyi, 1976, p. 5) all concur in the preference of creative people for objects and ideas over social acceptance and for novelty over convention.

Barron's *Artists in the Making* (1972), a study of students at the College of the San Francisco Art Institute and conducted over a ten year period describes a remarkable consistent profile for the art students who were:

notably independent and unconventional, vivid in gesture and expression, rather complex psychodynamically but with emphasis upon openness, spontaneity, and whimsicality rather than neurotic complicatedness. They are very much like other artists--including musicians and writers--in their interest patterns and in their aesthetic preferences (Barron, 1972, 49).

Getzels and Czikszentmihalyi administered the Allport-Vernon-Lindzey Study of Values to the student artists in their longitudinal study of creativity. They found a strong correspondence between the values of their group and those of adult architects and writers studied by Barron and MacKinnon. The students valued the "aesthetic" and "theoretic" dimensions over "economic" or "social" values. On the importance of this values orientation of the artist, the researchers said:

The value system of artists is a pivotal aspect of their
personality. It is tempting to say that the strength of their value commitments, already well formed for these students, is more important than their cognitive characteristics—especially if by the latter we mean only standard intelligence. The value profile reflects their will to achieve aesthetic goals; how strongly they are prepared to hold them may determine whether they will survive the severe pressures that eliminate all but a few from the approaches to a creative career (Getzels and Czikszentmihalyi, 1976, p. 38).

In contrast to other student groups, the student artists in Getzels and Czikszentmihalyi's study were consistently more "serious, introspective, independent, and unconventional".

**Career Recruitment and Professional Identity**

To be able to describe the artist and generalize about artists as a group, it is important to look both at who becomes an artist (recruitment) and how these individuals differ from others and also at the social forces and subtle influences that a professional group exercises over its members (professionalization).

Sociologists Milton Albrecht (1970) and Mason Griff (1964) have written extensively about the need to study artists within their social fabric and professional networks. Albrecht's notion of art as an "institution" that includes dynamics between social setting, artist, and art object is an important one (Albrecht, 1970, pp. 7-8). Griff's work on recruitment developed at the Chicago Art Institute and published in the 1960s, while of questionable applicability to today's art students 20 years later, does suggest two notions with relevance to artists in new job positions in public education. Griff found that
many of the students he studied started out in their careers with a challenge to significant authority figures—their parents—by their very choice to pursue a career as an artist. According to Griff's analysis:

Many art students originate in the middle class, whose ethos is the antithesis of the ethos of the fine artist. Middle-class ideology revolves around conformity, respectability, practicality, and security. . . Those students who refuse to alter their goals often create a crisis within their families (Griff, p. 80).

Griff's point is particularly important in light of the similarities between the values of the middle-class family and those of public schools. In addition, Griff found that many student artists had been treated ambivalently by teachers in their elementary schools. While the influence of teachers is great in internalizing a sense of one's self as an "artist", many teachers (not including art specialists, who have a different relationship with the emerging artist) may have treated the creative student with suspicion. Teachers may define the student as "a deviant from society; and deviancy is one form of behavior which is avoided within an educational institution" (Griff, p. 74).

Carol Pierson Ryser (1976, p. 118) studied student dancers who are an extreme case among dedicated young artists. Dancers have made career choices based on a heightened sense of dedication and commitment. Their active artistic period is typically shorter than that of a painter, musician, or actor but equally unrewarding economically. Ryser discovered that the dancers in her sample all felt estranged from their peers and had been particularly unhappy in school.
They viewed middle class values and life style with disdain and consistently admitted their expectation that their life's work would never be respected or understood by the society at large.

Professional identity for the poet or fiction writer differs from that of the painter or performing artist who attends art school and who receives special socialization through exposure to mature artist/teachers. The process for writers is a more informal one according to Robert Wilson, whose essay "The Poet in American Society" (1964) gives some insights into the forces that bring people to think of themselves as poets.

Literature as experience is the major force attracting recruits to the poetic role: they read, are astonished, and determined to create for themselves. . .The power of the poetic tradition is of course reinforced by the presence of some few mentors and colleagues, themselves sharers of the verbal heritage and partners in the creative enterprise (Wilson, 1964, pp. 24-25).

Sociologists have been especially interested in the artist's marginal role in society. In particular, The Outsiders, (1970) Howard Becker's study of jazz musicians, is a field study and analysis of group norms enforced through a "colleague code" which serves to set the group off from others. Becker labels the musicians as deviants making it clear that "social groups create deviance by making the rules whose infraction constitute deviance" (Becker, pp. 7-8). Becker's description is rich and provocative in demonstrating the group's patterns of isolation and self-segregation. Another researcher has generalized this phenomenon to all artists, calling the artist an "institutionalized stranger" in American society (Cheatwood, 1979, p. 25).
The artist's independence and solitude is a recurring theme in the literature on artists and their place in the society. Wilson writes that the isolation necessary for the creative process is often confused with deliberate withdrawal and alienation from the social context (Wilson, 1964, pp. 3-5). Two related dynamics are at work in this confusion. First, the enterprise of making art depends on solitude. The sense of alienation may come about because artists, like those in Griff's (1964) and Barron's (1969) studies carry with them an expectation that they will never be understood by the general public and that only another artist can really understand them.

In their study of painters and other visual artists, Rosenberg and Fliegel (1970) analyzed the multiple publics with whom an artist deals. They found that artists tend to differentiate their multiple publics into: friends, buyers and collectors, and viewers and critics. Friends, who are most often fellow-artists, "are the only segment more or less free of conflict" (Rosenberg and Fliegel, 1970, p. 501). The artists in the study resented having to explain their work to buyers, collectors, and viewers. Tension is heightened by dependence for rewards on publics of which the artist is often contemptuous. While artist friends may be critical, their attention is perceived to be informed and enlightened.

The phenomenon of a community of individuals who define themselves as artists, associate with each other, and reinforce a system of attitudes and behaviors, is historically documented (Neil Harris, 1982, pp. 312-316) and its significance described by Albrecht (1970) and
Becker (1982). The notion of an institutionalized system is critical in understanding how artists perceive themselves and are influenced by their definition as artists. This becomes increasingly important as artists find new positions in the society where they span boundaries within the art world itself and provide bridges between the arts and other segments of the society (Brooks and Riemer, 1977).

As attempts to reach new publics and to deliberately extend boundaries, artists-in-residence programs have changed the sphere of influence on artists as well as providing new settings for artists' work.

A Comparison of Fine Artists, Arts Educators, and Commercial Artists

As artists encounter new job settings it is informative to understand the distinctions among those who occupy roles in the various arts fields. Strauss (1970) found that training, particularly attending art school, can serve as a powerful socializing force directing individuals into various, related professional roles. A sorting process takes place through which students find their way into the careers that make up the general world of the arts and through which the subtle distinctions between neighboring careers become a part of the self-image and thinking of individuals.

Griff found that many students, who ultimately chose commercial art careers, tended to "see art as a utilitarian product" for use in serving a specific purpose. These individuals reject the traditional
role of the artist, citing many reasons why the role is not a viable one for them.

Their rationalization for working in the commercial field is that the normative standards of contemporary society preclude any economically feasible alternative (Griff, 1964, p. 155).

By contrast, the career artist holds that art "involves the search for truth" and the decision to become an artist is to commit one's self to the search for and exploration of aesthetic meaning. Arts education majors, on the other hand, reflected strong social values and saw themselves as artists with a commitment to active involvement with others in an attempt to elevate standards and taste and spread aesthetic knowledge to the general public. (Griff, p. 156).

A recent doctoral study extends Griff's comparisons by contrasting profiles of adult commercial artists and established "fine artists" including painters and sculptors (Hill, 1980). The results of a series of personality profile tests showed that the fine artists differed greatly from the commercial artists. The commercial artists were consistently more practical, more social, more group-dependent, and emotionally stable than the fine artists. The fine artists were more original, experimental, assertive, and better abstract thinkers (Hill, 1980, pp. 33-35).

The foregoing studies suggest a pattern of personality characteristics, values and personal beliefs which may be expected to effect artists' adjustment to new roles. The picture of the artist that emerges from these studies is one of individualism, independence and self-reliance. Resisting convention and social pressure and
favoring novelty and innovation, artists might be expected to resist strong socializing pressures and not easily conform to organizational norms of schools. While a stormy adjustment to schools' demands is not guaranteed, a look at the artist subgroup suggests independence rather than organizational loyalty. Finally, artists can be expected to have a strong sense of professional commitment and identification with their career choice.

Social Critic and Educational Reformer

Historically, artists have had an active stake in the reform of schools and have contributed to current practice and theory of how to teach the arts. Several of the most influential progressive educators of the twenties came out of the community of artists living and working in New York's Greenwich Village. Martha Graham, Isadora Duncan, John Marin, and Alfred Stieglitz all espoused reformist ideas about education.

The rise of expressionism in art contributed to discussions about the appropriate learning environment for the creative process. An entire generation of artist-teachers including Hughes Mearns, Lucy Sprague, Willy Levin, and Florence Cane started or staffed progressive schools in which the arts were central. Many of the standard practices in art education today owe their origins to these artists and progressive educators (Cremin, 1964, pp. 204-207).

Like their predecessors in the 1920s, subsequent groups of artists
have been motivated both by their concern for how children learn the arts and their conviction that the schools embody and perpetuate the evils of society. Phillip Lopate, in his documentary history of the Teachers and Writers Collaborative, describes the relationship between political activism, artistic expression, and educational reform that accompanied the birth of the poets-in-the-schools program. The minutes of a planning conference at Columbia that led to the formation of Teachers and Writers Collaborative reflect the sentiments of many who saw poets-in-the-schools as subversives and guerrilla fighters reforming education.

If the state of things is as rotten as it seems, then writers must burrow into the educational structure from the top or the bottom and see what we can do. Writers have maintained various cells in the structure before: some have taught school to earn a living; others have taught prestigious writing courses to tiny college elites. But in the present situation many writers want to know how they can do more, how they can work more directly to change the nature of education in language all through the structure (Lopate, 1979, pp. 18-19).

One of the first such programs and a model for other artists-in-the-schools programs, Teachers and Writers was viewed by some policy makers as "a kind of Peace Corps for young writers (Lopate, p. 16). The efforts of young, rising artists to break with literary tradition and get away from the academic strictures of the past were bound up with social change. Like the earlier generation of artists and progressive educators, who fought for the acceptance of expressionism in American art, the poets of the late 60's and early 70's were struggling to supplant:

the ornate diction and ethical posturing of the so-called academic poets, who had commanded most of the public attention in the 1940's
and 1950's (Lopate, 104).

In its place contemporary poets wanted a "plainer diction, understatement, anecdote—a recovery of what William Carlos Williams called 'true American speech'" (Lopate p. 104).

These poets had a special affinity for children's language which they saw as admirably blunt, direct, and expressive of everyday experience. In classrooms their goals were in direct conflict with those of the schools because, as Lopate points out:

the values which had been traditionally rewarded in classrooms were orderly exposition, logical progression, correct grammar and spelling, neatness, length and wholesome attitudes. By contrast, the first writers going into schools favored the jagged, the harsh, the surrealistic, the poetically disjunctive, the visceral, talky vivid, possibly anti-social point of view. The new standard called for was "authenticity of voice"--honesty, immediacy, and freshness (Lopate, 101).

Lopate also speculates that writers and teachers are inevitably in conflict because of the differences in their respective views of language. Writers see language as dynamic and changing. They are constantly pushing against its limitations, opening up new possibilities, exploring its boundaries. Teachers, on the other hand, are trained to think of themselves as the preservers of a fixed tradition. Their job is to teach an acceptable code. Because mastering the code is so intimately bound up with the school's job of socializing the young, as Lopate explains, the stakes are high for teachers and for the poet reformers. The early days of the Teachers and Writers program was very much a product of the times, beginning in a period of rebellion and reform. Its first director, Herbert Kohl spoke of his motives motives this way:
My conviction was, this was gonna be the way to sneak in and get back at those bastards in the school system, and to really organize in a community, and let grow and flower what happens with kids (Lopate, p. 27).

The Teachers and Writers Collaborative continues to be a leader among poets-in-the-schools programs, providing experience and expertise through programs and publications. Its fifteen year history is marked by many successful residencies as well as by stormy conflicts. Lopate's story documents a phenomenon not uncommon in artists' programs before and after. As a specialized subgroup, artists bring to schools values and beliefs that often differ from prevailing norms. These differences along with reform goals on the part of the visiting artists have resulted in resist and threatened educators. The conflicts, because they are value based, are not easily overcome. On the other hand, individual artists, like Lopate have had remarkable success in winning the trust of teachers and enriching the educational experience of children. Other artist-reformers have left their mark on art education through their advocacy and example.

The Artist and the Educational Institution

The historical basis for the artist-in-residence role is a tradition of education in the arts in which artists taught the arts in craft guilds and later oversaw apprentices in academies. The apprenticeship model of learning about the arts was the dominant mode of studio education and the pedagogy of European art academies where American painters received their training in the first half of the
The arts first found their way into colleges and universities as practical tools necessary for industrial development. Normal schools and land grant colleges had courses in the applied arts, technical drawing, and how to teach drawing. The elite, eastern colleges tolerated historical and theoretical studies before they accepted studio courses in the arts (Risenhoover and Blackburn, p. 9).

The University of Wisconsin employed John Steurt Curry in the 1930's. Records show that he was probably the first artist-in-residence at an American university. The G. I. Bill and the absorbing of professional art schools into state universities brought artists into teaching positions in large numbers during the 1950s (Risenhoover and Blackburn, pp. 3-9). The argument for artist teachers was that:

We need scholars in a university because students are given their best chance if they learn philosophy from philosophers, sociology from sociologists, and biology from biologists, not from historians and appreciators of philosophy, sociology, and biology so they have their most real introduction to the arts from artists, not from historians or appreciators of the arts (Smith, 1963, p. 69)

A similar argument was made in the 1960s and 1970s to explain the importance of artists' contributions to public education (Quinn and Hanks, 1977, p. 155).

Artists themselves were among the earliest and most vocal advocates for art as a legitimate part of the education of all children. Rembrandt Peale, of the influential family of Philadelphia artists, tried to persuade school officials to let him contribute his
time to the city's elementary schools to introduce drawing into the
curriculum (Haney, 1918, p. 23). While his direct efforts were
thwarted, he later succeeded in producing materials describing his
approach to teaching drawing. By 1840, the Peale program had been
adopted in Cleveland, Baltimore and other large districts marking a
significant improvement over the copybook approach that dominated art
instruction at that time.

Other artist reformers helped to popularize the idea of the child
as a "born artist" who needed opportunities for self-expression and the
freedom to experiment with materials. Progressive educators and
theorists turned to practicing artists like Peppino Mangravite, a
painter and head of the Ethical Culture School in the 1920s, who
criticized the art instruction offered by the typical art teacher.
"The made to order teacher depends upon standardized methods rather
than upon his own sensibilities. No one but an artist has the delicate
intuition to sense what another person is trying to express"
(Mangravite, 1923, p. 33). During the early part of this century,
artists like Mangravite, Florance Cane, and others helped shape modern
pedagogy in the arts by their observations how children create. Cane's
book The Artist in Each of Us (1951) was influential in progressive
schools which were laboratories for activity centered learning and
other programs based on learning by doing (Cane, p. 41).

Conflicts for the Artist-in-the-Schools
The incompatibility of the artist and the educational institution and the roles of artist and teacher have been the subject of anecdote, description, and of limited research (Aquino, 1978, p. 1). Henry Wadsworth Longfellow was reported to have written the following in a letter to a friend while serving as a teacher at Bowdoin College:

I do not believe that I was born for such a lot. I have aimed higher than this; and I cannot believe that all my aspirations are to terminate in the drudgery of a situation which gives me no opportunity to distinguish myself, and in point of worldly gain does not even pay for my labor (Aquino, p. 7).

In his lectures "The Shape of Content" Ben Shahn (1974) summarized the often-expressed complaints of artists teaching in colleges and universities.

1. The adolescent population of the colleges are an unsophisticated audience for the artists' work and instruction.
2. The bureaucratic structures of the university, with its inflexibility, schedules, and assigned duties, is burdensome.
3. The financial security of a salaried position is a mixed blessing for the artist because it tends to pull one out of touch with the mainstream of artists (Sennett, 1974, p. 217).

Although the college faculty artists may feel fortunate to be earning their living by work that is at least related to their art form, it has been suggested that ambivalence about earnings and some residue of the old notion that the true artist must suffer contribute to disaffection. Writing on this subject in Daedalus (1974), Richard Sennett claims that discontent comes from the fact that few artists can actually make a living from their work; the university has appeared to be a haven for the artist away from the demands of the market place and the needs for self promotion. Judith Adler (1976) studied artists in
college art departments, finding that salary scales in the arts are often low, contributing to the sense that artists occupy a marginal status relative to the other professions and that market values still prevail even within the university (Adler, 1976, pp. 46-50).

Assuming an unhappy fit between the artist and the university, Morris Risenhoover (1973) undertook a study to determine precise points of tension between the demands of the teaching role and those of being an artist. His findings were "strongly at odds" with the prevailing assumptions about the problems of the artist in faculty positions. While he found "minor distaste" for involvement in faculty governance and an occasional "lack of sympathetic relations with faculty colleagues", in general, artist/teachers were satisfied with their roles and experienced no greater frustration than their colleagues in other academic disciplines (Risenhoover, 1973 and Risenhoover and Blackburn, 1976, p. 10).

Another study using role theory looked for areas of conflict and accord among the several roles faculty artists play. Janet Bacon (1979) found that the kind of art form made a difference in the degree and kinds of role conflict experienced by artists teaching at the University of Pennsylvania. She distinguished three academic roles--teacher, researcher, and faculty member--each having its own demands on the individual. Artist-performers, in the group arts--theatre, music and dance--experienced greater accord with all three roles than did artist-makers (writers and painters). Artist-performers liked teaching and found that it was useful in
affording them opportunities to solve technical problems in their discipline. Furthermore, relationships with students tended to build their self esteem as professionals. The artist-makers, on the other hand, were more frustrated by the conflicting requirements of teaching and making art. Although some enjoyed their teaching, they found time demands incompatible with their art. Time with students took valuable time away from art work; it was stressful to try to "simultaneously negotiate two open-ended roles" (Bacon, 1979, pp. 224-241).

Bacon found that although university positions freed the artist-makers from the demands of the art world and market, they were ambivalent about its impact on their work. Other sources of discord were committee work, university politics, and dealing with the bureaucracy. Artist-performers did not experience these same degrees of conflict with the demands of being faculty or department members. Performers, with their greater social orientation and experience of collaboration in a group art form, were not so resentful of time spent on meetings and departmental tasks. Neither group of artists felt that their work was sufficiently well understood or appreciated by the university community. The arts were given lower status than the traditional and other professional disciplines (Bacon, 1979, p. 241).

During its relatively short history, little research has been done on the artist-in-residence movement. One unpublished study examined the Oregon Artists-in-the-Schools Program to determine artists' reactions to participation in school programs (Visgatis, 1978). Based on the standard model of a residency funded by the National Endowments'
Artists-in-the-Schools Program, the Oregon examples had artists spending about half their time on their own work and the other half working with small groups of children. Benefits to schools, as perceived by the participating artists were:

1. opportunities to explore areas not covered by the regular art program,
2. the presence of a highly expert specialist,
3. exposure to attitudes, values and life styles not usually exhibited by adults in the schools or community,
4. opportunity to dispell myths and demystify the arts.

Disadvantages cited by artists included:

1. lack of time to do their own work,
2. ambiguity or conflict about goals of the residency,
3. inability to reach as many students as desired,
4. occasional conflicts with teachers over goals, scheduling, or procedures (Visgatis, pp. 78-79).

Lopate's extensive documentation of his residencies and those of poets and filmmakers in his project reinforces the idea that short residencies run smoothly if they don't intrude in any way on the existing program. According to Lopate, supplemental, enrichment types of activities guided independently by the artist are best received by teachers. Arts specialists in the schools tend either to be very supportive and collaborative or resistant and protective of their turf (Lopate, 1977, p. 109).

Evaluations of programs funded under the federal education titles generally report on learner outcomes rather than on program management or process. These programs, however, are more likely to have longer, more integral residencies related to complex reform goals. The artists' role is less likely to be prescribed or monitored. There is greater ambiguity, more at stake, and therefore more likelihood of both
conflict and genuine impact on the school. Aquino has made the observation that in school change efforts involving the arts, conflicts are common. In some programs he analyzed, "stories abound of censorship, confiscated materials and threatened teachers and administrators" (Aquino, 1976, p. 21).

In 1974 Eliot Eisner, art education professor at Stanford University and other art educators, called for a comprehensive evaluation of the Artists-in-the-Schools Program, arguing that public funds should not continue to be spend on the unexamined assumption that the programs were having a positive impact on children's learning (Eisner, 1974).

In 1976 the Western States Arts Foundation followed up on an earlier study conducted by the Central Midwestern Regional Educational Laboratories (CEMREL) with a study based on information gathered from 21,000 respondents including artists, teachers, students and administrators. The study claimed that "successes far outnumber failures" and called artists residencies "a sound educational investment for local school districts (Western States Arts Foundation, 1976, p. 4).

The report recommended expansion of the program nationwide based on the agreement of respondents that students benefited from improvements in creativity, productivity, and skill improvement in the arts. Many felt that working with artists' positively affected student self-concept, and that programs improved attitudes of school personnel toward creativity and the importance of the arts in education.
Relations with students and teachers were reported to be "positive, beneficial and productive." The majority reported artists had "good or exceptional" ability to manage classrooms (Western States Arts Foundation, pp. 1-13).

On the negative side, respondents "emphasized procedural issues rather than criticize the concept of the Artist-in-the-Schools program." The publication of the report marked the first official appearance of the now familiar disclaimer addressing the growing concern that artists were replacing professional educators.

The Artist-in-the-Schools program is not a replacement for professional art teachers and a strong arts curriculum. It is, rather, a separate and complementary experience which will contribute to the realization of the goals of arts education, as well as those of education in general (Western Arts Foundation, p. 1).

The Artist as an Organizational Member

Sociologist Howard Becker has written about the art world as a social system, "a network of people whose cooperative activity is organized via their joint knowledge of conventional means of doing things" (Becker, 1982, p. xi.). Becker examines the art world as a system of subgroups, hierarchies and norms. His sociology of occupations applied to the arts is revealing of how various groups develop their own self-definition and standards. These become enforced and given value by the social structure of the art world (Becker, 1982, pp. 21-39).

In a study of scientists in industry, William Kornhauser (1962)
looked at the emergence of the research scientist as an organizational member. He found that the professional values and identification with one's specialization inhibited commitment to the company employing the scientist and made for tensions between the professional values of scientists and the prevailing norms of the industrial work settings. Like the influx of scientists into organizational life in the 1940s and 1950s, artists-in-residence in schools are simultaneously subject to loyalty to the demands of their professional fields and to the demands of schools. As occupants of relatively new roles, artists are likely to experience conflicting messages from the two institutions—the art world and the school—as well as conflicting expectations from the various subgroups within the school environment.

Kahn, Wolfe, Quinn, Snoek and Rosenthal (1964) have described the importance of understanding and managing role conflict. They have enumerated the types of role conflict the holder of a new role may feel. Role conflicts may involve tensions between expectations that come from membership in one group versus membership in another, the frustrations resulting from differences between personal values and the demands of the situation, and stress produced by differing expectations of how the role should be filled (Kahn, et. al., 1962, p. 69-71).

Lawrence and Lorsch (1969, pp. 5-11) and Burns and Stalker (1961, p. 155) from a systems perspective, and Howard Becker (1982, p. 25) from a sociological one, have described the difficulties of collaboration between specialized groups and the hardening of boundaries between cohesive groups in the face of conflict.
Because specialized expertise often carries with it a unique view of the world and standards for doing things, it is always easier for like-minded, similarly trained individuals to work together. Groups with different goals, interpersonal styles, time orientations and ways of operating are likely to have difficulty working together (Lawrence and Lorsch, 1969, pp. 9-11).

Groups in conflict tend to develop negative perceptions and stereotypes of each other. They gradually pull apart and retreat into communication only within the subgroups. Miles has described the tendency for members of a specialized innovative group in a school to become frustrated dealing with those who think differently, feel misunderstood and isolate themselves (Miles, 1973, p. 317).

Lopate (1977, p. 190) has recommended placing artist teams in schools so they can be a support base for each other. While this practice may be successful in some cases, there is danger that the artists will spend time with each other, minimize their contacts with school personnel and avoid working with teachers.

Claims for the benefits of artists-in-residence programs continue to be made by artists themselves, by policy makers, educators, and by a growing force of advocates in the arts and public policy network. And yet, the nature of public funding for these programs reinforces a kind of conspiracy of silence about them. There is still a need for studies like this one which attempt to look at the problems as well as the benefits of programs. The broad spectrum of literature cited in this chapter provides a variety of perspectives from which to view a
relatively new phenomenon. Each territory of information and insight contributes to illuminating a research area which, because of its newness, lacks a single historical or theoretical backdrop.
CHAPTER III
METHODOLOGY

Selection of a Methodology

The choice of a methodology follows from the nature of the research problem and the phenomenon to be investigated (Becker and Geer, 1970, p. 150). Because the impetus behind this inquiry is a desire to understand and describe what artists experience when they undertake extended work in schools, the objective is to gain access to complex human experience—to the perceptions of individuals about themselves and others within a specific setting.

Hence, the purpose requires a research strategy that preserves complexity and relationships between elements of the problem, and allows the researcher to consider emerging patterns and to identify key issues from the evidence collected. The inquiry looks at people in organizational contexts where a dynamic exchange between person and setting is assumed. That exchange, as perceived and recalled by those who experienced it and participated in it, must be examined using tools that are sensitive to its complexity.

Another consideration in selecting a methodology is the fact that this study explores a new area of research about which little direct inquiry exists. Therefore, it is especially important to approach the topic with a stance which is exploratory and holistic and which allows the researcher to see people "as they are developing their own
definitions of the world" (Bogdan and Taylor, 1975, p. 4). The danger in such a study is to prematurely force too narrow a set of categories for collecting information or interpreting evidence.

The intention of this study is not to prove a specific hypothesis or to measure a predefined entity but, rather, to explore and describe a phenomenon about which little has been written. The objectives are twofold: to present rich, detailed description and to identify key dimensions of the problem.

In describing the appropriateness of one methodology over another for any given area of consideration, authors Schwartz and Jacobs (1979) have argued for the use of qualitative methods when examining complex, social phenomena and for objectives like those governing this study. To obtain expressions of an individual's recent experience in that "actor's" own words and full descriptions, Schwartz and Jacobs suggest that:

the researcher needs to discover the actor's "definition of the situation," that is, his perception and interpretation of reality and how these relate to his behavior. Further, the actor's perception of reality turns on his ongoing interpretation of the social interactions that he and others participate in, which, in turn, pivots on his use of symbols in general and language in particular (Schwartz and Jacobs, pp. 7-8).

An understanding of artists' experiences as an unmapped area of study relies on descriptive data of the type described by Schwartz and Jacobs; the desired results would probably not available through use of a single research instrument, measure or scale. Rather, what Lofland (1971) refers to as "social meaning" is better explored using a
qualitative approach to the collection and interpretation of broad
types of evidence. Qualitative methods are best applied at this stage
of understanding a new topic as a means to discover significant aspects
of the topic for further, refined exploration.

Social meanings (which direct human behavior) do not inhere in
activities, institutions or social objects themselves. Rather,
meanings are conferred upon social events by interacting
individuals who must first interpret what is going on from the
social context in which these events occur. This emerging gestalt
(the definition of the situation) is seen to result from the
interplay of biography, situation, nonverbal communication and
linguistic exchange that characterizes all social interaction
(Lofland, 1971, p. 75).

Participant observation and interviewing are the two most common
tools of the qualitative methodologist and field researcher (Filstead,
1970, p. 133). While both have advantages for the purposes of this
research, interviewing was determined to be the most viable option
because a sufficient number of sites with programs currently under way
employing artists who fit the criteria necessary for the research could
not be ensured. Access to artist/subjects, who had recently held
positions as artists-in-residence and who could speak about those past
experiences, was more likely. Therefore, the information to be sought
through interviews and written materials was individuals' reflections
on past events.

While the primary focus of the investigation is the artists
themselves and their experiences, adjustments and reflections, these
individuals were not assumed to be the only relevant information
sources. Rather the assumption is made that the full range of the
artist-in-residence's experience can only be fully examined by
considering the social environment in which events occurred. A sense of the important features of that environment would best emerge from questioning a variety of individuals with different personal and positional perspectives on the residency. Teachers, program managers, school officials and other related individuals were significant contributors to the overall picture of the artists' work settings.

In addition to the choice of a primary qualitative methodology—interviewing,—another strategy taken in this study follows in a research direction outlined by Peter Reason, John Rowan and other writers in a collection entitled Human Inquiry: A Sourcebook of New Paradigm Research (1981, p. 19). Consistent with Reason and Rowan's approach, this study utilizes the interview as a form of "cooperative inquiry."

Cooperative inquiry involves the attempt to engage the subjects of the research in the interpretation of information gathered from them. After some key categories had been synthesized from the initial sequence of interviews, a second set of interviews with artists were conducted. The second interviews were an opportunity to share emerging assumptions and conclusions with the subjects and invite them to help "make sense" of the evidence they had contributed to. This procedure was used to reduce the distance between researcher and subject and between interview material and emerging concepts about that material.

John Heron and other new paradigm researchers have advocated persuasively for a "research paradigm in which the subject is also co-researcher, being actively and openly involved in the inquiry side
of the research" (Heron, 1981, p. 20). This approach further invites
the interplay of initial perceptions and generalizations in such a way
that conclusions are grounded in perceptions of the phenomenological
world at the same time that perception of the world is a "check on the
accuracy of our propositions about the world" (Heron, 27).

The considerations governing selection of appropriate research
subjects and a discussion of the information gathering procedures as
used in this investigation follow.

Selection of Subjects

The choice of the most appropriate sources of information about
the experiences of artists-in-schools follows from the phenomenological
view in which qualitative methodology is grounded. "The
phenomenologist views human behavior--what people say and do--as a
product of how people interpret their world" (Bogdan and Taylor, 1975,
p. 13).

The information required to understand how artists think about
themselves in the context of artist-in-residence roles must be drawn
from those individuals' reflections on the experiences and from their
stories and memory of key events. However, because those events are
dynamic social events and occur in a specific context, it is not
sufficient to question only the artists. Rather a more graphic view is
possible if other participants also contribute their descriptions and
perceptions.
By interviewing an artist-in-residence and various school personnel, a variety of perspectives and definitions are available to the researcher, all of which make the artists' experience more understandable. Also, because the context is social and organizational, it is important to note areas of shared perceptions, contrasts in assumptions as well as conflicting attitudes about events and outcomes (Bogdan and Taylor, p. 13).

Two groups of subjects were selected for participation in the study. They include artists who have held extended residency positions in schools and secondly, school personnel and others with whom the artists worked. Selection was governed by the following four criteria:

1. Residency must extend over more than a six month period.
2. The sample must include four poets and four visual artists.
3. Artists must be practicing professionals who have continued to publish and exhibit throughout their tenure in schools.
4. Artists' work settings must include a variety of kinds of communities and elementary or middle schools.

The Length of the Residency

In order to look at the adjustments of artists to a particular organizational setting and role, a minimum of six months is necessary. Artists and those in their settings must regard the role as more than just a temporary "passing through". The process of adaptation requires a substantial length of time. Although the configuration of hours and assignments in various parts of the school may vary from one setting to another, all the artists chosen had sustained involvement with one
school or system and had to make their way in that setting. Regular school personnel in turn knew that the artist was not simply a visitor, but someone who would be in the setting for an extended period.

The length of the residencies studied varied from six months to four years.

Four Poets and Four Visual Artists

The type of artist is significant because of the way that person's discipline interfaces with school curriculum and because of different expectations that those in the school setting hold of the artist, his or her discipline, its materials and technology and how the arts might function in the school. For example, poets are commonly hired into programs with a skills focus or where there is an expectation of improving writing skills. In a period of education when the basic curriculum is being emphasized, poetry may also be viewed as less frivolous than some other art forms that have no observable relationship to the main business of the schooling.

In addition to the nature of the discipline itself, another factor differentiates poets from visual artists; there is rarely a specialist whose responsibility it is to teach poetry or even writing. Instead, writing instruction is generally the responsibility of the elementary classroom teacher who regards it as his/her territory. Principals and other administrators may evaluate the performance of teachers on their writing instruction, may expect the teacher to learn from the poet-in-residence and may evaluate student performance in the area of writing. All these factors suggest a different experience for the poet
than for the visual artist.

On the other hand, visual artists may work closely with the art specialist employed in some schools, sharing space and materials. The visual artist brings a specific specialty with its own technical requirements, materials and paraphenalia. Artists working in a variety of media were selected to explore the variations associated with these aspects of the residency experience and to compare and contrast with the poets.

**Artists Must be Practicing Professionals**

In order to look at the relationship between the residency/teaching role and that of being an artist, sample selection required inclusion only of artists who have continued to be productive artists despite employment in school programs. Because there are no easily agreed upon standards by which to certify an artist's quality and level of achievement, this criterion was met in part by selecting only artists who were eligible for residency programs through their state arts council funded programs. In the states represented these programs use a panel and interview system of certifying artists for participation in the artist-in-residence programs. Requirements place artistic achievement as the highest priority. In addition, all of the artists selected had exhibited their work, publicly read their poetry or published during the period of his/her residency.
A Variety of Types of Schools and Communities

An interest in the relationship between the artist's experience and his/her situation was the basis of this criterion. Artists were selected who had worked in several different New England states and a range of different kinds of schools were included. A total of four different work settings were studied. Several artists representing the same program setting were interviewed in order to determine the differences in adjustment across several individuals in the same situation. Programs were located in schools and communities that were urban, rural and suburban in character.

Selection of Subjects in the School Setting

The second group of subjects consists of teachers, program administrators, school administrators and funding agency representatives, where appropriate. The choice of individuals in this second category was done independently for each individual artist-subject. The emphasis was on locating key people who could provide an expanded perspective on that artist's experience as part of the program or school.

To designate appropriate individuals as significant for the artist subjects, a "mapping" procedure was used. As described by Schatzman and Strauss (1973), mapping is a technique employed in field research projects where large numbers of people occupy a variety of roles, functions, and hierarchical positions related to the artist. It is a "common sense tool" to help the researcher gain "a working conception
of the relevant dimensions of the site" and to locate the relevant "classes of things, persons and events which inhabit these locales" and are important in the experience of the artist-in-residence (Schatzman and Strauss, p. 83).

Mapping was used in this study because the domain of the research needed to be circumscribed and key sources of information recognized. As actually employed, mapping was an effective direct and indirect means of locating key individuals to interview and written documents to examine. Each artist was asked to suggest school personnel and each school subject suggested others who had significant role relationship or personal contact with the artist. As patterns of interaction emerged from the descriptions of how the artist-in-residence functioned, the researcher got a more complete picture of who should be interviewed. All subjects, both artists and educators, were questioned about written materials and archival data which might serve the study. Mapping contributed to the decision to conduct a self-interview as a member of the group of individuals with whom artists worked. The self-interview is discussed in detail later in this chapter.

A total of twenty-three school and program subjects were included in the study. The ratio of artists interviewed to school personnel interviewed varied from one case to another. For example, a teacher was asked to discuss a program and in doing so to comment on two artists-in-residence. Since artist subjects clustered in four separate programs, one artist could also comment on the others in that setting. Hence, the picture of the setting, key events and culture was filled
out from several points of view. The map of interviewees and their relationships to one another is included below in Appendix A (Table 1. Sources of Information).

Gathering Information

Interviews

The principal means of information collection in this investigation is the "intensive interview" (Lofland, 1971, p. 76). Patton (1980, p. 189) describes this tool of qualitative research as the "general interview guide approach" in which the interviewing is minimally structured by a standardized list of questions and issues.

An interview guide was developed to provide parameters for the collection of information and to prevent interviews from being diverted away from the central interests of the researcher. Throughout the first few interviews, the guide was used flexibly and modified when new, relevant territories were introduced by interview subjects. Because of the exploratory nature of the study, the guide was modified in a cumulative fashion throughout.

The interview guide is a "list of questions or issues to be explored" (Patton, p. 200). As an important starting point, these questions reflect those areas about which the researcher wants to learn more and begin the process of structuring the data gathering. It serves two important functions in this research. First, its development forced the consolidation of the researcher's prior thinking
on the subject. Lofland has described this important step in the research cycle as the "teasing out and recording" of those things which have been puzzling, the selection of an initial "point of departure" and the systematic, though preliminary "sorting and ordering" of concepts and questions (Lofland, pp. 76-77). This phase of research gave rise to the focusing questions outlined in Chapter I and subsequently to the interview guide (See Interview Guide--appendix B).

The interviews were conducted in keeping with the practices described by Denzin (1978) and Bogdan and Taylor (1975) with special attention to establishing rapport and sharing the purposes of the research. All interviews were informal and relaxed in tone resembling "guided conversation" in which interviewees were encouraged to "speak freely and in his own terms" (Bogdan and Taylor, p. 84). Most interviews were conducted face to face and tape recorded. In a few instances interviews were done by telephone when no meeting could be scheduled. All first interviews with artists lasted 90 minutes to three hours. Second interviews were one to two hours in length.

The interviews were characterized by a high degree of trust and frequent expression of strong feeling. In most cases interviewees spontaneously addressed themselves to the fundamental questions propelling the research. They speculated, reexamined and tried to clarify the patterns and reasons for their personal behavior and attitudes; and they struggled to extend their own understanding as well as the researcher's. The quality of these exchanges are best described by Fred Massarik in "The Interviewing Process Re-Examined:" in Reason
and Rowan.

The relationship involves fundamental equality and concurring commitment to the quest at hand...Interviewer and interviewee have...free access to each other...and a commitment to joint search for shared understanding (Massarik, 1981, p. 201).

Subjects were encouraged to be descriptive, provide details and share anecdotes, then to go beyond to explore the implications of their views and experiences. Each was asked to react to emerging concepts and categories of the research. Many were eager to explain why things happened as they did and to share their speculations about how events might have occurred differently. This enthusiasm to go beyond simple personal description and to share in the research occasioned the researcher's decision to do a second set of interviews with half of the artists and eight of the educators, and to involve directly these individuals as "co-researchers" (Reason and Rowan, pp. 113-139).

Use of Written Materials

As Michael Patton has written, "in contemporary society all programs leave a trail of paper" which, if it is cautiously examined, can contribute to our understanding of program history (Patton, 1980, p. 154). Gordon Allport has also discussed the benefits and the limitations of using documents in psychological case studies (Allport, 1942, pp. 1-9). Most advocates for the inclusion of files, archives, diaries, journals and other written records argue for extreme care in generalizing from written materials. They remind researchers that "different motivations will obviously produce documents with different
thrusts" (Bogdan and Taylor, 1975, p. 97).

The written materials assembled in the course of this study fall into two categories. One type are materials the researcher learned were in existence and asked to see. The others were offered by subjects as clarification of some event or situation or to provide details which could not be shared given the time limitations of the interview.

The origins and utility of the documents varied. Several artists offered useful examples of their teaching materials as illustrative of how they approached students and teaching problems. An administrator offered a file of memos and letters as evidence of events leading up to the dismissal of an artist-in-residence. Another administrator presented a program proposal and training materials used in artist orientation. Classroom teachers gave examples of their students' work with artists and, in one case, of her own creative writing inspired by contact with a poet-in-residence. Most useful for the purposes of this exploration were journals and logs kept during the period of the residency or program. All materials were used to substantiate or to help clarify events described in the interviews or to give background on artists' perceptions of their work. (See Appendix A, Table 1. Sources of Information).

**Presentation of Information**

A case study developed to describe the experiences of two resident artists, a poet and a photographer in the same program, is presented in
Chapter IV. The decision to use a case study as a way to present findings grew out of the nature of the study and the desire to show the interrelationship of factors in the artists' experiences as artists-in-residence.

To "take the reader into the case situation" (Patton, 1980, p. 304), a detailed case study gives a complete picture both of information and of the researcher's direction in shaping interpretation through presentation. The case provides a means of demonstrating the interconnections between major elements which are subsequently separated for the purposes of analysis. As described by Patton, the case must be presented and understood as an idiosyncratic and unique phenomenon...holistic and comprehensive...and still include a myriad of dimensions, factors, variables and categories woven together into an idiographic framework (Reason and Rowan, 1981, p. 86).

The virtue of a fully developed case study is that the relationships between elements is apparent in a way not easily revealed by other means. One complete story evokes a sense of the complexity characterizing other situations where everything is not overtly laid out. By placing the case study chapter before the discussions of other artists, the researcher has attempted to suggest the multiple layers of circumstance not fully explained in somewhat briefer summaries of artists' and their settings.
Quality of the Information and Role of the Researcher

Kockelmans asserts that "no one is really interested in understanding something that is totally irrelevant for himself and for the society in which he lives" (Kockelmans, 1981, p. 86). To ask what relationship the researcher has to the area of study is consistent with phenomenological inquiry. The researcher's personal history and commitment to the subject can be critical in shaping the research and determining its quality. Not only is the researcher's own experience a potentially rich source of insight and energy to understand, but an inquiry has little validity unless it is rooted in the experiential knowledge of those actually involved; a valid interpretation involves knowing with as well as knowing about (Rowan and Reason, 1981, p. 134).

Personal experience in the area of research and prior knowledge must be accounted for and its place in the inquiry accounted for.

Jack Douglas has written that "some of the best field research is done by people who are already members of the settings they study" (1976, p. 36). As a program administrator for several years prior to undertaking this study, the researcher had been responsible for hiring, training and managing artists-in-residence. Throughout this period she was both actor, observer and theorizer about events, personalities and the relationships between artists and their situations. Discussions with artists, teachers and administrators were ongoing. Events were documented in diary fashion. Immersion in the field as a program developer and policy planner heightened interest and a commitment to
learn more about how artists and educators perceived the phenomenon of artists' residencies. The following methodological decisions were made on the basis of that commitment to the research territory and to the canon of phenomenological inquiry that said more compelling insights and richer data would result from a systematic attempt to take advantage of prior knowledge and participation in the field:

1. choice of a topic that grew out of a genuine interest and experience in the field,
2. selection of a qualitative methodology,
3. inclusion of colleagues from the researchers' own work experience among the subject group, i.e., two poets and one visual artist as well as several teachers and administrators with whom these artists worked,
4. the decision to do a self-interview as a member of the group of school personnel,
5. the inclusion of some subjects as co-researchers and,
6. the decision to present evidence in the form of a case study with detailed descriptions of events, individuals and setting.

Conclusion

This chapter has described the design of the study supported by references to the literature on qualitative methodology and techniques.
The particular combination of elements--selection of subjects, interviewing in two phases and the composition of a case study are all consistent with the intent of the investigation. The flexibility of approach has allowed the researcher access to rich and evocative information.

Interviews and the review of written materials from individuals and programs provide the basis for the case (Chapter IV), for descriptions and interpretations of artists' experiences in their work settings (Chapter V), the identification of key factors resident in the artists themselves and in the settings (Chapter VI) and finally, an analysis and set of speculative propositions about the fit between artists as individuals and program settings (Chapter VII). The last section of the final chapter also contains a discussion of the implications of this study for action and for future research.
CHAPTER IV
CASE STUDY

Introduction

The experience of any artist who works in a public school is influenced by a host of factors and by the complex interplay between many elements. Satisfactory adjustment to a residency job is effected by what the individual artist brings to the situation, by the features of the specific context the artist is hired into and by the responses and interpretations of many key players as the experience unfolds. All these interact to produce outcomes which may be regarded as more or less satisfactory by all the parties involved including teachers, school administrators and the artist-in-residence him/herself.

This case study describes a school-based arts program and the experiences of three different artists-in-residence. It is an attempt to capture the interconnections between aspects of the situation and to document the experiences of the artists as they enter the job, come to understand its demands and adjust to the situation. Information was collected from program files, reports, memos, letters and other materials shared by the artists and through extended interviews with three artists-in-residence, the Program Director, School Principal, three artists (two of whom are artist-subjects in the study and a third who does not fit the criteria but is interviewed as an important member of the program personnel) two teachers, the state-level Program Officer
The third and final year of Fundamentals Through Art was a year of triumphs and disappointments. In general the program was considered a success. It received a favorable evaluation and the school district was pleased with two out of the three artists-in-residence it had hired to staff the program. Teachers and administrators agreed on one thing--some artists are good at working in schools and others are a disaster. "We've had both kinds," the Project Director said. "It all depends on personality."

In fact, one of the artists was fired from the program because he failed to measure up to the standards of the school district. Although he was reinstated and completed the year, he was dispirited and many in the school environment were angry at him. All, including the fired artist, presented explanations for what occurred which seemed logical and reasonable given each one's viewpoint. What occurred in Fundamentals Through Art, while unique to this situation and to the individuals involved, helps to disclose some of the complications likely to be inherent in similar programs. By outlining the experiences of three artists in the program, variations related to personality, background and style become apparent and more understandable.

That the issues are complex and loaded with significance for all concerned, is readily apparent. One of the reportedly successful artists in the program summed up her experience in retrospect by saying
that, "Being an artist-in-residence was a little better than taking a job as a waitress to support your art, but it's a hell of a lot more draining. Schools really know how to extract their pound of flesh."

Fundamentals Through Art was a three year program inspired by Brookfield Principal, Paul Vitale. Paul had a life-long interest in the arts. As a school boy he had been in the school plays, sang in a choir and took drawing classes. As a college student and later as a young teacher he believed involvement in the arts should be a part of all education at all levels. When he came to Brookfield in his first teaching job, Paul always did plays with his students and tried to expose them to the arts. Now having been a principal for more than fifteen years, he had a reputation as a tireless advocate for the arts. Under his leadership the Brookfield School District had several nationally known dance companies in residence. Painters, performers and writers had worked in classrooms and performance halls.

To pay for these activities Paul tapped foundations, local businesses and civic organizations as well as state and federal arts sources. While many school districts in the country were cutting back on their art and music specialists, Paul was building a support group among parents and teachers to keep the arts alive and vigorous in the Brookfield schools.

As the "back to basics" movement gained momentum in the late 1970's, Paul joined other supporters of arts education and argued that the arts can contribute to the acquisition of academic skills and can be ideal motivators for better reading and writing. The view that the arts
should be considered "basic" to good education was a national rallying
cry among groups like the National Art Educators Association and the
Alliance for Arts Education (Madeja and Smith, 1982, p. 1). The
recognition that the arts could be motivators and tools to "serve the
basic skills" led to a proliferation of programs to bring the arts into
every area of learning. "Integrate", "infuse" and "link" were the
by-words of this movement and Paul became a strong local advocate.

His colorful style and articulateness attracted the attention of
other educators. He was a frequent speaker for arts programs at
meetings of school administrators and soon established himself as a key
figure in a growing network of arts educators.

After Brookfield had had several years of small, short-term
programs, performances and artists' visits, Paul submitted a proposal
for a major 3-year program to train elementary teachers to use the arts
in their teaching and to create a comprehensive model for "infusing
experiences in the arts into every area of the elementary curriculum."
His proposal was fully funded by state and federal money for a three
year program.

A teacher named Cheryl Flynn was hired to be the Director of the
new program. A primary teacher in Paul's school, Cheryl had been an
enthusiastic participant in earlier arts activities entrepreneured by
Paul. She knew the community, had worked well with artists and had a
background and interest in dance. As Paul described her hiring, "not
everyone was in favor of having her be the Director, but she was well
organized and I knew she would grow with the job."
Cheryl was very distinctive among her colleagues for her high-fashion style, striking appearance and elegant clothes. A model in her free time, she stood out in any group of educators. Paul said he worried initially that "a lot of people couldn't get past her appearance" but he believed she would represent the school well and be a good project director. Her project officer at the state level said that Cheryl did win the respect of fellow project directors around the state.

The Community

Brookfield is a community in which one would expect culture to flourish. A coastal sailing town with a beautiful harbor and fine old homes, it has a proud historic identity and an affluent population. There are art galleries and an annual arts festival that sweeps citizens of all ages into performances and exhibits of local creative talent. For many years the town has had an active theatre group and year-around historic museum.

Despite its obvious attractions some are quick to point out that, like many similar communities, Brookfield suffers from a lack of diversity and this lack effects the schools as well as the variety of cultural life. One artist-in-residence who actually lived in town described Brookfield thus:

It's a pretty conventional place in many ways. It's very upper middle class, a very tight community. The majority of the children in the schools are not used to the diversity that a more urban environment would have--it's not just Blacks and Hispanics, it's anyone who's different or poor...The kids are sophisticated in some ways but many have a view of the world as white and middle
Paul described Brookfield as:

a unique place...very tight...a bedroom community for upper middle class professionals for the most part; although there are some poorer families and a program that brings Black kids out from the city... There are very few homes under $100,000 any more...Teachers don't live in town unless they bought their homes years ago. Most couldn't afford it now.(Paul)

The Program

The first two years of the project were comprised of a series of short two week to six week artists' residencies. This structure allowed many teachers to "sample" various art forms and all elementary schools to become involved. Favorable impressions had developed with most parents who wanted their children to be able to benefit from activities with artists. Positive early publicity helped spread the program through the district.

Even if teachers were reluctant to give time to the program, parental enthusiasm for the program stimulated more participation in the schools. Cheryl and Paul did a great job with public relations. There was something in the paper or going home to parents practically every week. Parents didn't want their kids to be left out so there was pressure for teachers to participate and work with the visiting artists. (State Program Officer)

The first two years gave teachers a chance to experiment with connections between various arts disciplines and the basic skills areas of the existing curriculum. For example, some language concepts were taught using dance, science concepts were taught through music and a theatre group worked with sea legends and multi-cultural units in social studies. By the end of the second year Fundamentals Through Art
activities were taking place in four elementary schools involving more than 20 teachers and their students.

By the third year, project decision makers were ready for a more focused and sequential set of instructional activities. They wanted something more systematic than the random activities artists proposed or teachers invented. Attempts to measure the impact of the first two years of the project on students' learning failed to demonstrate significant gains in basic skills areas. Part of the evaluation problem was that a suitable evaluator could not be found. But in addition, no group of students had had sufficient density of concentrated instruction that was attributable to something called the Fundamentals Through Art approach. A model program in the funders' terms was a program that could be replicated in other schools and had consistent and a somewhat specific set of instructional activities that would produce predictable outcomes. To receive additional funding, Fundamentals Through Art needed to show strong evaluation results and to develop a more consistent approach during the third year. Validation would make possible additional funds in the future.

It was agreed that a core group of teachers and their students would be targeted to receive in-depth attention from the project. A team of project artists would be hired and remain with the project for the entire year. Besides these artists a new Project Evaluator was located who agreed to design an evaluation process that would satisfy the funders' requirements and demonstrate the results of Fundamentals Through Art.
The project's goals were stated as follows:

1. to support and encourage the infusion of arts experiences into the students' total school program.
2. to provide teachers with participatory classroom activities ...to maximize an interdisciplinary approach to curriculum and instruction. (Fundamentals Through Art, Third Year Program Plan)

As a result of the program, teachers worked with artists and the schools' arts specialists to "develop instructional activities which integrate arts into the teaching of writing skills and to "more frequently use arts-oriented activities in their teaching of the basic skills."(Program Plan)

Measurable outcomes on the part of targeted groups of students were designated by the Program Evaluator. As stated in the evaluation design, students were expected to grow along these "basic skill" dimensions:

Use of vivid and concrete language...sense of sequence and relationship among ideas . . . ability to share experiences through writing . . . and to have a stronger grasp of appropriate punctuation.(Program Plan)

An increased knowledge of the arts was also a goal of the program, but the Project Director was adamant that the thrust of Fundamentals Through Art had to be basic skills:

Even in a community like Brookfield we can't afford to come out for a pure art-for-arts-sake approach. We have to show the relationship to the basic skills and prove that having the arts would improve teaching and learning. (Cheryl)

The third year of Fundamentals Through Art began with optimism that the artists' team, a new evaluator and a core group of teachers who had volunteered to work intensively with the program would lead to a more focused approach and strong evaluation results.
and had numerous publications to his credit. Many were in prestigious anthologies and journals. At 42 he had a reputation as both a successful artist and an educator.

Peter's own image of himself was as an artist first and educator second. Teaching and consulting to educational programs had become his preferred way of making a regular living so he could practice his art.

Schools are the only place to make money to do the other things. Only thing that buys me time to do art...It's been a deliberate process to develop something that could keep me alive to the point where I'd even accumulated enough time in one place to go on unemployment. Now that the money for these kinds of programs has started to dry up, I've enrolled in a graduate education program in reading. I'm very interested in literacy, and reading at least counts in schools where writing often doesn't.(Peter)

Looking back on his work experience, Peter explained that he had once taught at the college level as a part time instructor and had hoped to build that into a teaching career. "It didn't work out," he reflected,

because I didn't develop the political skills to stay alive in the job, to keep it. I didn't ask myself what I'd have to do, what relationships were critical and what I should show my colleagues. So I lost it."(Peter)

Joan saw herself very much as an educator and had not been a full time artist for many years. Whenever possible she took roles in summer stock and continued to study dance.

Dance and theatre can't really be done outside the context of a company or group and although I enjoy acting in the summer or doing choreography for summer stock productions I can't really practice my art in schools; and that's not what I'm really best at. I'm best at working with children and getting them involved in the arts and using the arts to teach other subjects. That's what I'm really best at.(Joan)

At 37 years old, Joan had accumulated considerable direct
With the project making a longer term commitment to a few artists and the program's validation by the state at stake, the Project Director explained that her standards for the artists were high and everyone's expectations greater than in the past.

We needed to make sure that these people would be good. This was our last chance for a positive evaluation; more was being asked of the teachers who volunteered and the artists had to be good. (Cheryl)

The Artists

Three artists were hired into the program. Jane Winchester, a photographer, had done a short residency with the program the second year. The new people were: Peter Case, a poet, and Joan Murray, a drama specialist with training in both dance and theatre.

All three looked highly qualified to be artists-in-residence in elementary classrooms and to carry forward the mission of Fundamentals Through Art. Jane was inexperienced but she had proven herself the previous year. She understood the aims of the project and had worked to build a relationship with teachers in Brookfield. Joan was an experienced teacher with vast knowledge of both dance and drama. Peter came with what the Director called "outstanding credentials." He had both music and literary background and teaching experience at all levels. He had been a writer-in-residence in more than a dozen different schools and served as a writing consultant for the New York State Poets in the Schools Program. A poet in the tradition of Levertov, Ginsburg and Whitman, Peter had maintained a vigorous career as a writer
experience as a classroom teacher. She was certified to teach both elementary and secondary school and had been a classroom teacher for more than 7 years until she came to live in Brookfield. Several of her teaching years had been in a New York school for children professionally involved in the arts. Her MFA was in Theatre Arts and she had undergone several years of diverse professional training with master teachers of dance. Her artistic expertise encompassed dance, choreography and all aspects of theatre. A natural collaborator in her artistic discipline, she knew how to work creatively with others.

Jane, who was 25 years old, differed from the others in her lack of any educational training or experience before coming to Brookfield. Help from the teachers and administrators and her own dedication made it possible for her to apply her knowledge of art to teaching young children. She had studied photography and fine arts at a host of professionally oriented art schools and had an MFA in art. While working at her own art she had held numerous money-making positions with companies and been a free lance photographer and designer. Her very experimental photographic work, using light sensitive emulsions on rag paper, look like drawings or etchings, and have been shown in local group shows and invitational exhibitions in the region.

Jane's recent formula for economic survival was to spend about a third of her time doing commercial work, a third teaching and a third working in her studio producing art.

First Project Meeting
The project artists came together for the first time early in the fall when Cheryl held a meeting to orient them to the program. This was one of only three or four meetings of all project personnel that took place during the year. At the orientation meeting Cheryl reviewed the purposes of the program and the scheduling procedures.

I told them about the teachers and the community. They were told that they were not to add to the teachers' work load, they were to make themselves tools to fit in with the existing program. (Cheryl)

She believed that the all day orientation cleared up ambiguity about the role artists were to play in Fundamentals Through Art. Those who had been artists-in-residence before might have different expectations and she wanted it clear that the artists were there to complement the existing program.

Everyone was equally clear about what was expected of them from this meeting. There shouldn't have been any question about how we wanted the year to work and what the artists were being hired to do. (Cheryl)

In the afternoon the artists were joined by Martin Sugarman, the new Project Evaluator, to discuss how the artists' respective disciplines would fit into the overall evaluation design. Recalling this meeting, Peter reported that:

We (the artists) all thought Martin was from Mars. He was talking about 'operational definitions' and 'finite, observable behaviors' and we were still trying to figure out what grades we were going to teach. But no one was sure what to say because Cheryl deferred to Martin so much. When I first saw them together, I thought he must be the person in charge. She seemed so worried and preoccupied about whether the program would get validated and he seemed to have all the answers. (Peter)

Peter emerged from the meeting with the conviction that the program's emphasis on writing would mean that as the writer his role
would need to be a central one. He believed that it was for this reason that he was to be scheduled at the end of each cycle of classes, after the photographer and the drama expert had worked with each class. He saw himself as the person who would "pull everything together at the end." (Peter)

Unaware that he was operating on this premise, Cheryl actually scheduled Peter last partly because she was uneasy about how he'd get along with the teachers and wanted to test him out on a few shorter, interdisciplinary stints with teachers who were not part of the core group.

I don't know why I felt so unsure about him. I just wasn't comfortable with him and worried that I'd made a mistake. But he came with such a strong resume and rave reviews on his past success as a poet-in-residence and he was in this graduate program in reading. I figured he must know what he was doing with kids. (Cheryl)

After the first meeting Peter believed his leadership would be a key to the writing part of the program.

It only made sense if someone was coordinating what the artists would do and I was the logical person to do that because of my experience and because I was the only writer. How can you hope to improve writing skills if the other two artists are not writers and if no one else has any real idea how to teach good writing? The teachers really didn't know and Cheryl didn't know. (Peter)

The Evaluator's sense of this and other early meetings with the project artists was that

The points Peter made were on target. Of all the artists he seemed most articulate about what he wanted to accomplish and what the steps were. But it took a lot of hammering it out to come up with agreement on how what each artist did would add up to better skills. (Martin)

Martin's analysis was that what went on at the orientation meeting
and in subsequent discussions was "fairly typical of arts programs." He explained that his experience as a researcher and evaluator had taught him that

Artists are perfectly nice people but they're very resistant to thinking in parts. Evaluation in arts programs is always difficult. The most successful experiences are where the artists really want to see the skill improvement in the students and therefore work to break down each step so it can be taught and tested. As the evaluator I had to get Peter and the others to break down the artistic behaviors into something that could be counted. (Martin)

While Peter thought the evaluation procedures that evolved were "ludicrous and unimaginative" he decided "not to fight it." He said that he and the other artists saw it as an "evil necessity" required in most federally funded programs. "The only place where I really balked," Peter explained later,

was when Martin argued for 60 seconds of handwriting practice everyday so the kids would learn to write faster and therefore could write more when it came to the post-test. As a poet that offended me. I certainly was not going to use my time in the classroom to do that. I figured that if they wanted that done they could get the teachers to do it on their own time. (Peter)

The program's photographer, Jane, believed that evaluation "hung over everyone's head all year." But she adjusted to it because she thought it would help the program get more funding and to be able to continue.

So I emphasized the aspects that I knew were going to be measured. Maybe that isn't fair but I felt evaluation was just something we needed to work around. (Jane)

The artists were convinced that the program's evaluation raised anxiety among teachers and acted as a deterrent to their participation. They worried that "some how it would be used against them" or that in situations where artists and teachers shared responsibility for certain
instruction, "one would get blamed for what the other didn't do." (Peter and Jane) Some teachers worried that they would be compared with colleagues on the basis of their students' results on the tests and that this would effect their standing in the administration's eyes. (Cheryl and 5th grade teacher)

Besides looking Cheryl and Martin over at the meeting and getting a feel for their new roles, the artists-in-residence listened carefully and observed each other. Joan recalled that, "Peter really dominated a lot of the conversations. He obviously had a lot of experience and ideas about teaching writing." She was impressed with Lynn's energy and thought she was very "peppy and enthusiastic." Jane was grateful for the colleagueship of the other artists and reflected that her impression was that they would support each other since they saw things similarly.

Leadership

The Project Director's job requires that the person be good at a million different things. She has to monitor the relationships between different groups—in this case artists, teachers, administrators, parents, evaluators and the state. She has to oversee all the curriculum design work and manage a delicate change process. Any innovative program is going to hit some rough spots and Cheryl handled it all very well. (State Funding Officer)

Cheryl saw her role as "keeping harmony" between the artists and the school personnel, something she knew from past years was not always easy. She wanted to "give teachers and principals a real investment in the program by involving them in decisions about things that effect
them. She assumed that

if people in the schools felt committed to the program, they would contribute more to making it work and I could ask more from them when it was necessary... These were my old colleagues and I knew I could make demands on them if I respected what was important to them. (Cheryl)

The artists dealt with Cheryl on all aspects of scheduling and details about the mechanics of the program. She was their contact for getting paid and if they were to be late or absent, they were to call her first.

From his first day in the program, Peter was concerned with what he perceived as Cheryl's lack of authority and knowledge. He explained that in Fundamentals Through Art there was no clearly established set of guidelines for what was to happen in the classroom and therefore the teachers could just resist if they didn't like something we (the artists) were doing. Cheryl wasn't really in a position to make a judgment about what was correct to do and that left the burden on us as the artists-in-residence. (Peter)

He explained that he had "tried to take some leadership after the first meeting" because he felt "the lack of clarity in so many areas would hamper what we could accomplish." On the one hand Peter wanted more leadership from Cheryl (in directions consistent with his beliefs) but he also wanted autonomy and direct influence over the program and teachers. He explained that his tendency to doubt Cheryl's likelihood to be helpful came from his past experiences with school programs.

I always mistrust administrative decision making. Whenever you get involved with administrative decisions in these kinds of programs, you're going to run into trouble. That's almost a given in my book. The situations where I've had the least problem are where I've been put directly in contact with a teacher with no middlemen.
Intervening people always mean trouble. The artist has to be left alone to work with the teachers directly. I've found that it always works best that way. (Peter)

Other early signals Peter got from Fundamentals Through Art reinforced his mistrust of administrators. He recalled that

In the beginning I thought Cheryl was scattered and disorganized. She never gave me a straight answer. She hedged on days, who I'd be working with and on other details. Everything seemed to depend on getting someone else's opinion. She was indecisive and weak. She just didn't seem to be in charge. (Peter)

Some of the behaviors Peter viewed as "weakness" and "indecision" were deliberate strategies that Cheryl felt made the program "responsive" to the needs of teachers and administrators. She saw her job as following up on the concerns of school officials and teachers and checking things out with them. I knew the program couldn't work if the teachers and principals didn't feel committed. I even tried to involve parents wherever I could. (Cheryl)

The artists all complained that during the year "simple administrative decisions would take forever" and have to include "dozens of people's" input. (Joan and Jane) An example Joan gave of this protracted decision making was scheduling. Cheryl agreed scheduling was complicated but she was especially dependent on principals' contributions and teachers' willingness to volunteer to have the artists in their classes. "We couldn't disrupt the schools. We had to schedule around a lot of other things." (Cheryl)

Jane worked hard to diplomatically follow Cheryl's patterns of clearing things with teachers and whenever appropriate with principals as well. Although Joan operated very independently, she frequently checked ideas with teachers before trying new things. Neither artist
looked for much direction from Cheryl in their teaching. Teachers and kids were the main barometers for how things were working. Joan found that "as long as things were going well, I was left alone." She knew that the reports from teachers were good but admitted that she "found it absolutely amazing" that Cheryl "never, ever came to see any of the things I was doing." (Joan)

Peter took a different approach from the other two. From the outset he pushed for some changes in the program. He reported that as soon as he realized how the program was to be organized, he tried to persuade Cheryl to restructure it to let each artist work intensively with two of the target classes, rather than spreading all three out over six target classes. "I said, use your money wisely; concentrate the artists and the kids will benefit more. That's the only way to get meaningful results."

When he did not get very far with his proposals, he said he pushed for some concepts that would link all the artists' teaching. He believed that these focal ideas --dialogue, metaphor and narrative--would reinforce the evaluation and tie the disparate pieces of the program together.

The Artists as Teachers

In the course of the year three informal but significant criteria emerged against which the artists-in-residence were measured. First, were they able to handle a class of students? Classroom discipline was
seen as essential. If the artist could manage the group and keep order, they were seen as "able to understand children." Secondly, were the kids excited by the activities, was instruction and material appropriate to the grade level and did students seem to "be getting something out of their time spent with artists?" Wasting time was not tolerated. Time had to be used efficiently with observable effect. And finally, was the artist contributing teaching ideas that were new and unique? It was not acceptable to do things that the teacher perceived him/herself as able to do. Creative people should bring creative ideas.

Joan, The Theatre Specialist

In her teaching Joan used a lot of theatre games, exercises and improvisations to "make certain areas of the curriculum come alive."(Joan) Teachers and program administrators spoke of her as, "an excellent and well prepared teacher. She had a lot of energy and really knew how to handle kids...Joan brought a lot of new, creative ideas to the program.(Paul) Cheryl hired Joan because, among other things, she was impressed with the proposal Joan submitted with her application. Her proposal had "learning goals and objectives like a good teacher would write up."(Cheryl) She fit in with the school in a comfortable way and contributed to the program. "A lot of people liked her because she wasn't weird; she wasn't a kookie artist."

Joan described herself as a confident teacher who knows how to excite kids...my goal was to introduce students to the two art forms I work in--dance and theatre--and to encourage them to take these seriously.(Joan)
According to Paul and Cheryl, Joan worked well with teachers. The early feedback she received was very positive. "I knew things were going well," Joan said, because some of the teachers got very involved and gave suggestions and asked for certain kinds of activities to go with particular things they were working on. . . And teachers would say to me, "The kids are really looking forward to you coming today." I could feel that things were going well.(Joan)

Cheryl reported that Joan was always receptive to hearing teachers' comments on the activities she conducted in their classrooms. Teachers' only reservations had to do with the fact that Joan occasionally did the same activities with fifth grade that she had done with third. This, they had come to believe, was a characteristic of artists generally, who "tend not to appreciate the subtle differences between kids of different ages and abilities.(Terry, 5th grade teacher)

Teachers talked about the correspondence between children's ability levels and instructional materials as an important thing teachers are "trained to think about" but which they believed artists did not understand. The teachers appreciated some artists' willingness to take their advice about these matters.

Over all, Joan felt that she had contributed to a successful project in Brookfield and looked back on the year with positive feelings. She believed she had been able to do the job Cheryl and the teachers expected and to successfully reach the children. Her only discomfort with the program had to do with the nature of the community and how its values were reflected in the schools and reinforced by Fundamentals Through Art.
She felt the kids were privileged and blase because "they've had so much." (Joan) She believed that the wealth of the resources teachers had had in the past contributed to a sense among some teachers and students of: "Well, here comes another artist; let's see what she can do." (Joan)

While this tone was not constant across all classrooms, it was most evident in the beginning while I was still proving myself...I guess they'd had some experiences with artists who hadn't been teachers and the class would get wild and then they'd leave and the teacher would have to pick up the pieces...I got the feeling that in some classes they were sitting back waiting to see me fall on my face. When they saw I could handle the kids, they relaxed and were willing to work with me. I could handle the feeling but it was like a little test. (Joan)

Once she gained a teacher's trust, Joan said the teacher would be more enthusiastic and helpful. "Initially, there was lots of suspicion." A few still used Joan's time in their classroom as a time to "catch up on their correcting" or to "run errands while I kept the kids busy." (Joan) Even this seemed understandable to Joan, who had herself experienced the pressures on classroom teachers who are "worried that they're only half way through the social studies book and have so little time for extra things." (Joan) She tried to ease the teachers' burdens by preparing exercises that could be carried out with little or no extra preparation. However, Joan said she had no sense of the extent to which these lessons were actually used.

The teacher training part of the program was rather indirect...We'd come in and work with the kids and if the teachers saw something useful, I guess they'd pick up on it or use it in some way next year...There were no workshops for teachers, per se. I don't know why. (Joan)
Jane, Photographer

Jane came to the third year of Fundamentals Through Art after having done a successful short residency the previous year. She described her experience as a newcomer thus:

When I started in Brookfield I wanted and needed a job. I felt inexperienced and so I knew I had to put in extra time and be extra committed. I was damned determined to do well so I'd be asked back and have the regular work the third year. (Jane)

After she got the job Jane took boxes of books home from the library and borrowed materials and text books from the school. She talked to other artists-in-residence and read about children's developmental stages.

I tried to figure out what I could expect second graders to do and what sixth graders could do. Could I use the word 'magnification,' for example, and expect them to understand the concept? I put in a good month of work before the residency even began. I tried to think of exciting ways to link language arts and photography, to work with science and other areas of the curriculum. The main thing I wanted to do was make it inspiring. I wanted them to like it and I knew I'd have to show my interest and enthusiasm. (Jane)

Jane had worked in organizations before and knew how to impress her employers. This sophistication combined with an outgoing style and an abundance of energy helped her win over teachers and administrators. Her ability to learn on the job and her enthusiasm for the challenge of doing well impressed everyone. Her willingness to accept advice from teachers led them to feel that she respected them as professionals with special training and knowledge. As one teacher put it: "She didn't assume she knew more than we did." (Iris, third grade teacher)

Jane saw her earlier work experience as relevant to being an artist-in-residence. She had been a freelance photographer and a sales
representative in the Consumer Product Division of a major company.

I've taken lots of different jobs to support my art and these gave me a lot of training in what I do now. I'm naturally good at communicating with different kinds of people and figuring out how to please a client. That's always part of the job. (Jane)

Jane's attitude toward the job she was hired to do made an obvious difference in how she presented herself and what she was willing to spend time doing.

I hadn't had much experience teaching in public schools before this but I had had enough to know that it was going to be more than just teaching art. Before I even got to the kids, I knew I had to win over the teachers. (Jane)

As a new photographer-in-residence Jane solicited teachers' help, observed how they did things and then adapted some of their classroom management techniques to her own teaching sessions. They perceived her as "understanding kids" and having a "gift for teaching." Most important, teachers saw Jane as approachable. Her relationship with them made it hard for them to be judgmental when she made mistakes or needed help.

She accepted our suggestions about specific children and used our suggestions... Once when she presented something about how cameras worked, it was way over the childrens' heads so I had to step in and help out. She was grateful for the help and the lesson turned out well. (Iris, third grade teacher)

In describing her adjustment to his school Paul said he was "thrilled" with Jane.

She was fabulous! My first contact with her came through the staff reports I heard about her when I returned from a year away. They (the teachers) liked her because she valued their curriculum, was well organized and product oriented. The kids always had something to show for their time with her and that helped promote the program. (Paul)

Jane was cautious to observe and concur with the norms of the
school. "I was careful about how I looked because I didn't want to turn people off by small things or to feed the stereotypes of artists as freaky or strange". Paul believed Jane was successful because she fit herself into the rhythms and mores of the school. Most of all she worked well in the building. She was flexible and respected our standards and ways of doing things. (Paul)

Her compliance with local expectations eventually bought Jane latitude to do things that were out of the ordinary. An example Paul cited had to do with the creation of a darkroom in the school.

We had to close off a corridor to the gym downstairs. This is the kind of thing that could be a major inconvenience and occasion for grumbling and teacher discontent, but Jane timed it just right. She waited until she'd established a good relationship with the staff, the kids were producing and they were talking about photography at home and parents were getting turned on. Then she asked for the darkroom space. By then teachers saw that she was motivating the kids, parents were behind the program and she had managed to share the credit with teachers. So for several months teachers took their classes outdoors and around the building to get to the gym so Jane could have her darkroom. (Paul)

Cheryl also praised Jane for the way she adjusted to the program. "Jane really understood what the program was all about." (Cheryl) This meant more than just connecting the arts to the basic skills or teaching an arts discipline well. What Cheryl appreciated most was the diplomacy with which Jane dealt with teachers.

When teachers are resistant and threatened, they don't work very well with outsiders, but Jane had a very nonthreatening manner. She didn't make them feel stupid because they didn't know about photography. So they could learn along with the kids. (Cheryl)

Both Cheryl and Paul saw Fundamentals Through Art as a gradual change process in which teachers would become a little more creative themselves and expand the range of instructional strategies they employed in their classrooms. Both believed that changing teachers was
a delicate process best done slowly and indirectly. Jane was particularly skillful in using this oblique approach—introducing something which teachers could learn to do and use even after she had moved on but doing it in a way that did not insult teachers or make them feel inadequate.

Although Paul was away on sabbatical during her first year in the program, Jane knew about Paul's role in starting Fundamentals Through Art and knew that he was a key person in Brookfield and an important ally to have. He was flattered but not surprised when she made an appointment at the beginning of the third year to interview him. "She was the only one who interviewed me to ask what I wanted her to do for the teachers in my building, above and beyond what they wanted." (Paul)

Paul's advice to Jane contributed further to shaping her understanding of him, his school and the notion of change implicit in the operation of Fundamentals Through Art. He told her to, "keep them (the teachers) motivated and interested and stretch them but also acquiesce to their requests—even if they seem dumb." (Paul)

As did his teachers, Paul attributed some of Jane's success to her willingness to solicit advice from those in the school and to "buy their acceptance" before trying to change them. "She did well in this building because she stroked the teachers as well as motivating the kids." (Paul)

Everyone's enthusiasm for Jane as a person and for the way she had adjusted to the Brookfield schools was aided by the excitement teachers, students and parents felt about photography as an art form. It was an
ideal mesh with the goals of Fundamentals Through Art because the skills involved in taking and processing pictures encompass things like observation of detail and sequencing skills—things which teachers can see the direct application of to the other things they try to teach students. There were also subject matter overlaps. Scientific concepts like light, vision and chemistry related to curriculum units at some grade levels. The subject matter of students' photographs could range from key classroom social events and field trips to the illustrations for stories read in language arts and reading. Local history and architecture could be brought in as the subject of photo essays and documentaries.

Because no teacher is held responsible for teaching photography, Jane could introduce the discipline without challenging any one else's territory or notions of pedagogy. She could provide a tool that genuinely complemented what the classroom teacher intended to do with the class. As Paul pointed out, photography was a favorite with both kids and parents. With a minimum of instruction children could produce relatively high quality photography and express a uniquely individual point of view through them.

Photography differs from poetry in this regard. Poetry appears in most language arts curricula, and writing skills were receiving new attention in every classroom because of the project's thrust. Photography is not the province of the classroom teacher; he/she is not expected to be proficient in its practice or pedagogy. Writing, on the other hand, was taught by nearly every Brookfield classroom teacher from
kindergarten through sixth grade; many had strong opinions about how it should be taught. Peter believed part of his job was to challenge some of the practices he believed were ineffective and replace them with better ones, while both Jane and Joan saw their jobs as adding new dimensions to the children's learning.

Jane attributed some of her success in the job to the amount of time she was willing and able to commit beyond her "paid hours."

Peter just didn't put in the same kind of hours I did. He couldn't because he was working more than one job. I put in a lot of time on my own. It wasn't part of the paid time. I don't know what would have happened if I hadn't been willing to do it. It's very difficult for most artists who are not only having to take the time away from their own work but may have to work two jobs... Essentially, we were paid for teaching time but to really do the job right I had to put in an additional day for every three days I was paid for. I always spent time talking things over with teachers. And that had to be at their convenience. I never did anything without making sure the teacher knew what I was planning. Sometimes the only way was to call them at home. But it was important to do especially in the beginning. After I got their trust and respect, I felt that I had more leeway and if there was a problem, they'd help me out. (Jane)

As a teacher of teachers Jane knew that it was as important to stimulate them as it was to excite their students. She also recognized that she needed to show the immediate relevance of her art form to what teachers considered important.

I talked with teachers to find out their special interests and tried to take those into consideration as I developed lessons. For example, one teacher liked the mechanics of photography and wanted that aspect emphasized so I worked with that. Another wanted her kids to have a darkroom experience so I made sure that was part of what I taught those kids. (Jane)

Nevertheless, despite having wanted the job and worked diligently to satisfy the demands of Fundamentals Through Art, Jane was relatively negative about parts of the experience. Looking back on it and
comparing it to another more recent residency, she had concluded that Fundamentals Through Art put excessive demands on the artists.

I felt that there was a little bit of compromise built into the program. It was an attitude that came down from the top. The idea was that the artists had to meet the goals of the program, of each teacher...There was just a lack of consideration for the artist and that person's life style--what it was like to have to work two or three other part time, short term things to support your real work, which is your art work. Scheduling never took into consideration our problems. Scheduling seemed to be done completely at their whim and then changed if something came up in the school. We were just expected to change our schedules. There was also no regard for our economic needs. We didn't receive any money at all until after we'd been working for a month and a half. It really takes advantage of the fact that we don't have 9 to 5 jobs and are available. We need the work so we're at their mercy. A very important part of the job is the logistics, but we were not paid for it. If you haven't done the logistical work and have things well planned, than it can turn off the teacher and they (sic) can undermine everything that you've done with the class... It was hard because in that program there were obligations to the town, to the school, to the state department, etc., etc., but there didn't seem to be any obligation to us as artists.(Jane)

While the other residency she had just completed provided time for her to do some of her own art within the school environment and to share that work with children, the Fundamentals Through Art residency was strictly a teaching residency. I never showed my own work. The emphasis was on teaching teachers how to use the art form in the classroom. Only once did a teacher request that I show my art work to the kids.(Jane)

Rather than looking forward to more work in schools where she could hone her teaching skills, Jane reported that she would probably not do residencies in the future if she could find other work. After her second residency, one in which she was expected to work on her own work, collaborate with a community service agency as well as teach children and their teachers, she said that she would probably do only one more job in a school. "You just can't plan your year. You don't know when
you'll get a residency, and there are no benefits and you have complications in all jobs." (Jane) She'd learned from experience to be "more assertive" in structuring the residency she had in an urban elementary school after she had finished in Brookfield.

I've definitely learned something from the past. They wanted me to see every child and hit every classroom in the school...It's hard not to get sucked in and let my own art work go ... I feel exhausted so I don't take the initiative to do extra things.(Jane)

Peter, Poet

In many ways Peter's experiences in the program were very different from Jane although they shared some feelings about the emphasis and structure of Fundamentals Through Art. Peter began his teaching with a series of classes in three different elementary schools. This work was part of the program's Cycle 1 and involved three or four sessions in the classrooms of teachers who were not part of the core group who were to receive concentrated work with the artists. Cheryl described Cycle 1 as a way for more classrooms to participate in some interdisciplinary work and for the artists to try designing some classes in cooperation with classroom teachers and art and music specialists.(Cheryl)

Looking back on the first month of the program, Jane reported that Peter "clearly didn't know how important these first few classes were."(Jane)

Peter himself indicated that he thought Cheryl wanted him to work with some other teachers for short stints just to involve other groups besides the core groups who he regarded as the key audience for his
From talking to Cheryl I thought Cycle 1 was just a way to spread the program around... But these were not the core teachers or kids. I experimented in a relaxed way to get a feeling for the kids and what they could do. (Peter)

Peter reported that after some encouragement from the Music Coordinator he decided to do "lyrics and song writing with these groups" to "ease them into writing." Because he had written many songs himself, Peter thought song writing was an ideal way to introduce poetry and "capture the kids' interest." Later when he heard from Cheryl that some teachers reported their disappointment that he did music not poetry when they wanted their kids to learn to write poetry, he felt "irritation and impatience." (Peter)

He saw this as one more indication of how poorly the project was administered.

I'd worked it out with the Music Coordinator but Cheryl obviously wasn't keeping on top of things and the teachers weren't prepared for it. I wasn't sure who I was supposed to be pleasing. (Peter)

Within the first few weeks, word began to circulate through the district that there were serious problems with the poet. Some of the teachers whose classes he visited early told others that he was not prepared and "it wasn't clear what he was trying to accomplish" (Program Files, Cheryl)

Reports of his "negative attitude" and "poor teaching" began to travel from school to school through the informal network. (Cheryl, Paul, Files) Some teachers who had only met him at staff meetings accepted their colleagues' assessments of him as "disappointing". There was a growing consensus that Peter was failing
to live up to a "professional level of dress and grooming" and teachers were "worried" about having him in their classrooms. (Paul, Files)

One teacher even reported that she did not work with him but "his appearance left a little to be desired." She said she had talked with him in the teachers room once when she had to "make an excuse to leave because his body odor was offensive." (Files)

Peter claimed that a series of logistical complications helped undermine his reputation in the district. He reported that his first class in one school had been changed to another room "but they neglected to tell me." On another occasion he had car problems and was late. Peter regarded everyone as

remarkably rigid about these things and totally inflexible even when the mistakes were not my fault. It was just the tone in the school. (Peter)

In Paul's school teachers were "nervous" about him before he even arrived there after working in the other two schools. (Cheryl) Peter's report was that he "got there the first day and nobody knew I was coming, which was more than a little demoralizing. I had a schedule Cheryl had given me but the teachers didn't have it." (Peter)

While a few teachers liked Peter's classes and thought the students benefited from them, there was growing dissatisfaction which peaked as it came time to schedule teachers for the next cycle of classes with the artists. While teachers were willing to have the other artists work with their students, principals reported to Cheryl that no one wanted Peter. The reasons cited clustered around two themes: 1) his grooming and conduct around the school were not up to the schools' standards; and
2) he was poorly prepared and his teaching contributed little to the program.

Cheryl indicated that she had met with Peter on several occasions as she began to hear these complaints about him. She relayed them to him but she felt he "just didn't seem to care."(Cheryl)

By February she found that principals were having difficulty getting teachers to sign up to have Peter in their classes. Paul, who was hearing complaints from teachers in his building before Peter finished his second day there, called Cheryl and told her there would not be another cycle in his building, if something wasn't done. Cheryl felt drastic steps were called for.

So I called Peter in and told him he was fired. Then I immediately called the Superintendent to inform him and he immediately called the school's lawyer.(Cheryl)

Peter also called a lawyer and asked Brookfield Schools for a written statement of all complaints against him. Cheryl did not have a full documentation of all conversations about him and teachers complaints were not in writing; however, written statements were collected and a file put together along with phone logs and other fragments of the history.

The statements teachers wrote show a remarkably consistent, through not unanimous, pattern of dissatisfaction centering on Peter's appearance, behavior and teaching. Taken from teachers' memos and program records are some of the following comments about him:

-It seemed as though he did not have enough material for the time he spent in the room and always seemed to be watching the clock.
-He came into the classroom drinking coffee or tea...
- I didn't feel his mannerism was appropriate for first graders. He was rather abrupt with them. He also lacked enthusiasm.

- I did not see any carryover or enthusiasm on the children's part to complete the assignments he left.

- The class rambled and the children lost interest because what he asked them to do was too difficult.

- Mr. Lourie's unkempt appearance did not seem to be a good role model for the children.

- We observed a frequent leaving of the room for tea, coffee or whatever. Also, his appearance/mannerisms were unacceptable examples to be exhibited in a classroom; ie. stretching out on chairs with cup in hand.

And some positive comments, as well, were included in the remarks teachers supplied for the files.

- Eventhough some of the students thought the work was too length and difficult and not clear, I think they all learned from his lesson.

- For the most part the children enjoyed their three sessions with him. They were responsive and excited.

- Peter had a warm, gentle, non-threatening professional quality.

Peter insisted that he was "completely taken by surprise" by the sudden termination of his contract. He claimed that the only hint he had of serious problems had come only days earlier when he had met with Paul after two days in his school. Paul had told him that teachers were not satisfied with his work so far and reluctant to sign on for the next cycle of classes. At the time Peter felt all he would need to do was "shape up" his clothing and "make Paul happy."

An earlier meeting at which Cheryl "tried to tell him" about teachers' concerns was difficult for Cheryl and seen by Peter as just standard problem-solving sessions "common to any residency." (Peter)

Cheryl thought Peter was "hard to talk to" and "incredibly dense."

He just doesn't hear you. When I tried to tell him he was actually surprised and didn't seem to know why there should be all this negative feeling about him. No one had actually talked to him, only about him, except Paul and I. Teachers generally won't say negative
things to someone's face and they all thought he was unapproachable. (Cheryl)

When Peter and his lawyer protested his firing, the school's lawyer reviewed the events and the documentation pulled together by Cheryl and said that it was probable that Peter had not been given due process in the matter.

Cheryl was faced with several difficult options.

I was in a bind. The lawyer said there were two choices. We could pay him half the money promised him or we could reinstate him. I tried to hire another poet, but because the network of poets in the region is so tight two others that I called refused the job. Reinstating him was the lesser of two evils because the program had to go on. (Cheryl)

Paul's own response to Peter and that of his teachers was vociferous. Looking back on the experience, Paul said

Peter's personal affect destroyed him in this building. He was not well organized, he carried a coffee cup with him to class; he was unkempt. He had all of the wrong affectations for someone to work in this building. He was not only unkempt clothing-wise, but his personal grooming was a mess while he was in this building. He frequently had a stubble beard and his whole body affect was down. I can't believe that he'd had successful experiences in other schools because, I mean, you can't get past his affect... His work with the students never ever had a chance to get out and get evaluated. (Paul)

Paul listed the following points in a memo given to Peter when Paul met with him after his second day in Paul's school:

While I accept the fact that there was confusion regarding your first day in the program (in this school), it is unacceptable and unsatisfactory to:

1. carry your coffee cup to the classroom.
2. lack enthusiasm and motivation, and
3. give the impression of "killing time"...

In comparison to other artists-in-residence, your work so far is unsatisfactory. I look for much needed improvement in energy, preparation and delivery. (Paul's Memo 2/3/80)
Paul explained that Peter's lateness and failure to plan his lessons and meet with teachers ahead of time all contributed to their feeling that "they were being put upon and he was wasting their time." Paul said he explained to Peter the problems created by carrying a coffee cup around to class.

I love my coffee too but I don't carry it around with me to classrooms. If I need to have six cups a day, I'll sit down and have six cups but I don't carry it around with me in the hall so that people think I sit around drinking coffee all day. Whether it's true or not it doesn't matter it's how people perceive it, especially when you're not putting out any great juice... (Paul)

Peter was reinstated and his work as an artist-in-residence proceeded in Brookfield. Cheryl "set up rigorous conditions" Peter would have to meet. She gave him a required format for classes and asked him to plan alternative lessons so he would not be caught off guard unprepared. She was to be given copies of these lessons each week. She told him he would have to

wear a tie, be neat and keep the schedule. Because he was so dull and slow in the classroom, I told him he had to step it up; he had to change his energy level and be a lot zippier. (Cheryl)

Those involved disagreed about the extent to which Cheryl's intense supervision and structure actually led to changes in Peter's performance. Paul thought "he got a lot better," but Cheryl said that "things didn't improve that much. The teachers and I thought he just had zero personality." The experience with Peter confirmed the belief among teachers and program administrators in Brookfield that some artists just work out and others don't. We've had a mixture in our years of doing arts programs. Some have been very good and others, like Peter, just don't know how to fit into an educational environment. It's sometimes awfully hard to tell ahead of time. Peter, for example looked great on paper and he'd been successful in
other programs. (Cheryl)

Initially Peter believed the complaints about his behavior were silly and felt they emanated from the constrained attitudes of the town and the school. He had learned to expect some conflicts in residencies, usually around schedules or how the artist would focus his time. At the end of the residency he still regarded the comments about his teaching as unfair and the discussion of his clothing and grooming as "good old-fashioned character assassination," which made him angry. He believed that dress had always been a preoccupation of Paul's, that he had once written a letter to the local paper saying that teachers would get more respect from their students if they dressed better.

Indeed, Paul had described in some detail his assumptions that a professional standard of dress was important for those working with young people.

If you come in here in short sleeves and no neck tie, then you're showing me a blue-collar mentality that you're projecting. I agree that it does not affect your teaching but it affects the way people perceive you as a profession...If I had my druthers, if this were a private school, we'd all wear jackets and ties... But I never tell my staff to dress in a certain way. They know by the way I dress during the year what my expectations are. They sometimes chide me for being a clothes horse so it goes both ways. (Paul)

Martin, the Project Evaluator, also believed that Peter's appearance did not show "good judgment" about the kind of school and community he was working in.

Any professional should know that he has to tailor what he wears to the situation. If Peter were working in a rural school in Maine, his old jeans and lumber-jack shirts would have been O.K., but in that particular town where all the kids have on the preppy uniform of Izod shirts and designer jeans--well it seems obvious that he wouldn't fit in. (Martin)
The assessment of Peter's actual teaching ability was eclipsed by the discussion of his appearance and attitude around the school. He was accused of projecting a lack of enthusiasm for the project and failing to bring the new ideas and energy that had come to be expected of artists-in-residence. Paul, Cheryl and the teachers all insisted that Brookfield was used to outstanding artists and that Peter fell below the standard. While there had been conflicts with artists before, no one had created the distance Peter had.

Regarding his teaching, early reviews said he seemed unprepared and never went to meet with teachers prior to a session. This led teachers to feel "he had no goals or objectives." (Teacher memo to Cheryl) Joan and Jane had impressed teachers by supplying complete lesson plans explaining what they hoped to accomplish. In the eyes of many his lessons lacked "zip and excitement" and the pace was too slow. He often give the students tasks that the teachers felt were too complicated and certainly could not be completed in one class period, necessitating a carryover to the next session. Teachers would then be required to give additional time to complete an assignment Peter gave so it would be ready for editing the next time he came in. (Paul, Cheryl, Teachers)

Teachers said their children frequently lost interest; it just wasn't very exciting. One teacher remarked that he brought no new, creative ideas to the children.

Most of what he did, I could have done. One whole session he simply held the tape recorder microphone as the children read their poems. It doesn't take an artist to do that. (Iris, Third grade teacher)

Cheryl and Paul saw him as too slow and boring. He was told to
"pick up the pace." Peter's lack of overt enthusiasm and vigor was seen as disinterest. "He just didn't seem to care and was killing time in the classroom". (Paul) It was obviously difficult for those he worked with to separate his competence from the grooming issues. One teacher said that "it was a problem of hygiene" and it was "impossible for the children to see beyond these things to his talent as a writer." (Iris, Third Grade Teacher) Another said that she had seen him in a meeting "slumping in a chair in an unprofessional manner" and concluded that the stories about his incompetence must be true. (Terry, Fifth Grade Teacher)

The core teachers he worked with most extensively questioned his pedagogy overall: his choice of material and the appropriateness of his instruction for certain grade levels. They said that he didn't include enough variety for the younger children and made them rewrite and "they lost interest." (Iris, Third Grade Teacher)

Some rather fundamental disagreements about teaching writing were never openly discussed. As time went on Peter said less about his theories of writing instruction, became more isolated and grumbled to the other artists while teachers talked about him to each other. Since his firing occurred after relatively few classes, his final months were a kind of mutual stand-off. He did what he was obligated to do with the core groups and the teachers silently tolerated or avoided him. Peter described the cloud around him this way:

When I was reinstated I dressed up, wore a tie to school and tried to make the best of a bad deal...only one teacher actually came up to me and said, 'I know this is very hard for everyone, but let's start with a clean slate.' (Peter)
He again tried to teach from his strong convictions about how writing should be taught. These notions never got much direct consideration because the history still got in the way and it became increasingly difficult for Cheryl to listen to Peter's ideas about writing and for him to present them in a way that was persuasive to teachers.

As a graduate student in a reading program, Peter had developed strong views about teaching reading and writing. They were consistent with many of the ideas articulated by the "writing process" researchers with whom he'd worked in his program. "Writing process" advocates that language skills—spelling, punctuation and grammar—should be taught in the context of composition. If encouraged to write about their own experiences, children will develop the skills as tools to serve meaning and as a by product of their natural urge to communicate and be understood. Attempts to get mastery of separate skills without their active use in composition are regarded as ineffective means to teach the complex enterprise of composition.

It is easy to see why these notions and their attendant pedagogy might appeal to a professional writer. Children are encouraged to draw on their own experience of the world and to share their unique perceptions of reality. Properly implemented "process writing" is a method through which even first and second graders can be motivated to write extensively and to make multiple revisions of their work using sophisticated abilities (Graves, 1978).

Although Peter talked a good deal about writing instruction in the
early group meetings and whenever he met with teachers, and tried to convince Cheryl of the merits of his approach, it was quite different from the way most Brookfield teachers taught. Adopting the approach would have meant a significant shift in emphasis for teachers. Unlike photography and drama, Peter's approach to teaching writing challenged teachers' present practice and for many would have required drastic changes. For him to even begin to model the approach was an ambitious undertaking, especially when he was unable to raise the topic in a way that it could be explored. Playing the role of the expert was not something teachers or administrators in Brookfield could accept from Peter. As Joan put it,

I had things I wanted teachers to learn but I was very aware of not coming in with a hard sell saying 'here I am...I'll show you how to do it.' You can't do it that way...you have to set the tone that you're there to receive as well as to give--I mean you have to say 'Give me your ideas and how have you handled this?' They have to feel like they're worth something too. And they are; they're the ones who can get you out of a mess if you get yourself into one. After all, they know the kids in a way an artist coming in can never know them.(Joan)

Peter found it nearly impossible to implement his ambitious ideas without cooperation from the core group teachers, especially when he was not in the classroom every day. As he defined the job to be done with the core groups and teachers, it was a substantial undertaking even under favorable conditions. He saw the task with the students as one of establishing new attitudes about writing and modifying assumptions which were products of their past training. This was something Peter realized he couldn't do alone.

Kids associate writing with negative work because of the way they've been trained. That can't be turned around without help from the
teachers. They had to be willing to listen and follow up in between my times in the classroom. They have to pay some attention so the kids will feel it's important. Writing is work. It's not fun and games!(Peter)

Alas, given the circumstances, Peter could command little support from Cheryl or from the teachers to move in this direction.

They (core teachers) were in and out of the classroom; they didn't pay attention. They were giving messages all over the place that what I was doing wasn't important and the kids didn't need to take it seriously. Teachers used the time to do errands, correct papers and use the time as free time. . . sometimes I'd give an assignment and the teacher wouldn't even tell the kids who were absent what it was.(Peter)

Furthermore, Peter was openly critical of the way teachers normally dealt with writing and believed that it was part of a pervasive pattern that made serious writing and original thought unlikely in most classrooms--in Brookfield and elsewhere. He believed that the continuous pressure for an exciting, fast pace, a kind of "performance" from artists, as well as teachers, was indicative of a lack of appreciation for real writing.

They didn't really understand what good writing is. They teach isolated skills, spelling, vocabulary, punctuation. They don't have a sense of writing as a process. Like a lot of teachers, these were mired in the sub-skills of writing and had no sense of it as a complex skill...when it comes to poetry they automatically think cute, clever, creative writing ideas like putting together a rhinoceros and a chocolate ice cream cone and see what you get--dumb things like that. Yes, they would have liked that, that would have been fast paced, exciting. Keep the kids excited and they'll be creative. They wanted recipes, zippy, new writing ideas like that. In some ways they have a very low estimation of what kids can do--of what's inside them. The only way to get at this is to teach the teachers to write themselves. It takes something drastic. You have to get the teacher out of the school environment completely. The pressure they're under day to day, hour to hour, makes it nearly impossible for them to think about anything--to admit new ideas into themselves...A lot of us (artists) experience a kind of amazement and shock at what we hear in the teachers room--you know the extent of the banality that goes
on and the stupidity and inanity of the conversations and jokes that you hear. There are reasons; these are people who have learned to be inane to turn off real thought and feeling in their lives. Try to go into the teachers' room and have a serious conversation about anything. My God! (Peter)

Under the circumstances of having been fired and then reinstated, Peter found it "a struggle and totally demoralizing" to try to change how the kids thought about their writing or how teachers taught it. He felt unappreciated and misunderstood by the teachers and unsupported by the administrators--by Cheryl and by Paul. Ironically, he came to see himself as the only one who really cared about the project's central goal--improving writing. Over time he retreated, stopped talking about "process writing" and squeezed in his own work whenever he had spare time. He ate his lunch alone and listened to tapes on his earphones. Teachers cited this as further proof that he was disinterested in the program and "not up to the standard" of artists-in-residence they were used to. As one put it, "Peter spent all his time listening to his tapes and never really tried to talk with us. He just needed the job but didn't really care about teaching." Joan agreed with the school officials who said Peter was poorly dressed for a position in a school. However, she saw it as a consequence, not of his lack of interest, but of his self-absorption. "Peter was like a lot of artists I know," she said, "he was into his work and not into trying to please anyone else."

Jane identified with Peter and believed he was "unfairly treated." However, she believed he was remiss in establishing himself initially and not building better relationships. When she wrote a letter on his behalf after he was fired, she reported that she was told by school
officials to "stay out of it, for her own good." Paul said it was logical that the artists would stick together. "After all, they're vulnerable." He thought that the artists judged each other only on their reputations as artists and never questioned teaching skill as important. "This is why we couldn't get another poet to replace Peter," he explained.

Because they stick together... we couldn't even get the poet who we offered the job to when Peter was fired, and she had worked successfully in Brookfield before. She needed the money and was free but she turned it down... Artists will stick together. (Paul)
CHAPTER V
DESCRIPTIONS OF ARTISTS IN RESIDENCE

The experiences of the artists who worked in Fundamentals Through Art demonstrate the importance of personality, background and personal values. These factors which are part of the person and are brought to any new job effect all that occurs. Previous residency experiences and other work history are often the source of skills as well as notions about what might be appropriate to do in the new job. Ultimately the way one defines one's self is critical to job adjustment.

Despite the shaping power of individual factors, these alone cannot explain the differences in how different artists encounter the demands of school jobs. Each artist's experience depends on the complex interplay between that individual and a particular organizational context. Whether the experience is a successful one in the eyes of program officials and the artist depends on the fit between that individual and the conditions of the setting.

We have seen how the experiences of three different artists evolved differently. It is useful to look again at Fundamentals Through Art with the question of fit between artist and setting in mind, asking what the artist brought to the situation and what aspects of the setting itself seemed to make a difference in what occurred and the outcomes that resulted. Then the experiences of six other artists in three separate programs will be described and similarly examined.
Peter was an experienced artist-in-residence; that is, he had done residencies before in other kinds of programs and situations. He also thought of himself as a knowledgeable educator and had taken steps to secure credentials to be able to work in schools in even more influential positions than as an artist-in-residence. He came to Brookfield with passionate beliefs about the importance of literacy and about writing pedagogy. His central preoccupation, however, was not school life or learning in general. His fidelity was to poetry and to writing. The subject matter discipline came first. He put that ahead of social diplomacy and ahead of strategic concerns about how change occurs. His "clients" were the students and poetry. These came before building colleagueship with Brookfield teachers or advancing the Fundamentals Through Art Program, per se. His personal priorities and the goals of the program, while overlapping in many ways, were not an exact fit.

What Peter brought to the job and what he cared most about influenced how he entered, and his earliest experiences of the school set a tone for what would unfold. Theorists who have studied the phenomenon of occupational socialization agree that the initial encounters between the newly recruited employee and the organization are crucial in correcting or magnifying differences in the expectations of the recruit and of the employer. (Vroom and Deci, 1971) and (Van Maanan, 1976).
Peter's previous work experience made him suspicious of administrators and "middle men;" he had learned that things "worked out better" when he had direct contact with the teachers and a degree of personal authority in the situation. His early experiences in Brookfield reinforced these assumptions and made him uneasy about both his autonomy and status. He was skeptical about what others knew about the two things that mattered most to him--poetry and teaching writing--and his first attempts to influence events were not fruitful. He began by asserting himself as an expert and by trying to persuade those in charge to restructure the program in ways that would give him a different sort of role than that which was prescribed.

What Peter did not appreciate was the fact that the program had a history, patterns of operating and a momentum that predated his arrival. Fundamentals Through Art was already "institutionalized" in the Brookfield schools and grounded in its culture. Local people felt ownership for the program and the program's administrators shared local values and assumptions about appropriate behavior. Peter's blatant failure to comply with a most basic community norm of dress made it difficult for his voice to be heard on other, more significant, matters. He did not behave as new members of the organization were expected to behave or follow the patterns of operation that were part of the culture of the school and therefore of the program--such as trying not to add to the teacher's workload and checking things out ahead of time.

Even more fundamental was Peter's inability to intuit and accommodate to the model of change latent in the way Fundamentals Through Art functioned. He did not use the persuasive strategies that
worked well for (and were consequently reinforced by) the other two artists in the program. The changes he described in retrospect were overambitious for the resources he commanded. He lacked the influence necessary to carry out his goals. To alter writing instruction would have necessitated a different kind of commitment from the system, strong backing of Peter from school officials and the direct participation of teachers themselves. Peter wanted to see a renovation when he was being asked simply to add a new, somewhat decorative element to the existing edifice.

Because Peter was dealing directly with writing instruction, rather than working on writing skills by way of photography or drama as the other artists were doing, it was even more important for him to have a collaborative style with teachers. He was working in an area classroom teachers are accountable for and he was making demands on students that necessitated teacher follow-up and cooperation. He had an impossible combination—a task that made him interdependent with exactly the people who viewed him as very much an outsider and who he viewed as deficient. There was little basis for accommodation particularly after he had been fired and reinstated.

Perhaps if he had been a photographer or theatre artist, introducing a new art form which did not challenge teachers' current practice, his marginality in the organization would not have been such an impediment. He could have worked in relative isolation with students and aroused less persistent resistance and conflict. However, he would not have met another requirement of the job which was to "give teachers new teaching ideas."
The management structure and operating assumptions of Fundamentals Through Art left the burden of "fitting in" largely on the shoulders of the artists themselves. Little was done to recognize and mediate the differences between the world of the artists and the world of the teachers. Sharon and Mary Lynn accommodated themselves, their subject expertise and the technologies of their respective art forms to the school culture. Although Carol saw herself as a liaison between the artists and teachers, she typically played that role only as difficulties arose or when called upon by one of the parties. There were relatively few planning meetings or joint activities designed to explore some of the potential differences in viewpoint among teachers and artists.

More Artists-in-Residence

Sue Duncan

Sue is a 38 year old printmaker who works in silk screen, etching, and lithography. She is represented by galleries in Washington, D.C., Illinois and in New England and has had numerous group and one-woman shows throughout New England. For four years she has worked as an artist-in-residence in various schools in the state through Artists in School (AIS), a program funded by the National Endowment for the Arts and the state Arts Council. In Sue's case the program has assigned her to one school each year for up to a full school year. She's worked anywhere from one to three days a week depending on the amount of funds available and the particular needs of the school. The procedure in AIS
is that initial contacts with schools and logistical arrangements are handled centrally by a state-level coordinator. The AIS Coordinator meets with schools applying to the program and places artists in schools to further students' understanding of the arts. Although the AIS program is tailored especially to rural and small town environments, the central thrust of the program is inherited with few adaptations from federal guidelines generated by the National Endowment's Artists in Education Program. The emphasis is arts education by professional artists/teachers, not basic skills improvement, not racial desegregation or other academic and social priorities. Artists are viewed as important role models from whom students can learn about a specialized area of the arts and about the creative life in general.

Sue had been doing residencies for three successive years when she went to work in the Center Mills Elementary School. Center Mills had a "Young Authors" Program designed to increase students reading, writing and language skills by publishing their own books. The Principal of the school believed that a printmaker's skills would enhance the quality of the children's books and increase their enthusiasm for the language activities. A poet who had worked in the program the previous year had, according to the Artists-in-Residence coordinator, not worked out well. "That artist had lots of conflicts with the teachers about teaching writing." The AIS Coordinator recommended Sue to Center Mills because she believed a visual artist would have "less trouble" and that Sue "would know how to accommodate herself to the situation without threatening teachers" (Nancy, AIS Coordinator).

Sue had been one of the artists who helped shape the state's
Artists in the Schools Program since its inception.

We've written a lot of our own rules, not because we felt we were entitled, but because we've had to establish ground rules for ourselves and those have helped other artists. (Sue)

Considered by other artists and by the program's officials to be one of the most successful and reliable artists-in-residence in the state, Sue admits that she was not always as effective as she had learned to be.

I had a very rocky first residency although I managed to turn it around...I had to call on Nancy (AIS State Coordinator) for help...The school couldn't decide how I was to report my working days and I didn't get paid for the first ten weeks I was there. I tried everything and got no where...there were phone calls, visits to the superintendent's office, promises and apologies but still no money and I was getting desperate...The bookkeeper was always out to lunch and the principal knew nothing about it...I don't know what was going on, but I figured they must not have wanted me much. (Sue)

In addition to getting paid, Sue had to learn to forcefully "put some boundaries" on her job in the schools. She recalls "enormous pressures" to work with more students than she believed she had been hired to teach and thought that what the school was really trying to do was put another body in the art department, which was seriously understaffed. I was surprised at how strong I had to be to keep from letting them overwhelm me completely. (Sue)

In this first residency, what seemed like a conflict over numbers of classes and the size of classes, turned out to also involve questions of program emphasis. Sue reported that she argued for a small group of students whose skills she could develop in depth while the pressure in the school was to work for short lengths of time giving more students a chance.
When we (the two art teachers and I) came to discuss how I would spend the second semester, I wanted to deal with an advanced print making class, kids I'd worked with before, who I could take further. We'd bought presses and rather a lot of expensive equipment and I hadn't used it with large classes or with beginning print-making groups. I wanted kids whose participation was voluntary and I wanted a small group and kids who were not beginners. However, there were demands coming back at me that 'well, you know that the people who have supplied the matching funds, who in this case were a parent group, have stipulated that the artist-in-residence is to reach as many children in the community as possible.' (Sue)

As a new artist-in-residence facing a conflict, Sue fell back on the priorities established at the state level, called the coordinator for normal support and finally prevailed by arguing that the central purpose of the program was to give children a genuine experience of the arts and not just to provide a passing exposure.

With each new residency Sue took more initiative to structure her role ahead of time to get small classes and students who had elected to concentrate on print-making. She always made sure teachers were represented in planning and that the principal, in particular, was aware of scheduling and group composition. She also learned some ways she could ease the tensions between herself and art teachers who were forced to handle much larger classes and motivate captive audiences of students. She learned to expect that the art teacher might resent her seemingly easy job.

For one thing, I had a materials budget and I made a real point of trying to, not only replace any materials I used but to leave behind for the following year more than I made use of. I even brought equipment for the teachers to keep--things like scissors and special brushes--which schools are always short of when the art budget is small...I tried to overcome any territorial feelings lots of personal contact and showing interest in the art teachers. (Sue)

Hence, by the time Sue got to Center Mills she had two things in her favor. She had experience with teachers and students and a clearer
notion of what the artist-in-residence's role could be. Sue's relationship to the Young Authors Program evolved from a planning discussion with the Principal and a fourth grade teacher who was designated to be the In-School Coordinator of the residency.

Although all evaluated the residency in Center Mills a success, Sue found it "difficult and frustrating at times." She was "caught in the middle of turmoil over contract terminations which had divided the school and pitted one group against another." She was able to work around the problems, but she saw herself as having to "deal with people who were under pressure and defensive."(Sue) She felt reluctant to make demands on teachers who had "all they could cope with." Being part of the Young Authors program required that Sue cooperate with classroom teachers to a greater extent than in previous residencies. In the past her residencies had put her in close contact with the art teacher alone or gave her the more isolated status of a guest specialist working alone with her own students. In Center Mills Sue was just one of several teachers who had a role in producing the student books. This meant that by the time she was to do the paste-up, printing and binding students would have already worked with their classroom teachers and perhaps a reading specialist to prepare their stories or poems.

Sue's frustration arose when students would arrive with half-completed, unedited work and I'd have to go back to the teacher and get her to help the kid or I'd have to sit down and help him myself, which I couldn't do and keep up with the production pace. I didn't think I should be the writing teacher getting the work presentable and helping with punctuation, etc.
It took a lot of time away from printing and doing the art work. I had to go back and pressure the teachers to send more complete work. It was sometimes awkward. (Sue)

Something that had felt to Sue like a real compromise early in the residency proved extremely beneficial when it came to working with teachers. The local coordinator had asked her to work with all the fourth, fifth and sixth grades. At first she resisted thinking it would spread her "too thin" but as it turned out, that gave me a chance to spend some time in the classroom with all the teachers and that made it easier when it came to asking them to send me finished work...And that satisfied their need to get everybody involved. Everyone felt that enough kids had participated in the residency and since it was only one visit I still got my focused groups too.(Sue)

Sue enjoyed teaching and liked the "balance between teaching and doing art that the AIS program affords." However, she "has no desire to teach full time." She explained that in all her residencies she felt some tension from the art teachers who were "always overworked" and who seemed to "be afraid I was going to replace them."

I love teaching but full time work is out of the question. It automatically negates the possibility of spending the time I need to spend on my own work. I couldn't be an artist just evenings and weekends.(Sue)

An unexpected pleasure of work in the schools for Sue was its compatibility with being a parent. The two roles enriched each other in ways she had not expected.

I enjoy being a parent and I understand children because of my own kids. I think I'm a better teacher because of it and I get to share a lot of ideas with my own kids which have grown out of things that happened in school. The two things relate in very direct ways too. After an article about my residency with AIS appeared in the local paper, I got invited to do some work in my own kids' school. Before that I don't even know if they knew I was an artist. And of course my kids loved having me go there. It brought those two parts of my
Sue was respected by the teachers and viewed as responsible and "willing to hold up her end." (Doris, 5th grade teacher) When the student books turned out well, everyone got credit and the school received praise from parents. Having seen some artists who could not handle a class, some teachers thought Sue was skilled at keeping order and getting outstanding results from the students. Several were intrigued by the printing equipment and samples of art she brought to the school.

Henri Pinet

Henri Pinet is a 37 year old sculptor who, like Sue, worked in the Center Mills Schools under the auspices of the AIS Program. For Henri, the residency program was "a way to make some extra money to pay for sculpture projects while I support my family." Of all the subjects in this study Henri was most vocal about not "becoming known as an artist who only does artist-in-the schools residencies."

Henri has the reputation of being one of the program's most effective artists-in-residence; he takes work in the schools seriously even though it is not the core enterprise of his life.

I look at it as a kind of subsidy. You can't approach it as a profession, really. There's not enough teaching. It's one of several things you have to tie together to make a living so you can spend time on sculpture...There are really three very separate things for me. There's making art, that is producing original, creative work, and there is making a living from art--things like artists in the schools and other grants, and finally there's making a living--doing things like odd jobs and carpentry. They are very different. (Henri)

Henri had worked in the AIS Program for five years before he went
to Center Mills and while each residency varied in focus and approach, they had a relatively uniform format—a format partially defined by the state office and partially worked out between Henri and school officials. Usually there was a sculpture or playground structure designed and constructed by a group of students under Henri’s guidance. In Center Mills he created a permanent piece of sculpture for the school’s entryway. A student group worked with him on its construction and all students eventually signed their name over the graffiti surface. "So it was a real communal effort and everybody participated." (Doris, Art Teacher)

Henri explained that over the years he had learned a lot about how to get started in a school residency and that all this experience came into play in the initial weeks of the Center Mills residency.

I always know, for example, that teachers have certain attitudes about what the artist should be...it's always the case so I address it directly right at the beginning, usually in a meeting with all the teachers...I explain exactly what will happen...I also rely on someone from the school who has attended the orientation program at the beginning of the year and can support me by making it clear what the purpose of the program is. (Henri)

The "purpose" to which Henri subscribes is the official position of the AIS Program and is annually reinforced by bringing together all artists-in-residence and representatives of each participating school. The program is first and foremost an arts education program designed to "place a living, practicing artist in schools." (Program Brochure) Both Henri and Sue mentioned the importance of the state’s support in general and the orientation conference specifically in giving artists support in keeping the focus on aesthetic goals while in the school.

Henri set up a meeting in the first two weeks and described his
plans for the year.

I explained the project I was planning to do and we discussed some mechanics of scheduling etc. and then we talked about other things I might do during my time in the school...As with every school, some teachers look at it as 'how many periods are you going to have my class so that I can do something else' and others really wanted to be involved. Some organized their schedules so I could spend time in their rooms and others just never got involved, which was O.K. with me because I wanted to focus on the project group and not try to see every child in the school. (Henri)

The need to limit the numbers of students the artist-in-residence will work with is a challenge Henri had come to anticipate.

In my first few residencies I was overextended. They know you can't work with every kid and these schools don't have enough art. But they say, "Oh, couldn't you please just take this one group or these two extra kids who can really benefit from it?. Could you speak at our assembly or do this one extra session?" I give in to some of it because I want to be as accommodating as I can. In Center Mills, I did a lot of extra things but I didn't get myself in over my head the way I might have in the past...I think about it in terms of what will it take to make this a successful residency, to accomplish what I want to accomplish so I do what ever I have to to make it go well. If I make my compromises on small things that I don't care about too much, then I don't have to compromise on the main project. Also I ask a lot from them. (Henri)

In Center Mills Henri was immediately perceived as "responsible" and "professional." His past experiences had taught him that the first few days are important for setting a good impression.

I usually wear a tie and jacket to the first few meetings and am especially careful about dress...I want to break down any stereotypes that artists are weird. I have a beard so I know I need to be extra careful...After the first week maybe I just wear the tie, then I ease into my working clothes gradually 'till I'm in my jeans and work boots because I work with plaster and other messy materials...also good rapport with the janitor is essential in my case because I use heavy equipment and tools. I'm careful about how I approach people like the janitor because I'll need things from them. (Henri)

Like Sue, Henri worked most closely with the art teacher. Because of the nature of his residency, he had to rely on classroom teachers...
only around scheduling. Otherwise, he did his job and they did theirs. He believed that the focus of his efforts should be art; any links to other subject areas were the responsibility of the teachers. He did not depend on their direct collaboration in his teaching and his activities had no bearing on their instruction or curriculum unless they took the initiative to follow-up on a guest appearance he might have made in their classrooms. The bulk of Henri's time was spent alone with groups of students drawn from different classes.

It was an enrichment program pure and simple. Something special that no one in the school could do. Henri was like a special treat for the school. That's the way the parent group who subsidized the program felt and that's what the Principal and teachers felt too. No one talked about integration with other subject areas or anything like that. It wasn't even particularly tied to the art curriculum. It was just a separate, special activity. The only thing was, we wanted as many kids to have a chance to participate as possible. (Doris, 5th Grade teacher)

Henri and Sally, the art teacher, shared space and some materials. Henri applauded what he viewed as her heroic efforts to teach children art under less than ideal conditions and with an extremely heavy teaching schedule.

Sally was excellent. I give her credit for carrying on with incredible integrity to the creative process and she sees seven classes a day. She produced nice work with the kids. (Henri)

A consequence of the way Henri's Center Mills residency was structured and of similar residencies where the artist does a discrete project with lots of attention in the community and public relations, but is not woven into the fabric of normal school life or curriculum, is that "art is treated like a special event rather than as a normal part of life." (Henri) He worried that this fosters what he called "the
performance quality" of residencies where people in the school begin to feel that

the kids have to be excited all the time... I want to give them a sense of the materials and steps needed to make an idea become a three-dimensional object... and I hope I also give them some insight into why people make sculpture, people like me. But I don't want to feel like I'm putting on a show—a performance. Art has a serious, quiet side which I want kids to understand... the side of art that is hard and sometimes lonely work. (Henri)

Henri's commitment to educating young people about art is strongly felt, but he views himself as an artist in that mission, not a teacher; he worries about becoming "too much an educator" at the expense of his art and at the expense of what he can offer children "that is special" because he is an artist. Several years ago he refused offers of residency jobs for a period of years in order to resist his growing dependence on residencies as a source of income. At the time he believed it was essential to develop other avenues of making money and to reaffirm the centrality of his own artistic creation. "One thing they never teach you in art school," Henri pointed out,

is how to juggle the pieces of your life so you can survive as an artist. AIS is one way to teach but you have to make sure you stay a real artist. (Henri)

Janet Levine

Janet joined Arts and Learning as one of its original artists. At 34 she had already been a poet-in-residence for seven years. Not only was she becoming better known as a writer, she had a growing reputation as an artist/teacher. She had published articles in teaching journals and written about teaching for other poets working in schools. With a
poet friend she had generated a manuscript for a book on teaching poetry. The Director of Arts and Learning felt she was lucky to have found Janet at a perfect time in her career. She poured her energy into the project and her vision helped shape it. It stretched her in new directions so she learned a lot too. (Joyce, Project Director/Researcher)

During the four years Janet worked for the project, she enrolled in and completed an arts and education master's degree program at an area college. Much of the work she was doing in the project became subject matter for papers, and her teaching, in turn, was a place to try out ideas from her course work. As the mother of young children as well, all her significant roles had an unusual synergy. "Everything that was important to me--my identity as a poet, a teacher and a parent all came together at one time." (Janet)

Arts and Learning was a four-year innovation funded by Title IV-C. Like Fundamentals Through Art and many similar efforts of the 1970s, this project sought to "integrate the arts" into the learning experiences of elementary level students. The project had been initiated by David Kantor, one of three elementary principals in the Morgan Hill Regional Schools. Bringing the arts to his school and making them an integral part of learning was part of a more global change David wanted to bring about in the rather conservative and traditional orientation of the school. A new principal in the district, David differed in both personal style and educational philosophy from those who had preceded him. He was hired to succeed a Principal who had held the position for more than 15 years; he was only the third Principal in the school's 30 year history. He made two major interventions in his first three months as Principal. He instituted
team teaching and he began writing a proposal for a $75,000 grant to start a program that would bring artists into the school to work with students and teachers.

The concept behind Arts and Learning and the language of its official goals spoke about children's need for "right brain learning" and "collaboration between artists and teachers to design integrated curriculum" but behind this "proposal rhetoric" was a burning sense of mission David felt about the need to make the school more child centered... to get away from kids as passive recipients of information...to reawaken the understanding that learning is something personal and about the human being. (David)

He believed that artists could be catalysts for this process because "they see the world in unique ways" and are "in touch with the human side of learning."

Artists also challenge and don't take things for granted; they question everything and assume that there's more than one possibility, one point of view. They have a different set of assumptions about what's important and examining, if not challenging the status quo. (David)

David wanted to "change the environment" by having "artists influence the kids and the kids influence the teachers." In order for this to occur, artists had to become a part of all aspects of school life.

Some of the teachers in David's school welcomed the changes, but "many" thought it was "too much all at once." (Diana, 5th grade teacher)

We thought we already had a creative staff and by David saying we're going to bring in artists and writers, when our (students') writing skills had always been good. It bothered people who'd been here a long time. It was like him saying I don't have faith in you; we need outsiders...That's how some people took it, as 'I've got people better than you to come in and do this.' (Diana, 5th grade teacher)

Some parents and teachers were enthusiastic about the prospect of
having writers, filmmakers and other artists in the school. Others disapproved of the project idea and expressed dismay that money was being spent to bring in professional artists when teaching positions were being shaved each year due to declines in enrollment. Like other art and music specialists throughout the district, the art teacher in David's school expressed the concern that visiting artists might be used to displace more expensive, full-time teaching staff. Specialists felt artists could not provide the systematic instruction that qualified art and music teachers are trained to provide.

Basic art is important and I'm very strongly against this "related arts" business. Art gets too watered down and the kids don't get the technique or the conceptual and experiential understanding that they need for a basic background. (Art teacher, quoted in Lily Kellogg study)

When the program was funded, a director was hired from outside the district. She had been trained in theatre and had experience directing children's theatre and teaching classroom teachers to use theatre techniques in education.

Janet and another poet were then hired along with a filmmaker/video artist. All of the Project staff traveled from a large, nearby city to join the new program starting up in Morgan Hill, a small, affluent, suburban community.

By the end of four years with the project Janet had won the respect and liking of most teachers and administrators. She was noted in the schools for her "boundless energy" and commitment to young writers. One teacher said, "Janet really knows how to open kids up to language and excite them about writing." (Nancy Hanson, quoted in Lily
The Curriculum Coordinator said, "she was seen as the wonderful, magical poet;" and another teacher said "Janet had a fantastic way with kids...tremendous rapport and comfort. She got extraordinary writing out of them.(Diana, 5th grade teacher)

Her overwhelming enthusiasm for what students wrote and her belief in the centrality of their creative expression, stimulated Janet to get involved in every area of school life. She made connections with special needs teachers, cafeteria help, parents and administrators. As David put it

She was everywhere. She didn't care who she talked to. She'd take something a child had written and by the end of the day, I'd heard about it; the gym teacher would have heard about it. She was all over the school reading kids' poems and stories. She'd even call a parent at work if she was whipped up enough....She made incredible connections between parts of the school and just barrelled through certain barriers and traditional assumptions and she did it in a way that people couldn't be defensive.(David)

In addition to her energy and charisma, Janet had a mature strategic sense of how to get teachers to trust her and feel good about working with her. She had seven years of experience working in different types of schools and had learned to fit in.

Janet was highly motivated to do well because she saw the job with Arts and Learning as an important professional opportunity to work with the same students over a period of years, to develop and publish more teaching materials and to continue the integrated way of life combining teaching, writing, parenting and building her reputation as a poet/educator.

The responsibility toward a long term project for me was really great. Keeping it alive in the schools and not jeopardizing it by making a bad political move was the thing that made me act and
teach a little differently than if I didn't have that long term commitment. My view of working with teachers like Ginny was to make a relationship with her so I could understand her style of teaching...Our styles of teaching were very different; in the beginning she thought I was flaky and I thought she was too straight, but we learned a lot from each other...Each week we sat down and talked about what she was planning and I'd make-up activities that taught something about self-expression but were related to the content of her curriculum...I was terrified of her in the beginning because she never smiled. (Janet)

Janet deliberately eased her way into a teacher's program starting with whatever that person valued and gradually weaving poetry and other writing activities into that structure. By the second and third years of the program, she was so much a part of the school that she no longer had to start with a teacher-generated topic or curriculum anchor. The writing procedures she and others in the project had created had earned a credibility of their own. However, she recognized that it was still necessary to build a relationship with the teacher every time the project entered a new classroom or school and to include him/her in tailoring the approach to specific students. Once a foundation of trust existed in the district, teachers were quick to accept an artist, like Janet, who had an established reputation.

Janet was not successful winning over every teacher, however. There were a few in David's school who never stopped resenting the project artists and preferred not to work with them. In most cases the Project Director and Principal did not press. By the third and fourth years of the program some parents requested placements for their children with teachers who were known to be regular collaborators with artists. David believed that parents' enthusiasm for the project was instrumental in its adoption throughout his school and in other schools
in the district.

This was especially the case with the writers because there was a lot of emphasis at the time on kids writing and because of the project our kids' writing had really taken off and had a lot of visibility with the books kids wrote--the anthologies that went home and the journals kids kept.(David)

Everyone agreed that initially the artists' appearance and decorum was under scrutiny. One teacher described Janet's dress this way:

In the beginning Janet's clothes were inappropriate for a school. She sometimes wore long dresses and sandals...a lot of people are just not used to seeing a teacher in sandals with their feet hanging out. And we thought it was just not appropriate...Sam (the filmmaker) had long hair and that affected how the project was seen. You have to be careful in a town like this. There's an ultra right wing...some people were afraid that artists meant hippies and drugs. The town is conservative and life revolves around the school. Parents are careful about what their kids are exposed to...But people who got to know the artists, knew they were O.K. but it was the people who didn't know them who worried the most.(Diana, 5th grade teacher)

The ultimate acceptance Janet and some of the other project artists gained was hard won and the result of small risks and a lot of caution.

It was very stressful being between the artists and the school because I knew that to be effective we had to win over teachers, administrators and parents. It was like walking on egg shells, taking a few cautious steps and holding our breath that we hadn't gone too far and weren't too far out ahead of the basis of trust that we had built. I was trying to give the artists the support and information they needed to make diplomatic choices and not go too far on anything.(Project Director, from Project Log)

David had originally wanted the project to help change the tone of the school making it more humanistic and child-centered. He believed the artists could influence the system in these directions if they became involved in the life of the school and developed an a basis of trust. Janet made him uncomfortable at times because of her tendency
to advance kids' artistic expression by capitalizing on intense, personal feelings.

Given the choice, schools will always avoid direct feeling and controversy. The expression of strong feelings—anything except nice feelings—is pretty much a taboo. We had just been through a fiasco with the 'Health and Family Living Curriculum' where the school committee argued that no values should be taught in school. They felt the school should stick to the facts and let values be taught at home...It was right around that time that Janet and a group she was working with got into writing a play about an orphanage. It's a topic kids love but loaded with stuff guaranteed to make everyone nervous. There were lots of kids for whom it really struck home—adopted kids and kids of divorced parents—and I just know that that particular teacher would have avoided it if she could have but that was just not Janet's style. She plunges in where the feelings are most real for the kids...Luckily Janet and the teacher handled it well, but it could have been a problem. It could have ended up with the Catholic priest down here saying 'I thought we agreed the school wouldn't get into this kind of stuff.' It's to Janet's credit that when she uncorked something she could usually handle it.(David)

The taboo around expressing any but the safest feelings brought Janet into conflict with several teachers. A common tension existed around the prevailing belief that the central concern of teaching writing was not self expression but the mastery of skills like spelling and punctuation. While many teachers recognized the importance of allowing students to write about themselves, they viewed it as a necessary motivational strategy, not an end in itself as the poets and writers were likely to believe.

The part of a child's work I'd be most likely to respond to, that I'd find most valuable might be the imagery or particular selection of words—but even more I'd look for the honesty of the personal statement, the feeling behind it. If a child expressed anger or hatred, things usually avoided in the school, I might find that to be a very valuable breakthrough for the child as a writer. But Ruth (3rd grade teacher) would probably think there was no place in the school for what she calls "that kind of explosion".(Janet)
When project writers gave readings of their own work for teacher groups or public audiences in the community, there were mixed reactions. Some parents were delighted and impressed with the quality of the work and their good fortune at having a school "full of recognized artists" who exposed students to "sophisticated literature" and "inspired their own creativity." (Interviews with parents--Project Files) However, occasionally a poem would raise the anxiety of a parent or teacher about the values difference between the community and the artists in their midst. David put it this way in regard to Janet:

Her breasts were more obvious than most teachers, her poetry talked about sexuality—that was shocking to some people. She brought a lot of her life into the school and didn't compromise who she was. She mentioned her lovers in her poems and wrote about her divorce. That upset some teachers and some parents. (David)

To her own surprise Janet eventually cultivated a following among some mothers in the community. She convinced the Principal and Project Director to let her conduct a poetry workshop in the community. She invited parents, billing the workshop as a "Children's Poetry Workshop."

We talked about what students were writing and I read them a lot of poems by kids of different ages and some poems I'd written about being a parent and each time I involved them a little more in writing their own work. What shocked me was that they began to write some poems that were potentially as controversial as mine. Out of a group of 9 mothers, 6 stayed on a second semester and we continued to read and write...Before that I always had the theory that people in the schools and even the parents don't really want to see your work. They want to think of you as an artist of some renown but your art work may be too scary, too real or controversial, not all nice...But with this group I saw that there was an audience and over the four years of the project each time I became a little more brave and tried out a few more poems that I thought they probably weren't quite ready for. But the teachers in Morgan Hill were never responsive to my work. In another community where I've worked the teachers are more cosmopolitan and interested...
in literature. They are more likely to read poetry and to ask me about my work. I'm not a foreign being to them and as a consequence I'm not so worried that I'll do something outrageous without knowing it. (Janet)

Janet's skill in reading a situation and managing to advance it without going too far was an obvious reason for her accomplishments and success. However, she slowly became aware of instances where she was misapplying the caution she was conditioned to in Morgan Hill, having censored herself and the students in her classes to avoid possible censure of teachers or parents in a situation where it was unwarranted.

I caught myself censoring a child when his teachers wouldn't have. It was just a more open kind of school and kids were encouraged to express their feelings. But I told a boy who had written a poem about how much he hated his parents and his brother, everything about home and about how lonely he was—I told him to choose something else to copy for the bulletin board because I was nervous that the parents would see it and that I would be seen as the person who encouraged those feelings...I felt awful because I saw that I was doing things that really went against my values and, even though it was explainable because you have to compromise to accomplish anything in schools, I didn't feel good about it...I can function in a school like Morgan Hill but it's much better to be a poet-in-residence in a place that's more like me where I have more in common with the teachers. On the other hand, I guess if the teachers are already converted they don't need artists as much, do they? (Janet)

Robin Thomas

Robin is a 38 year old poet who was hired into Arts and Learning to work with elementary and middle school students and their teachers. Robin was seen by those she worked for, and with, as "successful and skilled," but after a year as a full-time employee of that program, as well as three years of other, shorter-term residencies, Robin summarized up her feelings about being an artist in the schools this
On my best days I think about my ability to write as a gift to be shared with children in schools but somehow when I get in the schools it all seems awfully difficult to communicate the gift...I've been planning to stop working as an artist-in-residence for several years now...It's just extraordinarily frustrating for me. Frustration stands out in my mind as the dominant feeling. (Robin)

Robin was seen as efficient, thorough and intelligent. She was good at overseeing administrative tasks like coordinating the publication of project curriculum materials and student anthologies. Her work with students and teachers was highly regarded by school administrators and the Project Director, but Robin, herself was uninspired by the work.

Regular work in the schools had seemed to her a good way to earn a regular income and be involved with poetry. She enjoyed the children and was good at teaching them. But the cumulative effect of all her experiences was scepticism about schooling in general and about her own ability to be effective in schools.

I hadn't had any involvement with schools since I was a child until I started being a poet in the schools. Overall I was pretty appalled at what they were like and I had to wonder is this what school was like for me? I don't think it was. ...Also, you must realize that a lot of what I feel comes from my own personality. I'm a perfectionist and I'm easily discouraged if things aren't good enough, so the schools are just not a good forum. There are so many constraints...I wouldn't want my child to go to most of the schools I've worked in. (Robin)

Robin is unusual among the artists in this study in the extent of the disillusionment with the artists-in-the-schools experience when she was interviewed. Her negative feelings extended to schools in general. Her colleagues in Arts and Learning and the school personnel she came
in contact with all saw her as effective in her job. Their perceptions corroborated her description of herself as a perfectionist.

She is very serious in her approach to poetry and in her personal affect. Her writing is less immediately accessible than that of many contemporary poets. Because she's so demanding of herself, she's less easily satisfied by what kids produce than many poets and teachers I've worked with. I think her competence and seriousness may make her intimidating to people who don't know her. (Joyce, Project Director)

It is also important to point out that Robin was hired into the project in its last year of operation. She was not among the group of founding artists and came in only after the program's procedures were established and the early sense of excitement was gone.

It was a low point in the life cycle of the program. Our funding was running out and we were all feeling over-stretched. By then we'd lost some of the energy and excitement of creating something new. In a lot of ways our reward for success was that we were diffused into too many schools and classrooms. Many of the teachers we were working with at this point were not like the eager volunteers or early adopters of new ideas--teachers who welcomed a new resource. It was more a case of it being "their turn" to have an artist. So Robin ended up working with a handful of some of the most ambivalent and passive teachers who felt they had to work with her but who didn't have much fresh enthusiasm. (Project Director)

Robin's experience at the Morgan Hill Middle School was perhaps her most unsatisfying; it is illustrative of the difficulties she faced in Arts and Learning.

Often I felt tolerated rather than welcomed by teachers. This was certainly true at the Middle School. I was thrust upon the teachers and I wasn't clear what I was doing there except that the curriculum coordinator wanted me there and so I was thrust on three teachers who taught writing. Like greatness, I was thrust upon them...I was supposed to 'help them with their writing program' but it was unclear what I should do and I was very uncomfortable with them...I was supposed to be better than they were and 'help them' somehow. And the funny thing is I did end up feeling better than them and they seemed like they didn't want any of the knowledge I had. That was the worst situation of the year. (Robin)
From the Curriculum Coordinator's point of view, it made complete sense for her to be working with this group of teachers at the Middle School.

The artists, especially the writers, were a tremendous resource when the district was trying to upgrade the way we taught writing...I knew they could demonstrate ways of motivating kids to write and edit their work when all I could do was talk about how it might be done better...But the Middle School teachers were very defensive. I asked them to work with one of the writers and they took that as a put down...I think that the very fact that my authority was behind her made it a threat to them. They didn't take it as a partnership and see her as a resource; her presence was a challenge to their credibility. I was trying to give them a shot in the arm, some support for what they were trying to do, which they, of course, insisted they'd always done. But, I knew better. I tried to keep it loose so she'd do something that she wanted to do and hoped she'd make a relationship with them. She presented a few alternatives but there was a lot of foot dragging. The Principal wasn't too helpful. And he was communicating his reluctance whenever we met to discuss how the teachers would work with the Project. By that time the program had been adopted in all the other schools and the momentum was coming up from the primary school. So he was saying 'we don't want to be seen as resisting these resources or we'll look like fools.' But I think his real feeling was 'You're calling this a goodie for our school but it's really a pain in the ass.' (Curriculum Coordinator)

One of the Middle School teachers reflected on the experience with Robin as frustrating for her and her colleagues but ultimately valuable. Her recommendation in retrospect called for better planning so that Robin could have focused more directly on her specialty--writing and reading poetry--rather than on writing skills more generally, which teachers already have their own ways of teaching. She liked Robin's "fresh perspective" and believed it was good for her students to have another point of view on their writing. She thought that the revision workshops which the teachers and Robin agreed that she would conduct with their students were ultimately helpful.
However, she wished they could have worked together without the intervening "pressure from administrators." After all, she pointed out, the Curriculum Coordinator is responsible for evaluating teachers as well as bringing in resources to aid them.

It would have been better if administrators hadn't been involved. That raised the threat of evaluation and everybody immediately gets resistant when they feel they're being asked to do one more thing. It implies that we're not doing it right but doesn't make it clear what's expected. Myself, I'd like to have a visiting artist each quarter to work with in the way I want without the pressure of the curriculum coordinator and the principal looking over our shoulder. We felt railroaded by having to work with Robin. It was nothing against her. I can see that it was a good opportunity but at the time it felt like a punishment. No one dared not to work with her because the principal said that we'd look like turkeys if we didn't accept the resources. And parents really wanted to have their kids to have the opportunity. (Gail, English Teacher)

The messages and resistance Robin got from the three teachers she was assigned to work with, as well as from the Curriculum Coordinator, were confusing and made her more uncertain about what she was expected to do and how her expertise as a practicing poet could be used to help students or teachers.

One teacher was really hostile. She inhibited me and the kids. She stood there in the back and didn't participate while I did a writing exercise with the students. I felt she was judging me and nothing I did worked... and when the kids finished writing, she just said, 'Oh this is the kind of thing they do all the time'... she seemed like she didn't want to show any interest in their writing. And she didn't seem to like what they'd written. I felt very uncomfortable. (Robin)

Although Robin worked effectively with some individual teachers at various grade levels, her enthusiasm for the role was limited. In retrospect experiences like the one at the Middle School contributed to Robin's feeling that teachers show "an incredible lack of enthusiasm for writing." She had come to see teachers as poorly educated and to
regard language instruction in most schools as "part of children's socialization in the correctness of things" taught with "no love of language and literature." These conclusions are not a surprising result given the high standards Robin started with and the reluctant teachers she encountered in most of her assignments. Her own education in an excellent private school and abroad in several schools and colleges was a dramatic contrast to the elementary schools she found herself in. This reinforced her feelings that she "just didn't fit" and did not particularly want to "fit."

Following the year with Arts and Learning, Robin had decided to work only in short residencies, if at all. She had concluded that her writing had to come first even though she liked having some income. She explained the place she thought work in schools plays in the lives of the serious artists with whom she talked.

When we talk about poets-in-the-schools, it's usually to complain. It's something you do, but I don't know any poets who are deeply involved in their work for whom teaching in the schools is very important. You do it for money and it has some relation to poetry. (Robin)

Seth Moer

Sam is a 26 year old filmmaker and video artist, a graduate of MIT who before becoming an artist-in-residence with the Arts and Learning Program, had done production work in television and independent production of both films and video. He had no extended experience of working in the public schools although he had been a substitute teacher on a few occasions. Sam's personal art work included animation, video and some still photography. Looking back on his three year experience
as an artist in residence, Sam said he had two simultaneous feelings. First, he had found that it was exciting to teach kids "because it gets you to reexamine the fundamentals of your art form" and to watch kids "discover the medium." These were experiences he believed could be refreshing and instructive for any artist. However, when all was said and done, he'd "rather not teach" if he could find other work. "It's really a last resort," he claimed "for artists who can't support themselves in other ways."

He had joined the Arts and Learning Program part way through its first year at a time when he was looking for full time work and he stayed for three years working 3 or 4 days a week. Looking back, he realized that the experience was not what he expected when he first considered taking a job in a school.

I thought--school's over at 2:30. I'll come home and do my own work. And three years later I found I hadn't done much of my own work...It was so draining and it got to be a drag, especially toward the end...I knew when I finished that I'd have to do something of my own. That feeling was very strong...a consequence of having my ideas diluted by other people's requirements all the time--the school's requirements, the students', the teachers'--I needed some kind of personal project of my own to work on.(Sam)

Assessments of Sam's success by others at the Arts and Learning Program were mixed. Both the Project Director and the Principal were impressed by Sam's intelligence and knew he would challenge the school and be a unique role model for students.

We worried about Sam's long hair and the initial preoccupation with the fact that the artists looked different from the other adults working in the school. Sam was clean cut but he didn't look conventional and there was a lot of buzzing about that. These are kids, after all, who typically don't see anyone who looks at all different from the conventional mode. The students were pretty sheltered and middle class. But Sam really contributed to
broadening their horizons with his knowledge and his unusual view of the world. He was just fun to be with. He challenged us and brought a unique kind of energy. But he also tested the system a lot while he was enriching it. (David)

Reports suggest that more than any of the other artists Sam inspired some kids in life-changing directions.

He turned kids on to film and gave them exciting, creative experiences. His own youthfulness gave him a wonderful rapport with kids. There were some boys who started making films under his tutelage and are still doing it. It became a real passion for them. He was incredibly clever and knowledgeable. But he made teachers uncomfortable and off and on we were nervous that he would blow the project wide open by doing something that violated local conventions too much. (Joyce, Project Director, from Project Log 4/79)

The administrators shared a guarded respect for Sam's abilities. They liked him and were personally intrigued with his way of viewing the world, but some of the things he did made them uneasy. He was not an easy employee for them to manage.

Sam was smart and exciting. His work was great and it was wonderful having him around to talk to. He had a particularly marvelous way of analyzing situations... He took a very anthropological approach to the school environment. But something about it made him act rebellious. It wasn't that he couldn't be trusted; it was just his style to go just a little beyond testing the water before he gave us a chance to get him off the track... There was a shock value to some of the things he did. He was really push the limits. It wasn't that he didn't know what he could get away with in the school; it was just that he went ahead and did stuff that he knew would stir people up. I think, as the project went on, he got more and more frustrated with the school's tightness and he got increasingly prodding and outrageous. (David)

Teachers were not neutral about Sam. Those he worked with closely, because they had a special interest in film or video or because he shared a special activity or production project with them, admired and learned from him. However, these were primarily teachers with some prior interest and expertise in media or an
unusual openness to what the artists could offer the students. He worked extensively with one art teacher and with a teacher who had previously run a camera club and had a personal interest in film. He was much less productive converting the average teacher in Morgan Hill.

Sam and the program's coordinators agreed that he was at a disadvantage compared to Judy, Christopher and the other writers in the program who had colleague support and who gave each other suggestions and even, at times discussed each other's poetry. The Project Director knew less about film than about writing, and Sam was more isolated by a pervasive lack of understanding of film and other media arts among the school staff. This made his job harder because teachers were unfamiliar with the curriculum potential of film or video, teachers were generally uncomfortable with its technology and equipment and furthermore it did not have the obvious basic skills appeal of poetry.

Because the model for working with students required some degree of cooperation with the teacher, project artists initially had to look for targets of opportunity in order to link their art to a teacher-initiated activity. Sam could not fall back on some of the convenient curriculum relationships that are more natural for writing.

One early such collaboration involved Sam in creating photographic projections as part of a puppet/music production organized by a particularly receptive 4th grade teacher.
Sam tuned right in to what I was after and he worked like a Trojan. I told him what I had in mind and he took a group to do it...he got so involved artistically with what he was doing that he worked one night until 2:00am to make a backdrop for the show—a backdrop that would photograph giving just the effect he wanted. I gave up at midnight and went home but I couldn't believe his perfectionistic way he worked until it was exactly right. It was wonderful for students to see someone who cared about details the way he did and was willing to keep at it until it was right. It's so rare in schools; but what an artist sometimes doesn't understand is that you can't always do that in a school. There just isn't time to get it perfect. But it was great and Sam had fabulous ideas--so inventive--with slides flashing up on the backdrop and illusions with light...The bad part was that I didn't know how much freedom Sam likes to give kids and while he was working with the group I gave him, another teacher complained. They were in the library and this teacher came over and said, "Do you know what's going on over there? There's fooling around and running around and terrible noise." I didn't mind because the results were so exceptional. I was flabbergasted by what Sam did with the kids. It was incredibly ambitious and because he was so exacting about details, it always took more time than we'd planned.(Dorothy, 4th grade teacher)

Time and student discipline were two pervasive problems for Sam. He complained about the frustrations of accomplishing film/video projects within the time constraints of the school. "The bell has absolute power!" he said. He believed teachers, could and would alter the schedule for things they thought were important, if they were interested enough. Unfortunately most of the teachers in Hamilton and Morgan Hill were just not that interested. Many viewed it as non-essential and too time-consuming for its "questionable contribution to learning the important school skills."(5th Grade Teacher)

I'll never forget the absolutely revolutionary thing one teacher did by postponing a spelling test to watch a film that had to go back to the Canadian Film Board at the end of the day. And that was my third year. I saw it as a unique event in the schools.(Sam)
As regards both the problem of student discipline and time
constraints, Sam found his after school activities most memorable and
satisfying. Because it was outside the normal parameters of school
time and the typical norms governing the school day, he felt most free
and believed the students did their best work.

Afterschool was much closer to the way I really wanted to
teach. Time was unlimited and the subject matter wasn't restricted
by a curriculum. It's the difference between art and commerce; the
motive for doing the work and the inspiration comes from the
individual and not from the client. ...It allowed the kids a space
for improvisation which is a genuine and effective form of arts
development and arts exploration. We were not supervised so we
didn't have the fear of authority and that meant the kids could go
wherever they wanted to be. They could take the video camera in
the bathroom; they could put themselves wherever they wanted to be
in the classroom--behind the teacher's desk, at the blackboard.
With the time and space constraints lifted the special taboos of
school broke down. They could sit at someone else's desk out of
alphabetical order if they wanted to...it was a richer more fertile
setting and it came from them as no other work that they did had.
It was more expressive and more unique...Teachers complained about
what I let kids do but I'm constantly surprised teachers don't have
more of a sense of how discovery happens and where new ideas come
from and the result of tinkering besides just entertainment. They
don't appreciate its importance because they haven't had personal
experiences along those lines, perhaps...Also there was a
confidential relationship between me and the kids so they had the
security that the material would not be seen by anyone besides me
without their permission. And I think that removed the last bit of
repressive psychological power that would work against their
freedom of exploration and expression and I think that that's one
of the things they enjoyed most.(Sam)

The program administrators recognized the importance of what was
happening in the after school film program and tried to buffer it from
teachers' complaints that the kids were just wasting time. They saw it
as "the teachers' uptightness."

(David) According to his thinking, the
concern was not whether the kids made too much noise or even that they
took the cameras into the bathrooms but whether it could somehow be
topics interest them (teachers). I wasn't aware of any lunch time topics other than social gossip. Not to demean them, but that is my real objective observation and it says something about their interest in teaching and the world in general...The fact is that elementary school teachers are just not that well educated. The least qualified educators, the least educated, end up teaching elementary kids. Not to be too revolutionary about it, I think it should be just the opposite and the most educated teach at that level. Let people have less qualified teachers when they're most capable of learning on their own, less under the influence of the teacher.

Sam described his impatience as a student with what he had come to regard as authority by virtue of the teacher's role rather than by superior knowledge or insight. He'd challenged his own teachers on matters of information and logic and saw parallels between his experience and what he observed as an artist-in-the-schools.

Elementary school kids get the crummiest educators...that's one problem that struck me immediately when I went to work in the schools. It was just like when I went to school. I saw teachers repeatedly give kids false answers--just wrong information and narrow responses...things stated as fact rather than as possibility...I always resented teachers when I was in school who gave inaccurate information. I resented it when teachers didn't admit errors or correct errors. I was always ready to pounce on teachers, to point out and draw attention to some error, mistake, waywardness in the same way I was made the center of attention (for doing something wrong). So I was always trying--if I thought I could back a teacher into a corner by asking a question in a certain way that would make it evident to the class that the teacher contradicted himself. I was always ready to do it and that carried over to high school as well. The point is, elementary teachers are very fallible in some subject areas and their background in media, their education, is insufficient and my attitude toward teaching it didn't take that into account. I was trying to reach the kids through teachers who needed their own chance to learn.(Sam)

The Project's strategy compounded Sam's frustration with what he saw as teachers' inadequacy and made his job all the more difficult. Furthermore, his style of working with students was dramatically different from that of most teachers in Morgan Hill. In addition, he
handicapped by teachers' lack of experience with media arts and the inordinate amount of time it took to mount a film or video activity. The few teachers who were excited by film were, in fact, individuals with either a well developed interest or an art background. With these teachers Sam was extremely successful. In contrast to those with no previous background, these teachers welcomed Sam's contributions.

I learned right along with the kids and I loved it...Sam makes a real effort to include me in the planning, he asks me for suggestions and encourages me to make comments or add to the discussions with the kids...and I can be helpful to him, especially with managing the large groups and by knowing what the kids' interests are...One thing that has been very good is that because of his, well, 'naivete' about the kids, he has much higher expectations of what they can do than I do; and it has surprised me how they have lived up to them...I think that's the real value of having as many different people and approaches as possible. (Kay, Art teacher)

While Sam, Joyce and David did not abandon the hope that teachers would get more interested in film and by highlighting the most successful of Sam's projects they could convince teachers that it was worth trying to include media in their programs, Sam, at least, felt "most teachers were not going to really do much with media." He tried to invent ways to by-pass teachers and work directly with the students. It was clear that teachers could not be the only gateways for media experiences for the students. However, Sam's frustration fostered his conviction that he was handicapped by teachers' resistance and their "lack of intellectual curiousity."

I focused my attention on the students and sort of abandoned the teachers the way they abandoned me. People like Kathy (the art teacher) and Bill (the teacher who coordinated the camera club) had the desire to learn and talk about it at lunch and ask questions—to become involved in the topic itself, which wasn’t the case with others. I don't know what intellectual or substantive
differences with the conservative environment. One teacher explained that she and others frequently talked about how "his appearance was a distraction to the students." (Diana)

The school had a tradition of teachers putting up baby pictures of themselves, their wedding or graduation pictures so the students could see what they looked like when they were young. On one occasion he joined this tradition by displaying some pictures of himself "after his high school graduation smoking his diploma" and others of him "in his serious hippy days looking a little spaced out. By that time he'd probably had it with the teachers and the town and this was a way of sort of thumbing his nose at them all." (David) Some of pictures considered most objectionable were removed.

Although Sam thought the display was harmless, he did feel that he was "probably less acceptable" on surface criteria than most of the other project artists and that that contributed to the uneasiness some teachers and people in the community might feel about him.

However, Sam's differentness of appearance and values was reinforced by what some teachers regarded as his unwillingness to tailor his work to their existing curriculum and to find ways of building on what was already in place.

The artists were coming into our territory so they're the one's who have to bend...It's the teachers' turf. It only makes sense that things should be done in the teacher's fashion...If you've been working with kids for 10 or 15 years and someone comes in and shows a new approach, you're going to feel threatened and ask, 'What's wrong with the way I've been doing it all the years.' It's got to be something that fits in and builds on what the teacher already knows how to do. (Diana)

And yet, Sam found it difficult to work in this way and believed he was
arranged to have the actors emerge from a real Morgan Hill police cruiser.

When the film was shown, several teachers and some parents who worked in the school or who attended the screening, objected to Sam's having let the students "use real liquor bottles for props" and "make the town police appear dishonest." (Dorothy, 4th grade teacher)

While teachers disagreed about which error in judgment was the more serious, most agreed that

Sam was just into the story, the art of making the film. He wasn't into thinking about how parents would respond when they saw it. A teacher has to think about those things first... especially with something like a film or a book that will go home and be seen by people in the community. It's part of the job to be aware of how these things will be seen. People shouldn't work in the schools if they're not willing to consider this side of things. It's irresponsible to just let the kids express themselves and to think that if it comes from the kid's imagination it's O.K. to write down or put on the screen. (Diana, 5th Grade Teacher)

Sam just hadn't learned one of the first lessons of working in schools--when in Rome do as the Romans do. (Dorothy, 4th Grade)

The "magic water" film was the culmination of many weeks of work and Sam was most preoccupied with the kids receiving proper credit for their creative efforts.

I couldn't have been more naive or innocent in allowing it to pass. It never occurred to me that it was questionable subject matter. If it had occurred to me, I probably would have gone ahead with it anyway. The kids had written it that way and no one who saw it in the making (including their teacher) objected to it. And the story board was up for weeks...I had a feeling that the whole thing was blown way out of proportion...And the mysteriousness of how it got suppressed seemed conspiratorial...That incident was extremely discouraging to me and I thought it changed the energy I put into the second and third years of the project. (Sam)

His appearance--clean cut but with a long pony tail--was an issue that reoccurred from time to time when other conflicts signaled his
kept from "going too far beyond what we could defend."

After all, we had hired people we thought would push on the system and loosen it up. We just didn't want it to be too far, too fast and jeopardize our chances to make real change. (David)

Sam's activities during normal school hours were imaginative and varied but consistently more successful with students than with the vast majority of teachers. One teacher who made several attempts to find a way to work with him explained her difficulty this way:

Sam didn't work WITH us. He didn't coordinate his stuff with our curriculum. If you asked him one small question he'd give you a 20 minute answer and he always wanted us to do more and more. I took the summer workshop he gave and it was impossible. He's just not a teacher. He didn't break things down enough and he did too much at once. He had every different type of camera out. He did a hands-on to everything. He ought to have some training in child development...he's very intelligent but he doesn't relate his ideas well. (Diana, Grade 5 teacher)

Many also believed that Sam did not fit their school as well as some of the other artists.

He had no understanding of a public school. We had a responsibility to the community's values and standards. The other artists seemed like they were from suburban backgrounds, so they understood. Sam didn't seem to...But I think he knew right from wrong...we just felt he was trying to shock people, to shake us up. (Diana)

One example given of his failure to respect community standards was a film project he did during his first year with a group of fifth and sixth graders and their reading teacher. The film, written by the students, had a complex story of a scam in which people sell ordinary water claiming it has the capacity to give eternal life. One scene took place in a pretend bar and another featured two policemen accepting a bribe to not tell about the real properties of the "magic water." With full cooperation of the town police department Sam
was more isolated than other artists in the project because he had no colleagues in film and because the program administrators understood less about media than they did about the work the other project artists did and hence were less effective as mediators between Sam's area and the teachers' curricula.

His impatience with the project's coaxing strategies are evident in his reflections on school change:

The crucial question is how to fit artists in. Are you going to alter the structure or accept the limitations and tailor the arts program to meet what exists? I'm not entirely discouraged by the prospect of trying to fit with what's there already, but the artist has to be treated with some respect and given some authority. I was not viewed in the same way by the teachers as a reading specialist...in some ways we did O.K. with the seduction strategy--being diplomatic and trying to offer something in the hopes that it would catch on...But I felt in the later years, I didn't have the energy and excitement I needed to do it on my own. (Sam)

Steven Woceski

Steven is a 42 year old poet, novelist, and playwright. For the past eight years he has held various artist-in-residence positions in addition to sustaining his own creative work. For three years he worked in the Project Arts Program in Barton, Rhode Island, which was funded under the Emergency School Aid Act to provide bilingual education experiences for the large numbers of non-English speaking students in that school system.

Before Barton, Steven had been a poet-in-residence and consultant to arts program in all manner of different schools--prestigious private schools, small rural schools as well as schools like Barton. His preference among all these settings is for the poor, large, urban
schools where "the kids have so little and need so much." Before coming to the east to study creative writing at Brown, Steven had been a certified public school teacher in California where he taught for two years at an Air Force base school. Everyone who described Steven spoke about his "passion for teaching others to write, to discover their own creativity"(Jim Lawerence, State Dept. of Education) and his "fantastic energy and commitment to the kids he works with."(Roberto Pedro, Bilingual Teacher Barton Program)

I always ask for the worst students, Friday afternoon before Christmas vacation, kids with no skills. That's where I like to start. I want to show that poetry is about feelings and everyone has feeling. I like to show that poetry can work in any context. I like the challenge of making it happen and present myself as being someone ready for a challenge.(Steven)

For Steven his identity as a writer has increasingly been tied up with the experience of teaching others.

Especially since I've been working full time, I have less time for my own writing and as a single parent I need the income. My own work comes out of the experience of living and teaching and thinking about poetry all the time, working with ideas and interacting with the people. Everyone I come in contact with feeds that part of myself. I like being out there in the world doing things...There's a lot that drove me crazy about the school and God knows the problems were endless but I loved being there and being a part of it. I loved trying to find a way to make life better for the kids there.(Steven)

The program liaison at the state level described Barton as

A square mile of packed 2 and 3 story residences and housing developments, old neighborhoods and high unemployment. It used to be a mill town but now all the mills are closed and most people are destitute. It also has the most diverse population in the state--Polish, French and Portugese mostly make up the older population, and the newer immigrant groups are Afro Americans, Cape Verdians, Latin Americans, Vietnamese and other Asians. Seventy two percent of the school funds are from Federal programs.(Jim Lawrence)
The Project Arts Program was just one of many programs with outside funding sources and Steven was one of many "outsiders" associated with the schools. He worked at all levels but primarily at the elementary and middle schools as a poet; although, over the life of the program that role evolved to include many administrative functions. Ultimately he was named as the Program Administrator but even as an artist-in-residence Steven and the situation conspired to keep his role broad.

In a suburban or private school it's very important to identify yourself as "the artist", "the poet" and to speak from your specialty...With these kids and teachers I really minimize the fact that I'm a poet. I just say I'm a teacher or a resource person...If anything I learned to hide my ego as a poet and try to get them to feel comfortable with me and see me as a helper.(Steven)

Steven began by working with the classes of teachers who volunteered to have him come in. He did writing activities and encouraged students to read their work "even if the spelling is so bad no one else could identify the words."(Steven) His goal was to "build their confidence" and let them know that "writing is about expressing their feelings."(Steven)

This much alone would have been fantastic for the kids and the teachers, but the thing about Steven was that he did much more. He helped out with the kids that could hardly speak, let alone read or write. Teachers were incredibly grateful for the extra pair of hands...Also he didn't have airs so he didn't threaten the teachers.(C. Pedro)

Steven was hired by the state coordinator because he had a reputation for "being able to work in any kind of situation"(R. Latham) but he was also given a great deal of freedom to decide who to work with and how to proceed. Initially he worked only with the
teachers who volunteered and "kept the principals informed," which administrators and teachers agreed was crucial in getting them to trust him. Also, as the bilingual teacher claimed "everyone was so overwhelmed with work and problems that, as long as things were going well, we just let Steven handle things"

Because teachers knew Steven had a public school background, they automatically trusted him more and let him do what he wanted...It was very clear that he was bolstering their program. He helped with Lebanese kids and Vietnamese kids with limited English so teachers were pleased.(Jim Lawrence)

Steven's strategy with teachers was deliberately crafted to be sure he would be seen as a resource and a supplement to what the teacher was trying to do. He had "a lot of say over how the grant money would be spent;" (Jim Lawrence) so he also looked for particularly receptive teachers or areas that wouldn't conflict with anyone else's territory. He assisted a theatre arts director making projects possible using Project Arts Program money and supplies. He arranged for performing artists to visit the school and assisted the bilingual program coordinator by planning activities that would link "in the middle school with other students. One activity he engineered resulted in the creation of dance workshops in three Barton schools.

Having been a teacher himself and having been humbled by the complexity of urban school life, Steven was sympathetic rather than critical and saw teachers as well as children as his clients.

You'll never hear me knock teachers. They have a horrible job. The society blames them for everything and they have no support from the system. They have no supplies, no support. How can teachers be expected to keep their energy up?...I try to treat them
with complete respect even if they're worn out and turned off to their jobs... I make every effort to make a relationship with them and find out what they like. I listen to them and if they mention any personal interest in an art form of any kind, I pick up on that and try to pull them in through that interest. I try to show them how aesthetic decisions play a role in their daily lives. I get excited when teachers discover something new in themselves... But when it doesn't work I don't push... I'm absolutely supportive of the teacher no matter what... In the classroom rule number one is: You never upstage a teacher. I'm there for that person as much as for the kids, maybe more. (Steven)

Despite the zest and experience Steven brought to his job, it was certainly not without conflicts.

We have all the problems that you could expect in a poor city with declining populations and more and more minorities. All the control lies in these federal programs and there's hardly any coordination between them. (Roberto)

Steven found that there was resentment that "so much money was being spent on arts" when teachers were being cut and many regular activities had grossly inadequate budgets. He related an anecdote about a teacher he managed to make friends with who invited him to visit the Polish American Club to "have a few beers after work."

He confided in me that he and other teachers resented the "Blacks and other foreign kids" and couldn't understand why so much money was being spent on them. I bit my tongue and didn't try to argue. But I did avoid him and others like that. There's plenty else to do. I try to find a way to work around the problems but I'm not surprised by them... A lot of people thought I was just naive and idealistic and I'd finally burn out but it hasn't happened yet. (Steven)

Roberto Pedro, the bilingual teacher commented that Steven stayed "incredibly optimistic" and "just kept at it."

I think the beauty of having two or three years is that artists learn that they weren't going to change the world. Steven was happy if he could help a few kids have a better time in school. (Roberto)

When it came to bringing in other artists and performances as well
as being successful with his own teaching, Steven learned that the support staff of the school were as important as the formal channels of authority and decision making.

I do all the subtle little politicking it takes to get things done. I do everything. I go get vouchers and go to the store for supplies. It would be crazy to say, 'I'm a poet and I only do poetry.' I know I have to be prepared to do anything and everything...I also get to know every custodian and secretary in the school. I talk to the custodians about music and I arranged for a blue grass band and made them think they were part of the decision. Otherwise I knew they could make it impossible for me. If you don't have the custodians on your side, there's no way you can get a band in here or water for an artist's paint brushes...We bought materials for the arts program and it kept getting ripped off, so I got the custodians to keep an eye on it. You may not believe it but you need them more than you need the principal.(Steven)

Discussions with those in the school point out the many ways Steven made himself responsible for building bridges between the arts and other concerns of the school. There were no available liaisons to interpret for him. He became administrator as well as poet. All agreed that, given the special constraints of Barton, a highly specialized focus on poetry per se would not have had the desired impact. Instead, Steven took initiative to work with teachers in whatever ways he could. He sought ways of making his knowledge available to them without implying that they should do anything differently. Those who worked with Steven attributed his success to his sense of mission about the education and opportunities for minority students in schools like Barton.

Steven created his own spaces in which to do poetry. It was 75 percent doing the work that made art possible and 25 percent actual art. He was also known for his unusual interest in and commitment to young people. He had an intense concern for children's learning because he was a single parent responsible for raising a son and
constantly concerned with educational and social questions. (Jim Lawrence)

On Steven's resume, which cites numerous poetry residencies in nursing homes, prisons and mental institutions, Steven has a paragraph labeled "Special Talents" explaining the sense of mission he was known for in Barton. It reads as follows:

My penchant for the difficult assignment helped win many teachers to incorporate the arts into their classrooms. Being a skilled teacher as well as a lucid artist, I have been able to inspire others without threatening them with my passionate nature. I am especially gifted at helping people feel comfortable with the unformed within themselves.
CHAPTER VI
ARTISTS AND THEIR WORK SETTINGS

Having looked in detail at one complete case and at the experiences of six additional artists in three separate school-based programs, this chapter will discuss artists and settings focusing on those features of each which have emerged as significant in determining the experiences of artists in residence. Because the subject of the study is experience as a totality, it is essential to keep in mind the interaction among different dimensions of the whole. The central concern of the study is to describe experience and to examine how artists are influenced by and, in turn, influence their work situations. It is critical to treat artists and settings as interactive elements even while examining each separately. According to Kockelmans (1975) inquiry must proceed in this manner from whole to part and back to whole again. He describes the intended process thus:

The anticipation of the global meaning of an action, a form of life, of a social institution, etc., becomes articulated through a dialectical process in which the meaning of the 'parts' or components is determined by the fore-knowledge of the 'whole', whereas our knowledge of the 'whole' is continuously connected and deepened by the increase of our knowledge of the components (Kockelmans, 1975).

Hence, while an interest in maintaining a sense of the interconnectedness of things makes it difficult to talk about any aspect without referencing others, this Chapter will focus first on individuals and individual factors, then on their work settings. Chapter VII will address the interaction between person and setting leading to a set of
propositions about "fit" and implications for future research and action.

**Individual Factors**

None of the artists in this study fits the extreme stereotypes frequently applied to artists. None live isolated lives of poverty and alienation from society. Rather, they emerge as sociable people who are preoccupied with their art but who are active in the world and care about issues like education. In general, they are self aware, articulate and outgoing. In addition to the private work they do in their studios, each has been employed in some company or public institution. All believe in working hard and are eager to arrange employment that is lucrative, challenging and compatible with their lives as artists.

Although the size and deliberate diversity of the research sample preclude making definitive claims about specific characteristics of artists that will guarantee their success as artists in residence, it is possible to extract a set of background and personal factors which influence the experience. The preceding chapters provide rich illustrations of the importance of who the artist is and what he or she takes to the work setting.

As the descriptive evidence presented thus far demonstrates, no single element alone can explain what occurs in a residency experience; rather it is the interplay between the artist as an individual and the people, structures and events that constitute the job setting which
job setting which influence how the experience will unfold.

Nevertheless, three types of individual factors appear to play significant roles in shaping what transpires in a residency situation.

1) the breadth of an artist's professional identity,
2) the extent and nature of past work history; and
3) the artist's personal beliefs, attitudes and values.

Professional Identity

Artist first. To understand the role of professional identity in the artist-in-residence situation, it is important to remember that the membership an artist accepts in a specific program or even in the generic group, artists-who-work-in-schools, varies in its assumed permanence. Artists in this study were hired for varying lengths of time, but in all cases, school jobs were viewed as secondary to the artist's primary identity as a practicing artist. Although some defined themselves as artists-who-teach occasionally and some saw themselves as artists-who-teach-regularly, all defined themselves first and foremost as artists.

Barron (1972) and Strauss (1970) both stress the zealousness with which young artists assume their career identities. This intensity of commitment and strong membership in a professional group was borne out by the reports of the artists studied. All affirmed the centrality of their identity as artists and the importance of their own creative activity as the primary source of self-definition. This is not to say, however, that engagement with the artist-in-residence role did not raise ambivalences about career and identity. All the artists struggled with the compatibility of their artistic practice and their
stints as teachers. All complained about the art work they were unable to do while working in the school, and all worried about the "myth" that a really serious artist does not accept regular work in schools. One active artist-in-residence deliberately took two years off from residency work because he did not want to be thought of as "someone who only does educational work."

All the artists studied felt the need for meaningful employment that would supplement their incomes and all were prepared to explore new ways of combining art-making with other work for pay. Several stated that teaching at the college level, which is generallly seen as higher status than teaching in the public schools, was a direction typically reserved for "big name artists" or artists with advanced degrees. The artists with marketable technical skills, like Henri, Sam and Jane, considered doing free lance work and production to make money. Most doubted that, should they be fortunate enough to become well known and financially successful through their art, they would continue to take residency jobs. Their art was their highest priority; work in schools a way to earn income, a form of employment holding varying degrees of attraction for the individuals interviewed.

Several said they did not intend to seek residency positions again for a while; but others spoke of trying to professionalize the role by an official certification process for the more experienced artists-in-residence. For most of the artists interviewed their recent jobs had caused them to reassess their plans and rethink the relationship between educational jobs and their own art work.
At the extremes, Sam and Robin rejected the desirability of any but short-term residency assignments with a clear arts focus. In contrast, Janet and Steven said they would continue their educational work and seek long-term appointments to avoid having to constantly generate new job assignments. (See Table 3. Artists’ Work Experience and Future Plans, Appendix C.).

All of the artists interviewed took for granted the necessity for most artists to have a wage earning job to support themselves while producing their art. None expressed particular resentment that this was the case. But all had initially come into the educational field for economic reasons, taking short, concentrated residencies which supplement income and free the artist to work during the rest of the year. Even as residencies became longer, giving some semi-permanent positions, these artists continued to think about teaching as secondary to their main enterprise and identity.

In this study, Janet, Peter and Steven comprised a group for whom educational work has the status of a "second career." Phillip Lopate uses this term to refer to artists who have had repeated residencies and who tend to think of themselves as artist/educators. Each of these artists have more than 6 years of teaching experience and a strong sense of themselves as "artists who teach". Janet and Peter had both enrolled in masters degree programs in education. For Peter that step was motivated by a desire for a strong and broad credential that would afford him greater access to new opportunities and greater job security. Janet was also concerned about her long term
employability in a stable educational job. She was eager to insure the continued integration of her roles as artist, teacher and parent and to have a steady source of support for her children. Along with Steven, these writers can be considered "veterans" among poets-in-the-schools. All had either published teaching materials, consulted on the design of arts programs or helped to train newcomers to arts programs. Their activities had made them well-known members of regional networks including educators, arts educators and teaching artists. For the purposes of subsequent reference to each artist's self-definition, they are placed on a continuum ranging from high professional self-definition as an educator to low definition as an educator. (See Table 4. Degree of Self-Identification as an Educator, Appendix D.).

"Artist/Educator" not "Teacher" or "Art Teacher".

Although the writers studied varied in their experience and commitment to education, all defined themselves as artists not teachers. This was strongly asserted by all those interviewed. The visual artists emphasized the fact that they perceived themselves as having distinctly different training, priorities and potential contributions from art teachers as a group. Besides worrying about territoriality and conflicts with these representatives of the arts disciplines in the schools, artists were quick to point out that they did not think of themselves as working in the same way art teachers work in the school or as having the same commitment to the school and
its existing programs. Artists all felt the difference was worth preserving.

None of the visual artists in the study entertained thoughts of becoming full time teachers or saw the jobs of art teachers as attractive. All felt that, in comparison, it was important for artists-in-residence to have freedom to teach what they chose and that not having to teach large groups in a tight schedule or follow a prescribed, repetitive curriculum, would be liberating for all teachers.

Several felt, however, that there was pressure in the schools to turn them into art specialists—equivalents to the art or music teacher—but that it was precisely their difference from such teachers that made them valuable. Henri said that every artist-in-residence "had to resist the school's attempts to try to make them like teachers." Surprisingly, this view was also shared by Steven though he tended to disguise his differences. He felt that "kids see generalists all the time, they need exposure to people who have dedicated their lives to one area and passionately pursue their specialization." Steven believed that he contributed because of his "artist-ness" but for strategic reasons needed to present himself in a more neutral way in his setting.

Even though some artists expressed admiration for what art teachers were able to do, as a rule they were seen as having different training from artists and as having been socialized away from being able to contribute the unique perspective of a professional artist.
Several artists worried that regular, long-term work in schools would compromise what they had to offer by taking time away from art work and by narrowing their experience too much. All agreed that full time teaching and the serious pursuit of one's own artistic interests were incompatible and that that explained why art teachers were seldom also active creators of their own art. Interestingly, the art teachers interviewed for this study agreed that this is generally the case and did not expect to be actively doing their own creative work along with full time, or even part time, teaching.

Occasionally artists described values tensions between themselves and those in the schools, stating that "...as an artist, I couldn't do x." Pulled by a mixture of professional and personal obligation, artists appealed to their values as artists. For example, Peter spoke of his willingness to go along with certain things about the Fundamentals Through Art evaluation scheme but said, "as a poet, I balked at asking kids to write for 60 seconds every day to improve their speed." Janet described her efforts to protect students from exposing their vulnerabilities to teachers who were themselves uncomfortable with strong feelings and pointed out that "as an artist, I have to believe that's what writing is really about--feelings--but you have to be careful."

In general the artists had a strong sense of themselves as part of a professional group with a common life experience and fundamental values. In the school environment they perceived themselves as representing these values for students. That they were artists and
that students were having a chance to work with a "real artist" constituted a core part of their mission.

All the artists studied resisted identification of themselves as teachers even as they varied in the degree to which they were artists or artist/educators. The artist part of their identity was crucial to all of them. Sue stated it this way:

I think of myself as someone engaged with children but I don't think of myself as a teacher per se. I'm more connected to artists and to the way artists think. I'm at home there. I don't think I could ever be a teacher.

Identity and Professional Networks. Van Maanen and Schein (1979) have written about the adjustment of newcomers to organizations. They point to the importance of one's professional reference group and the influences that group exerts on role identification and adjustment in a new job setting. Van Maanen makes the point that professional reference group is often a counter-force to the socializing pressures of the organization, strong professional identification being inversely related to institutional loyalty. To use Merton's (1957) terms, there are "locals" and "cosmopolitans"--those with a local/organizational commitment and those with a strong externalized professional identification. (Van Maanen, 1979, p.93)

Contact with other artists may be particularly crucial in the earliest part of the residency when the less experienced artists turned to other artists for assistance. Van Maanen (1976) explains that it is in the entry phase that the values of professions may be tested against the demands of the work setting creating tensions for
the newcomer. Artists' contact with like-minded professions during this period may assist them in negotiating a role consistent with their sense of themselves as artists, resisting the pressures to function and behave like other members of the organization.

Artists indicated that they sought support from other artists and discussed their work in schools with other artists who had been artists-in-schools. They were inclined to turn to other teaching artists for teaching ideas and assistance and only later to view teachers in the school as models or sources of ideas. When they wanted to do well in their first residency jobs, Robin, Jane and Janet all looked to fellow artists for help. The informal artists' network was a source of stories and tips about which schools to avoid because they had a reputation for "taking advantage of artists" or had especially difficult teachers or administrators.

In summary, professional identity is critical in shaping the artist's response to the school and events that occur there. Although identity as an artists seemed significant for all those studied, artist/educators had broader interest in and ability to bring about collaboration with teachers. Their understanding of educational problems and their commitment to their own educational goals made them more willing to make small compromises in order to gain influence. Artists like Henri, Robin and Sam had narrower definitions of themselves in their roles and were therefore less motivated or equipped to invent ways of engaging with the non-arts activities of the school.
WORK HISTORY AND SKILLS

In addition to strong professional identity as artists and varying degrees of educational commitment, work experience as educators and in other roles had a significant influence on success as an artist-in-residence. Past work history is intimately bound up with professional identity. Artists believed their previous work experience helped them in their school setting. Work in schools and other organizations was important in giving artists insights into "how things work" in organizations and "what you need to do to get things done."

Several artists brought extensive relevant work experience to their residency jobs. Janet, Steven and Peter all had 6 to 8 years of experience as artists-in-residence behind them when they were hired for the jobs described here. Having to adjust to many different kinds of schools had given them confidence in their ability to succeed in new situations and some strategies for dealing with complex organizational demands. They all thought that experience was their only and best teacher for real survival in schools.

Work experience outside of schools was also seen as a source of skills and insights about how to get along in the school situation. Insofar as a relatively stable "bundle of tasks" (Hughes, 1958) can be culled from descriptions of the artist-in-residence jobs, it is possible to see how previous employment might contribute to these
skills. Artists felt that the following constellation of abilities was necessary for success as an artist-in-residence:

1) ability to understand how a school works and how decisions were made;
2) ability to flexibly negotiate a variety of complicated group and individual situations;
3) ability to manage and instruct students; and
4) ability to conceptualize and articulate the connections between one's art discipline and other subjects in the curriculum.

The high degree of agreement on these capacities across schools and programs, suggests that it is possible to accumulate and apply relevant skills as an artist-in-residence and for program developers to plan for training to supplement the artist's existing skills. Looking at the relevant skills, it is easy to see how some of them might have been cultivated in other kinds of jobs. Significantly, however, these are not the relevant skills for the private pursuit of art production or those automatically attributed to artists. The skills required for success as an artist are less social and externally directed and more concerned with the discovery and expression of idiosyncratic insights. (Getzel and Csikszentimihalyi, 1976).

The most useful prior work experiences involved tasks that were relatively client-centered or called for collaboration with others. Such experiences seemed to have prepared artists by giving them a model for thinking about their work with both students and teachers and for distinguishing it from art production where they alone control
decisions and must consciously struggle to ignore external pressures that would divert their artistic purpose. Jane spoke about what she learned from freelance work in industry. Sam compared some of his projects with students and teachers to his production jobs in television and Henri drew parallels between executing a playground structure for a school with children as his co-designers and crew, and executing a commissioned art work for a client. He was careful to distinguish this type of activity from independently creating personal artworks.

In summary, artists learned from prior work experience in similar school-based programs, from organizations where they worked with others and from collaborative types of art projects where feedback and cooperation was essential. Those artists who had invested the greatest amounts of time in educational work saw those experiences as critical in giving them the ability to take on more complex and involving residencies.

**BELIEFS, VALUES AND ATTITUDES**

Perhaps the most influential baggage artists bring to their jobs are the beliefs, attitudes and values they hold. These shape their experiences and are the basis of responses and behavior.

Notions about the world, explanation about why things happen as they do, commitments to certain actions and a sense of what is worth doing are the tools with which an individual constructs meaning and
interprets experience. The case descriptions of artists' experiences show how beliefs inform experience as it unfolds and how events so frequently conspire to support strong preexisting ideas.

While it is difficult to say with certainty when a statement is an after-the-fact insight and when it really is a prior assumption, several artists related assumptions crucial to their experience. Take for example, the possible shaping impact for his particular situations of Peter's belief that "administrators will always make things more difficult between artists and teachers" or Steven's conviction that "Every student and teacher is capable of making art." The aesthetic or ethical rightness of artists' beliefs is not significant. What is, is its impact in complicated situations or its influence on behavior that may have the force of self-fulfilling prophecy, as Peter's did. Sam's assumptions about teachers' limitations caused him to behave in ways that generate petty responses from them, thereby frustrating him further and causing him to see them as lacking curiosity.

The artists' attitudes about schooling and memories of their own student days reportedly played a role in how they thought about their work in the schools and how they felt about what they observed. None of this group had the same fervor for global social change of some of the 60s artists Lopate writes about. None came to the schools with convictions that public education was the root of all social evils or needing total revamping. This group of artists had complaints, not about racism and imperialism, but about the schools' provincialism, the public's ignorance of the arts and about the way imagination and
serious thought are crowded out of the school day in a lust for measurable achievement. They compared what they saw in the schools with their own schools and alternated between a sympathy for over-worked teachers and identification with students who had to learn from "burned-out," tired teachers.

What seemed true of all the artists was that, probably like most adults, they did not approach schools in a neutral way. Schooling was a salient part of their own histories and, in some instances, a source of strong feeling about their own capacities and the way schools supported or inhibited their creative and intellectual development. In general, artists reported that it was more family influence and the support of a few special teachers that helped shape their identities as artists and that school was generally not a place where "being different" had been valued. In instances where an artist spoke positively about his/her own schooling, it was to draw a negative comparison to the education students were receiving in the schools where they were currently artists-in-residence. For many of these reasons artists believed their contributions to schools were in terms of being important role models, not just for future artists, but for children who might not otherwise encounter an actual artist. Just such a personal mission was a motivator for some artists to "look normal" so as not to feed children's stereotypes of artists as weird outsiders.

Another influential set of beliefs and values is associated with the artists' personal aesthetic and style of work. Aesthetic values
may be thought of as a constellation of personally held notions about art and about one's place within an artistic tradition. An example of how aesthetic values influence the experience of artists-in-residence is apparent in comparing two poets, Janet and Robin. Each had a different conception of her place in poetry, different kind of training and different artistic orientation which gave rise to unique aesthetic values.

Robin's more academic, formalistic approach, along with her unusually high standards for what should legitimately be considered poetry, probably made it more difficult for her to comfortably connect her ideas with the typical curriculum-based subject matter of elementary schools. Janet, on the other hand, while equally discriminating as an artist, held a view that was more broadly embracing of types of writing and efforts at self expression. Her own work is about her personal experience of daily life and she is less directly concerned with formal literary elements either as a poet or as a teacher. Hence, she has a broad standard and welcoming acceptance of all manner of products and subject matter.

Where Robin's starting point might be a classical poem, Janet can flexibly weave a writing activity into a geology unit or connect metaphor with a science lesson on butterflies or anatomy without feeling that the essence of poetry is compromised. Many of her personal interests connect in some way with topics taught in school--areas like Eskimo art and other cultures, plant and animal life. Learning about such things in turn nourishes her own writing
with new ideas at the same time it aids her generation of teaching materials. Similarly, Steven's very broad aesthetic encompasses many potential subjects and allows for a nearly universal acceptance of students' work. His principle that poetry is about feelings and the expression of feelings provides an encompassing framework for working with any group of students and relating diverse and disparate topics. Robin was clearly at her best with more sophisticated classes and teachers who already valued language and who could appreciate her talents as a writer.

Artists' ideas about pedagogy are always going to be grounded in their aesthetics. How they teach and regard the teaching of others, what offends them and what inspires them come from a particular understanding of the art form and how it is learned and practiced. These beliefs, as can be seen from the descriptions of the artists, are central in their views of the job and feelings about teaching. An artist's artistic philosophy and training background may be a critical source of values and some aesthetic orientations are more likely to be compatible with elementary school classrooms than others.

Several recurring themes in the reports of artists' experiences point to fundamental values conflicts which they as a group experienced when confronting the prevailing norms of the schools where they worked. These values differences were manifested differently for various artists and did not consistently make for problems, but they were persistent and occurred in some form for all the artists studied. They emanate from the differences in the ways artists and teachers
confronted problems and the differences in the meanings they attached to things. Artists valued individuality over the group harmony, novelty and innovation over consistency or standardization, aesthetics values over instrumentality and original expression over correctness.

It is natural that artists would value and seek to nourish individual uniqueness and its expression among students. Artists' complaints that too few opportunities for individual expression existed in the classrooms they observed, touching all aspects of school life--how time is spent and space allocated as well as what kinds of activities are given priority and what behaviors are encouraged.

Jackson (1968, p. 32) and Shipman (1968, p. 159) have commented on the communal, group-oriented character and fast pace of the typical elementary school classroom which drives out quiet and privacy. Leondar (1971, p. 29) blames the norms and structure that emphasize communal over individual values, the frenetic pace and the lack of time and space of the more meditative aspects of creative endeavor for the struggle the arts have in many classrooms. Jackson has commented on the "social intimacy" of the classroom which is "unmatched elsewhere in our society" and which stresses the group over the individual. (Pellegrin, p. 362, 1976).

The perceptions of the artists in this study were that, even under the best of circumstances, the individual's time, space and expressive needs were consistently sacrificed to group requirements, scheduling and the need for order and harmony.
Conformity and the avoidance of deviance was also seen as a natural consequence of norms that valued order over the expression of unique perceptions and the group over the individual. Artists identified with creative and "different" students and often resented what they perceived as teachers' lack of appreciation for these students' specialness.

All of the artists referenced the inflexibility of school routines which resisted innovation even when teachers were calling for new and exciting activities. When successful innovations could be introduced, there were pressures to standardize them for adoption in many classrooms, while artists wanted to move on to invent new lessons and try new ideas.

Artists felt they had to defend artistic activities which lacked obvious or immediate utility. There was pressure to spend time on instruction that advanced the existing curriculum rather than on aesthetic concerns or exploration without a clear end product. Artists in this study resisted the forces which researchers like Chapman (1982) and Eisner (1982) have identified as those working against a central role for the arts in American education. Utilitarian and measurable skills have typically been given precedence over less verifiable skills and the affective/cognitive domaine of learning. (Eisner, 1982)

Without exception the artists in this study also registered their frustrations with what Jane referred to as "the schools' passion for the right answer." They felt that students were too often rewarded
for memorization and logical responses rather than for creative, albeit idiosyncratic, responses.

Conflicts around these values, which artists shared, were persistent and took many forms. However, there were few opportunities for teachers and artists to share and explore their root beliefs directly. More commonly they were below the surface in all dealings and infused attempts to cooperate and to work within the culture of the school. Artists with experience in schools and a predisposition to work within the constraints adopted relatively sophisticated insight and explanation for the things that bothered them about schools. They came to believe change was a gradual process. A common notion was that by being strong models for creative students the artists would reinforcing them to survive the climate of the school. The artists with less education experience and commitment to working with schools tended to be less patient and tolerant, to blame individuals rather than systems.

WORK SETTING

Although identity, individual beliefs and prior experience have been shown to be important, taken alone they are not sufficient to explain what actually occurs in artists-in-residence programs and why some artists are more successful and satisfied than others. Social scientists have long acknowledged the importance of setting for a person's experience at work (Argyris, 1967; Van Maanen, 1976 and Kanter, 1979).
The culture in which a job is embedded, the expectations surrounding it and the organizational structures to which it relates are critical influences on how an individual performs and feels about his/her job.

The situations artists entered, when they accept positions as artists-in-residence, consisted of complex layers of influence. No individual functioned independent of the forces making up the work context. In this section we will look more closely at the nature of those forces and structures. All the settings examined in this study include a programmatic layer, a school or series of schools, a school district and the community beyond. We have seen how forces both from within and beyond the school and community can effect the job and the artist-in-residence in key ways.

Influence flows in both directions from the environment to the artist and outward from the artist to the setting. For example, the positive public relations emanating from several programs fueled parents' enthusiasm which resulted in pressure for certain kinds of activities and even for their own children's exposure to specific artists viewed as outstanding or exciting. In at least two cases artists' successes produced parental pressure to implement the program in schools where neither the principals nor teachers might otherwise have signed on. In the Arts and Learning Program, Janet's parent workshop heightened her sense of accomplishment and fostered a new perspective on the scope of her role. This had important ramifications for her understanding of and commitment to the school
and community.

Beyond the school community itself, outside funders were influential in extending programs' visibility, putting local administrators in the limelight with their colleagues in other districts. This galvanized local interest in the programs among district level administrators and key decision makers. Greater interest took the form of both greater support and new demands on the program artists.

At the minimum artists need to recognize the scope of influences and expectations that effect complex programs and administrators must play a central role in managing the complex of system influences, moderating those that might divert artists from essential tasks and maximizing the forces that can advance the program's goals. Few of the artists interviewed fully understood or were in a position to do much about some of the systemic influences on their jobs without the intervening support of program administrators or local school administrators. As in other complex systems within turbulent environments, those who successfully manage artist-in-residence programs, manage the boundaries between the program and its environment (Brown, 1966, p. 319).

School Norms and Socializing Pressures

Each of the artists interviewed was influenced in fundamental ways by the culture of the school. Every organization has its own
distinctive culture consisting of traditions, ways of operating and unwritten rules governing the behavior of its members. As public institutions, responsive to the community, schools have a history of requiring an unusually high degree of compliance with their cultural norms. Members are expected to adhere not just to norms governing work tasks and operations but also to rules regulating to general decorum and even attitudes and values. The school's traditional role as transmitter of community standards and socializer of the young makes it among the more rigorous socializers of its employees (Van Mannen, 1976, p. 108). Furthermore, the strong values base of public schooling makes its institutions unusually wary of outsiders who might undermine the public's confidence. (Pelligrin, 1976, pp. 251-252).

As demonstrated by the statements of the school officials and teachers Peter encountered in Brookfield, the rightness of an institution's norms seems self evident to those who are truly insiders and compliance is the price of organizational acceptance. For out-of-town artists relatively new to work in schools, finding ways to comply without feeling over-compromised is a key survival skill. Several artists spoke of feeling tested by teachers to see if they could "fit in." For some, demonstrating basic respect for procedures (e.g., using the right parking space and remembering to return coffee cups to the cafeteria before 2 o'clock) were important symbolic ways of signaling their trustworthiness. While the cultures of the school settings varied in their tolerance for diversity, in all cases dress, decorum and order were concerns. An emphasis on order and control has
been acknowledged to be a hallmark of schools (Eddy, 1976, Silberman, 1971 and Shipman, 1968). Researchers trace this phenomenon to the school's role in passing on the values necessary for social acceptance and mobility (Pellegrin, p. 362). The force of values related to dress and decorum are painfully evident in the way the school community marshalled its forces to penalize Peter for his appearance and alleged inability to "control the class."

A disorderly-looking artist or one who does not control the class may be experienced as a threat to the school's capacity to do its job. Teachers in some sites were reluctant to have artists in their classrooms who could not discipline the class in a manner consistent with the school's standards, for fear that the teacher might be judged negatively by administrators and peers.

Artists correctly perceived that they were being measured by teachers early on, sensing that "teachers would sit passively by and see if I could handle it alone" before they committed any energy to helping the new artist. Teachers' comments about the artists in their schools suggested that an artist's failure to enforce rules such as no speaking out, lining up, etc., rather than being viewed as minor skills the artist could learn, were sometimes regarded as outright acts of disrespect for important community standards. Several artists, recognizing the symbolic importance of maintaining order in a way consistent with the school's norms, found themselves being so strict in their first few classes that they surprised even themselves. On the other hand, one over-zealous artist was severely chastized by
teachers because she clapped loudly and shouted "Bravo" at a school musical performance thereby "undermining all we'd done to train the children to be polite audiences."

An artist like Jane or Sue, who demonstrated concern for the school's rules of decorum, won teachers' assistance in areas where they needed help. Jane felt she had a lot to learn about teaching but that teachers helped her succeed once she was trusted not to undermine the balance of their classrooms. The artists who appeared conventional in their dress and demeanor were less harshly judged for their inadequacies in teaching and other areas.

Looking different seemed to carry with it fears that artists-in-residence, like the hippies of the 1960s, would violate community stability and open the school to criticism from parents and school officials. This was particularly strong in the affluent, suburban communities and much less the case in Steven's diverse, urban setting or in Sue and Henri's rural community. However, the teachers in Center Mills also spoke of their relief that Sue and Henri were "normal looking" because they had had a few artists in the past who were "kind of scruffy." Administrators in Morgan Hill explained that they hired several artists with Ivy League degrees because they knew that "would help to off-set concerns in the community about the artists looking too different."(David)

Artists' roles in different programs were very much effected, not just by the type of community, but by the local problems and particular challenges facing their schools at the time. Budget cuts
thin and forcing them on teachers who were obligated rather than interested.

In general, the culture of the schools exerted powerful socializing forces on the artists. Those artists who were most sensitive to feedback from the environment and inclined to compromise "passed" the initial tests of membership. These artists earned a degree of autonomy and influence. Others retreated into less integral roles or maintained a sense of separateness for the central activities of the school. In addition to culture, the general state of the school influenced artists' roles providing both constraints and opportunities.

**Key Features of the Job**

Each artist in this study was part of a program with a particular style of operating and reason for being. In addition to culture and climate, four characteristics of the sites appeared to make a difference in how successfully artists performed and how satisfied they were with their residency experiences:

1. the scope of the educational change represented by the program;

2. the extent to which artists were called upon to perform functions other than teaching, talking about or demonstrating their art;

3. the extent to which an artist contributed to a program's philosophical direction and had a voice in how he/she would function on a day to day basis; and

4. the degree of interdependence required of artists and teachers and the role of program managers in facilitating collaboration.
Each of these features of the local definition of the artist-in-residence role will be discussed below.

1. **The scope of the educational change represented by the program**

With the exception of the AIS where the intention was to supplement and enrich, rather than to change, the school, all the programs examined in this study swept artists into complex reform efforts. In Steven's case the goal was broad but manageable—to provide creative activities that would integrate the school's ethnic and racial minorities. While not without its challenges, any number of different approaches could satisfy the objective as long as they did not make costly demands on the school's already-overburdened staff.

Fundamentals Through Art and the Arts and Learning Program were the most complicated because of the ambitious nature of the changes undertaken and coveryness of the goals to change teachers. While this was more true of the Arts and Learning Program, the public rhetoric about working with teachers was a substitute for change goals not easily discussed by program officials. In the eyes of program founders, artists were, at least in part, a remedy for the limitations of the existing staff. Particularly in Arts and Learning artists were there to "stir things up a little" and "get things moving." (David)

The basic skills and curriculum change orientations of the projects brought the arts into the center of instructional activity where the stakes were high and where classroom teachers were directly effected by
what artists did. Artists had to do more than just teach their art form and teacher change was an anticipated by-product of collaboration with artists.

2. **Tasks beyond teaching and demonstrating one's art**

When the scope of the program necessitated that artists become curriculum developers, teacher trainers or "change agents" trying to alter fundamental aspects of school operation, they encountered resistance from teachers and local specialists. This was especially true in the Arts and Learning Program and Fundamentals Through Art where there was some fuzziness "about who was doing what to whom," as Jane put it. Having been initiated by ambitious reform-oriented principals, these two projects not only placed extreme demands on artists to be able to flexibly perform a variety of specialized functions, but also threatened teachers who were uncertain about their responsibilities to accomplish program goals.

The AIS program was unique among the settings as one where artists were expected to be simply visiting artists who worked with students and teachers who volunteered. The artists' identities as artists were preserved and highlighted. Strategies for exposing students and teachers to the artist's own work and for discussing one's life as an artist were part of the annual indoctrination that participants in that program received. It was further enforced by the state-level field administrator. The Center Mills School's desire for "cultural enrichment" was quite consistent with the artists' skills and
motivations.

Steven's situation is also interesting when examined from this perspective. While the needs of the setting called for a broad interpretation of the role of artist-in-residence, it was one Steven welcomed and saw opportunities in. Related to the fortunate "fit" between Steven and his setting is the fact that he played such a central role in formulating the program and defining it as it went along. The artist's overall influence of program direction is another critical feature of each setting.

3. The artist's involvement in shaping the program and his/her own role

Although artists varied dramatically in the intensity and success of their attempts to influence their programs, what we are interested in examining here is the leeway allowed them by virtue of the structures and conditions in each program. Where a high degree of influence was possible, artists were more satisfied and more successful, both in their own eyes and in those of school personnel.

In comparison, the first wave of artists in The Arts and Learning Program (Janet and Sam) were more influential in shaping the program's directions than were artists hired in subsequent years. The life cycle of the program was also a factor in Fundamentals Through Art, with Peter being hired in the third year of the program after operating procedures had been established, in contrast to Jane, who had been somewhat more influential in developing a way of working within the Brookfield
Schools.

Within the general parameters laid down by the state AIS program, the artists in Center Mills were able to define their own programs in discussions with local officials. Drawing on past experience, they were able to avoid some of the common pitfalls of residencies.

In all cases, although to varying degrees, artists' commitment and investment were high when they had substantial involvement in initial and on-going planning. Influence grew with acceptance and meant that artists felt more committed to a mission they had contributed to shaping.

4. The degree of interdependence and role of program managers in facilitating collaboration

A comparison of the four program settings suggests that conflicts were heightened by requirements that artists and teachers collaborate. Demands that artists and teachers work closely together, following up on each other's lessons, team-teaching, planning and implementing jointly-defined instruction, stretched both the artists and the teachers and magnified the differences in their respective views of the world and approaches to problems. Instructional activities that required one to follow up for the other or necessitated joint teaching gave rise to the greatest tensions. The more autonomously artists functioned--with their own space, time frame and student group--the easier their jobs. Artists in AIS were most free to "do their own thing" within a clearly
circumscribed territory, requiring little negotiation or compromise with
those in the school. Henri set his own parameters at the outset and
dealt with teachers only around logistical problems. Even these were
frequently handled by the program's teacher-coordinator. The
arrangement was flexible enough to allow activities to develop at the
initiative of the most interested teachers. Sue had slightly more
interaction through the Young Authors' Program which drew her into
curriculum concerns and required more cooperative work with teachers.
The Arts and Learning Program, Project Arts and Fundamentals Through Art
artists had to negotiate new activities involving teachers all the time.
With the goal of "arts integration" their engagement with teachers
involved not just logistics but fundamental issues of teaching style,
curriculum priorities, content and other instructional matters. Usually
working without a space of their own and completely at the mercy of the
school's schedule, the capacity of artists to cooperate was vital.

When genuine collaboration produced an outcome that met both
parties' needs and involved a sufficiently reciprocal process for
teachers and artists to both have their needs met, both felt gratified
and both learned. Where artists had their own space, worked with their
own group autonomously, and never engaged with teachers directly around
either instructional or artistic questions, students alone benefitted
and the impact was limited.

In all the programs writers were more interdependent than the
visual artists. Because of the emphasis on writing as a basic skill,
poets' roles brought them into greater contact with classroom
generalists. There were no specialists who could be relied upon to be knowledgeable and sympathetic. Even the visual artists speculated that writers "always have a harder time satisfying the schools" (Sue). Even though poetry is a specialized study, seldom taught in-depth in most elementary schools, writing is the classroom teacher's responsibility. Visual arts, particularly sculpture, printmaking, film and photography may not be treated as serious elements of children's education, but they are seldom the province of anyone but the art specialist. Hence, artists in these media were less likely to be faced with territorial battles or with having to retrain teachers or redefine curriculum. Instead, as Sam's situation reveals, they may encounter limited understanding and indifference from teachers or the feeling that there is not time to introduce another discipline.

The interdependent visual artists (Sam and Jane) succeeded in demonstrating that their art form could contribute something of interest and usefulness. Their specialized equipment and the novelty of making prints or films advanced their popularity with students and often with parents. Their distance as specialists from the average teacher reinforced a tendency to find ways to work independently. In Jane's case a combination of unusual motivation, strong interpersonal skills and a commitment to making her activities serve the teachers' ends overcame the distance. Sam simply worked with the most receptive teachers or found separate avenues for teaching students. These strategies were fostered by two forces that kept Sam and most teachers apart—his teaching style that worked best in a non-classroom
setting and his specialized knowledge made cooperation difficult. Additionally, program administrators were themselves less familiar with film and video, than with poetry and hence were less able to mediate skillfully between Sam and the classroom teachers.

In brief, two categories of factors emerge as significant influences on the satisfaction and success of artists-in-residence. As discussed above these factors may relate to the individuals themselves:

- the nature of their professional identification,
- extent of work history and
- values and beliefs.

Or, influences may originate in the job setting. These include:

- the force of culture and socializing pressures
- the scope of the program
- the non-arts demands
- the extent of artists' influence, and
- the degree of interdependence called for in the program.

Having described a spectrum of actual artists' experiences and discussed the importance of each of these features of artist and setting, the final chapter will explore the interface between aspects of individuals and aspects of setting.
CHAPTER VII
THE INTERCHANGE BETWEEN ARTIST AND SETTING

The term interchange is used here to refer to the exchange between person and work environment or setting and to discuss the fit between the two. It is intended to imply that both artist and work setting may adapt in the course of a residency and that there is the potential for each to impact the other in significant ways. This two-way process of influence is richly born out by the case evidence presented in Chapters IV and V and much has already been said about how different individuals conformed to their particular programmatic contexts and/or helped shape conditions in their situations.

The significant background factors individuals brought to their jobs as outlined in the previous chapter are brought together with the important features of the work settings in the matrix table that follows (Table 5. The Interchange Between Individual Factors and Characteristics of the Setting). Relationships are presented in grid fashion in an attempt to illustrate the important intersections between person and setting in this study and to highlight key issues of "fit." Additionally, the table lays out a model for speculating about particular artists and their likely mesh with certain settings and job demands, leading to the final section of this study which addresses implications for program design, policy, management and future research questions that warrant further exploration.
INDIVIDUAL FACTORS

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Table 5. The Interchange Between Individual Factors and Characteristics of the Setting

Individual Factors and Socializing Pressures

Looking first at the intersection of professional identity and organizational culture, it seems evident from the situations and artists
studied that those artists with the greatest sense of identification with education—seeing themselves as artists who regularly work in schools—will be more apt to understand school culture and understand how to work within it and not feel compromised. Janet and Steven are good examples of this phenomenon. Both had experience and a predilection to adapt, winning influence as the programs evolved. Both passed the "tests" that won them membership. Those who identified themselves least as educators (Sam and Robin) also experienced the greatest frustration with the school's socializing pressures.

Work experience is intimately bound up with professional identity for the artists studied. Artists with the most experience in schools saw themselves as artist/educators and were generally more tolerant of the pressures to conform to the school's culture. They had explanations for why things worked the way they did in schools and were more forgiving. The exception, of course, is Peter, who had the experience and sense of himself as an educator, but could not transcend his outsiderness enough to win the influence he sought. Here, it is interesting to speculate on how a different kind of setting and program management might have mediated the differences between Peter and the system. Other artists, like Sue and Jane, might have evolved into artist/educators given different experiences with different demands and opportunities.

Some of the values shared by the artists studied—individualism, nonconformity, etc.—and their disparity from the values projected by the schools were obvious roots of conflict; however, we have seen how
values can be tempered by experience and insight. We have seen, for example, instances of artists compromising their espoused values and beliefs in order to win over teachers, to "get a foot in the door to be able to do more of what I wanted to do," as Janet put it. So, while artists' values may conflict with those of the school, some artists studied believed that it was not inappropriate to compromise to gain acceptance. Artists who have that value are clearly more able to bridge the differences between their own core beliefs and those reflected by the setting.

Furthermore, there is evidence in the experiences studied that beliefs and values are in part a product of professional self-definition and of work experience. Artists without opportunities and a predisposition to identify with educational ends are less likely to evolve the necessary attitudes that make their accommodation to schools easier. They are also less likely to develop explanations for their difficulties that are nonjudgmental toward individuals in the setting—explanations about systems and institutions rather than about people. Strong predispositions to succeed can also be thwarted by negative experiences. Sue is the best example of someone with such a strong identity as an artist that, even though her initial motivation was high, and she succeeded in impressing school officials with her abilities, she still found that the costs were too great and the compromises too much.

Scope of Change, Tasks Beyond Teaching and Individual Factors
The interface between individual factors--identity, work experience and beliefs--and dimensions of the setting--scope of change and tasks required beyond teaching art is critical for the outcomes of artists' residencies. Various types of artists, both those who regard themselves as artist/educators and those who are simply interested in sharing their art with school students, might be attracted to programs with ambitious reform-oriented goals and a broad spectrum of task requirements. Most would prefer to feel that their contributions are significant and some, particularly the artist/educators, may regard global change projects as good for their career development. Several artists in the study spoke of their attraction to the vision of change articulated by program developers as they recruited artists. However, they also learned that lofty goals often meant complicated entanglements with the very most fundamental aspects of institutional life.

A self-image as an artist/educator meant a natural attraction to more complex, longer programs which promised more than a superficial role for the artist. Janet, Steven and Peter all brought to their residency situations high expectations for what the program might achieve and what they personally could contribute. Substantial experience meant that they were cautious, particularly about hours, pay, numbers of students and the need to clarify these kinds of basic expectations at the beginning.

For Janet and Steven, both experience and a sense of one's self as an educator contributed to a sophistication and flexibility in approaching the complexity of ambitious change efforts. Peter, on the
other hand, took the espoused goals of Fundamentals Through Art too literally and pressed for more accommodation on the part of the teachers involved than school officials really intended or than Peter could bring about himself.

Ambitious goals and far-reaching changes tended to mean tasks for the artists beyond simply teaching or demonstrating their art. Besides the knowledge and diplomacy required to work with sometimes-threatened teachers, artists also needed to understand a variety of pedagogical approaches and curriculum issues and be able to articulate connections between their own art form and other subject areas. Those with the commitment to do so, and a relatively supportive climate, learned as they went along, creating a self-reinforcing cycle of on-the-job experience that leads to a greater sense of identity as an artist/educator, to new explanation about why schools do things as they do and perhaps to greater local commitment. In this way, success for the artists studied led to greater tolerance, which in turn, led to more acceptance and influence.

Where there was neither the experience or inclination to play so ambitious a role, artists like Sam, Henri, Sue and Robin sought situations where their teaching could be successful and well received, either with the more receptive teachers or with special groups of students, or outside the normal constraints of the school day, as with Sam's after school program. Here again we see the dynamic between the opportunities presented by the setting and the predisposition of the individual artists. There is reason to believe that artists like Sue
and Jane, might have, under the right conditions of broader program goals and opportunities for influence, integrated their activities with classroom teachers and grown in their self-identification as artist/educators. Self-image can not be separated from opportunities for influence and structures that aid collaboration.

A by-product of complex and ambitious programs was a degree of ambiguity about the role to be played by the artist. As has already been described, artists received conflicting messages from the relevant people in their work environments. For some this provided an opportunity to assert their own definitions of the role and to demonstrate a way of proceeding. For others the stresses of role conflict like that described by Kahn, et. al. (1964) were all too apparent. Artists in the broadly conceived programs were subject to demands which were at times confusing and inconsistent. Some messages said, "if you don't fit in, you won't be allowed to do anything." And others said, "fit in but don't fit in too much." One opinion stressed teachers as the main target of artists' efforts while another urged them to concentrate on the children and ignore trying to convert the teacher.

Artists also experienced role demands that were at odds with their own vision of their roles—a vision often reinforced by their associations with other artists. As Kahn (1964) points out, the impact of role conflict on the individual and on the situation is a function of personality, interpersonal relationships at work and organizational structure. Different artists responded to role conflicts differently depending on their sense of themselves in the job, their past
experiences and their beliefs and values. Robin is an example of an artist whose attempt to satisfy conflicting demands resulted in frustration and a sense of failure. As a consequence, she was inclined to exempt herself from similar situations and perhaps from residency work generally. Steven resolved conflicting notions about how he should function by conceiving of his role broadly and by increasingly defining himself as "someone who takes on the hard situations and is willing to do anything." Sam deliberately disregarded some pressures in the way of operating used by other program artists and, in his own words, "decided to challenge certain procedures by ignoring them."

Role conflict was greatest in settings where artists were given a broad reform agenda, had to develop new skills to perform tasks other than teaching and doing art and had to work collaboratively with school staff to accomplish the tasks. Theorists point to the tendency for role conflict to be most prevalent in new, innovative, boundary-spanning jobs which have no established patterns linking them to the rest of the organization (Kahn, et. al., 1964).

This kind of conflict and ambiguity was best coped with by individuals with flexible self-definitions, experience in school programs and confidence that they could learn to do what was required.

Individual Factors and Opportunities for Influence

Like other intersections between individual factors and features of setting, a self-reinforcing pattern exists at the junction between individual factors and the extent of artists' involvement in decisions
about strategy and program direction. Some programs—the Arts and Learning Program and Project Arts—came to rely on their artists. In turn artists who tended to see themselves as educators sought roles of high influence and wanted a voice in decisions and planning. They felt an investment, not just in a narrow span of activity but in much that they observed around them in the schools. In contrast, artists like Sue and Henri were less preoccupied with the long term impact, philosophy or relationship of their teaching to curriculum or school structure and more concerned with controlling their own circumscribed set of activities—a specific project with a core group of students or special class group. This was a function of both the type of program and its structure and of the way these artists defined themselves in the job.

In contrast, artist/educators both sought and were in settings that allowed them to earn influence. The key to understanding this process, however, is the fact that influence for artists was hardly automatic. Entry, early meetings and initial classes were critical in building a basis for influence. A degree of organizational membership had to be won. A combination of powerfully enforced local norms and an incompatible artist's style are likely to make initial entry difficult and subsequent influence impossible as in Peter's case. The more successful artists were sensitive to feedback from those in the school and experienced a "rite of passage" after which they were more trusted. The rewards of membership, however tentatively granted, were greater freedom and flexibility that allowed artists more choice and the ability
to command a more significant and visible range of resources and rewards. This in turn reinforced their growing influence. By demonstrating that they could be trusted not to violate cultural norms, artists won support from teachers who would help strengthen the artists' effectiveness. If things went especially well, teachers shared their "trade secrets" with artists and guided them in handling difficult students, approaching resistant teachers and navigating around troublesome local problems. Teacher help was important as artists learned to perform some of the new tasks required of them.

AIS is an intriguing example of a program with limited focus, few tasks beyond teaching one's art, and artists without especially strong identities as educators. Both artists, however, asserted their initiative to structure their residencies from the beginning and were supported in doing so by strong, even if arms-length, direction at the state level. Sue and Henri planned with local teachers around logistics, but their roles were relatively straightforward and their control clear. The program achieved its intended purpose of "enriching the environment through the arts" but all agreed it had limited lasting impact on the majority of students or on teachers or curriculum.

Individual Factors and the Degree of Interdependence

The greater the potential for change represented by an artists-in-residence program, the more likely it is to require a high degree of interdependence between artists and the school's existing
Successful outcomes will involve the judicious selection of the right artists and the skillful management of collaboration between groups with different specializations and orientations.

While conflict is a common by-product of bringing artists into school settings, the cases examined in this study suggest that conflict is greatest in those programs whose broad scope and desire for reform resulted in high functional interdependence between the artists and local teachers and great ambiguity about how artists could best function.

The struggles that inevitably accompany significant institutional change are evident in the conflicts related by both the artists and the school personnel. Underlying the conflicts described are different assumptions about how the artist should function, different ideas about what is important and the fundamental values differences outlined in Chapter VI.

Theorists Lawrence and Lorsch (1967) have pointed to the need for both differentiation and integration in contemporary organizations and the inevitable conflicts that result when groups with different specialized ways of working and unique points of view must collaborate to accomplish important ends. Lawrence and Lorsch (1967) argue that the goal is not to extinguish conflict, but to resolve it in ways that allow for integration without sacrificing valuable differences. The problem is one facing all complex organizations that must weave together the work of highly specialized professionals and effectively utilize their expertise. By viewing the absorption of artists' contributions to
education as a challenge of developing cooperative links between differentiated and equally necessary subgroups, it is possible to suggest some strategies for integration.

The situations studied represent several approaches to bridging the distances between artists and teachers.

1. Use of liaisons and separate spheres of influence.

AIS avoided much interdependence by structuring the artists to work separately with groups of students. However, arrangements were made by an intermediary, a teacher assigned to be the local coordinator. She negotiated with her colleagues and smoothed the way for the artists. In another instance the art teacher was the local coordinator sympathetic to teachers' viewpoints but familiar with artists' needs. In a different program context Sam narrowed the distance between himself and teachers with no knowledge of his art form by locating the teachers who already had some experience with film, teachers who were midway between their novice colleagues and the artist/expert.

2. Involve only those artists and teachers who can do the bridging.

Another strategy for bringing artists and teachers closer together is to recruit artists with experience in schools, artists who can and will compromise to fit in. It is also possible to involve only the teachers who already have some interest and training in the arts.

3. Use integrative mechanisms including buffer people.

A number of integrative structures can be employed to bring together the differentiated groups or individuals. If the differences are, in fact, to be valued rather than minimized and high interdependence is designed into the program, administrators must be prepared to build in activities that support the exchange of ideas and sustain a dialogue for planning and critiquing activities. Three of the program administrators studied expressly saw their roles as "buffering" between artists and teachers.

Lawrence and Lorsch (1967), Lynton (1973) and Gabarro (1973)
suggest other types of integrative mechanisms which were used in limited ways by the programs studied but which could be effective: problem solving groups, task forces with joint membership, liaison people and project teams.

Fundamentals Through Art had planning meetings to bring together core group teachers and artists, but these were few in number and basic areas of conflict did not surface in these meetings. An advisory task force with representatives from different schools was convened to guide the project's development but artists were not represented. The Project Director, while an official liaison between artists and teachers, was much closer to teachers in her values and too much inside the school's culture to be a successful advocate for the artists' perspective.

In the Arts and Learning Program, while artists and teachers were relatively far apart, there were a variety of structures to engage the two in training, joint planning and processing of the work they were doing together. Various types of buffer people were employed. A teacher who had been on the school's staff was hired to oversee an elaborate process of mutual observation and discussion of students' creative work, an effort seen as a vehicle for surfacing diverse viewpoints and exploring conflicts.

A key handicap to all these linking mechanisms was time. Even in the Arts and Learning Program, teachers and artists often found themselves together in classrooms trying to implement instructional activities without sufficient planning or shared knowledge of each other's underlying goals. In all the schools time outside the
Boundaries of the classroom were strictly regulated by contracts and teachers had many pressures competing for their limited out-of-class time. The tendency in all programs was to abandon collaborative activity in favor of separate spheres of control. That is, even the more trusted artists were granted inclusion and rewarded with classes with whom they could do whatever they wished, freeing the teacher to do other things. The more overburdened the artists felt, the less they initiated joint activities or planning. By the end of the Arts and Learning Program and Fundamentals Through Art, artists and teachers were collaborating less, rather than more.

Where interdependence was required and genuine collaboration did exist, both artists and teachers benefited. Conflict was sometimes a catalyst for learning and, if appropriately managed, a way to expand an institution's range and adaptability.

As for success in meeting their goals, artists and teachers alike believed that their respective programs accomplished what was intended. The degree of teacher satisfaction, like that of the artists, was a function of the fit between the setting and the particular artists. Both attested to the exciting benefits possible with the right combination of teachers, artists and structural supports. With some attention to the right mesh of these elements, it is possible to have programs that result in genuine change, enrich students' learning, expand teachers' repertoires and engage artists in satisfying circumstances that stretch their horizons and give them chances to share their talents with students and teachers.
Summary Propositions

The small sample size, intensive methods and exploratory nature of this study preclude definitive conclusions with broad generalizability to all artists-in-residence; nevertheless, it has been possible to identify and describe important relationships among key aspects of artists and their situations. To aid in the identification of provisional conclusions that can be explored in subsequent research in other settings and with other artists, summary propositions have been derived and are outlined in this section.

It must be remembered that artists working in education can vary in self-identification from practicing artist doing occasional residencies in school settings to artist/educator using their art and their example to enhance students' knowledge of the arts and even to alter the teaching-learning process in fundamental ways.

In turn, settings vary. Programs embody different kinds of missions, different relationships to their schools and communities, different administrative structures and different influences from their environments beyond the schools. Based on the artists and settings studied, the following speculative propositions describe the interface between artist and setting.

1. The greater the degree of artist work experience in the schools, the greater the likelihood of that artist's self-identity as an artist/educator.

2. The greater artists' identification with educational goals and not just with making their own art, the greater the likelihood
of the artist understanding school culture and using that knowledge to gain trust and to negotiate through the organization to realize his/her own as well as program goals.

3. The greater the difference between the artist's values and the school's expectations (about identity and behavior):
   - the less the likelihood of artist or school satisfaction;
   - the harder it is for the artist to become an accepted member of the school community;
   - the greater the need for mediating program management, liaison administrators and integrative devices;
   - the greater the need for the artist to also have values or beliefs about the desirability of temporary compromise to win acceptance;
   - the more difficulty the artists will experience in influencing teacher behavior.

4. The more ambitious the educational reform goals of the program:
   - the greater the likelihood of lasting change and long term impact on the school;
   - the greater the interdependence required among school personnel and artists;
   - the greater the likelihood of conflicting expectations among various subgroups;
   - the greater the likelihood of initially attracting artists with educational goals;
   - the greater the need for extended residencies;
   - the greater the need for active, skilled change agents in administrative roles;
   - the greater the need for experienced artists, with a sense of themselves as artist/educators;
   - the greater the range of knowledge about schools and curriculum required of artists; and
   - the greater the likelihood that artists who are not successful will not seek school-based employment in the future, but successful artists will be reinforced in their sense of themselves as artist/educators.

5. The narrower the program goals, the lesser the likelihood of conflict, but the less lasting the program's effects on the school.

6. The greater the artist's success, the greater the artist's identification with the artist-educator role, the greater the openness to learning about education and the greater the tolerance for school ways; in turn, the greater the artist's likelihood of success.
7. The more an artist's discipline is rooted in the existing school curriculum, the more interdependence will be required and the more conflict likely.

8. Artists with narrower self-identification, ie. as artists with a temporary, arts-focused involvement with the school, are more successful in schools where educational reform is not a program expectation, or with individually receptive teachers or teachers with background in the arts.

9. Role conflict was most frustrating for artists with strongest identities as artists rather than artist-educators and those artists with little relevant work experience.

10. Role conflict was greatest where:
   - program goals included broad educational reform;
   - non-art tasks were required;
   - artists needed to learn new skills; and
   - close collaboration with teachers was demanded.

11. Artists' mechanisms for coping with role conflict included:
    - ignoring unpreferred expectations;
    - altering self-identity to include multiple dimensions;
    - incorporating "adaptability" or "overcoming challenges" as part of self-identity; and
    - determination to leave the field.

12. The greater the artist's intensity of identification as an artist and the shorter the past experience in school programs, the less effective the coping mechanisms for dealing with role conflict.

13. The greater the educational scope of the program and the greater the artist's commitment to the artist/educator identity, the greater the artist's desire for influence on the school and program.

14. The greater the disparity between school expectations and artist identity and style, the less likely it is that the artist will be able to influence the program.

15. The more skilled the artist at sizing up the school environment, perceiving early encounters as membership tests and adapting behavior (at least temporarily) to expectations, the greater the influence accorded.

16. Mechanisms which are likely to reduce the potential conflicts arising from values, style and goal differences include:
    - reduced interdependence through: direct artist work with
students, administrators serving as intermediary or buffer, narrowing program goals (often as a function of time limitations) leading to separate artist and teacher activities;
- artist works only with teachers sharing artist's goals;
- recruiting artists who, on the basis of work history, are likely to be adaptive;
- deliberate and open explorations of differences managed by a skilled administrator with values and orientation between those of artists and teachers or other school personnel;
- joint planning and follow-up activities; and
- joint activities where both artists and teachers learn together about areas of mutual interest, and joint activities which are successful and are rewarded.

17. The greater the time constraints, the less collaborative activities between teachers and artists are possible, and therefore, the less lasting change can be accomplished.

18. The greater the fit among artist identities, program goals, school culture and administrative style, the greater the satisfaction of artists and teachers, and the greater the likelihood of claimed successes.

19. In situations of powerful misfit between artist and setting, but high interdependence, even strong identification with the role of artist/education and extensive past experience does not guarantee success.

Implications for Further Research

To advance our understanding of the nature of the experiences of artists-in-schools and to focus even more sharply a set of generalizable factors that determine success, subsequent research would have to rely on two types of "data." First, basic statistics and demographics on artists who participate in programs, and basic information about types of programs and sites, would be required. Secondly, additional descriptive information from interviews, case studies and the like would be necessary.
The task of assembling basic statistics on artists and residency sites could fall to a national organization like the National Endowment; however, the artist-in-residence concept is in more general use today than before the hayday of ESEA funding and it might be difficult to collect information from those programs employing artists without funding assistance from the Endowment's Artists-in-Education Program. Many states have combined their artists-in-the-schools programs under various funding sources, and residencies are likely to exist outside state funding, having been initiated by colleges and universities, local arts centers, museums and other arts service agencies.

While both the Endowment and the Rockefeller Foundation have initiated studies of arts-in-education programs, the thrust of these studies is essentially to identify and analyze "successful approaches" which are replicable models (Madeja and Smith, 1982, p. 7 and Wolf, 1984, p. 9). A systematic accounting of the numbers of residencies, spectrum or scope of programs and profiles of participating artists does not appear to be a priority at this time.

We know relatively little about the types of artists who occupy residency roles throughout the country. Knowledge about their stature as artists, backgrounds and qualifications is informal. Current information about the types of programs being developed since the elimination of the major title programs is not readily available. This is a decided need before studies of limited focus are to have major generalizability to the field.
Moving outward from the study presented here, the next steps could be grounded in several areas of interest. Emphasis might be focused on individuals, i.e., discovering more about the various kinds of artists distinguished herein. Programmatic, organizational and management concerns also present themselves as the basis for additional study.

In the individual realm, one could look more closely at the "types" suggested by this study. For example, one might ask, are there other Janets—artists with strong career identification as educators who have also continued to be productive artists? How enduring are their skills as teachers? How successful can they continue to be as artists? What career patterns evolve for them? Using Peter as an example of an artist/educator who was not successful and pushed out of a program, one might look at others who appear to be misfits with their settings, for clues as to the missing personal factors or limiting features these settings have in common. Useful insights could be contributed by a study exploring further the question of professional self-image and the distribution of artists along the continuum of low identification with educational goals to high identification. Useful studies could be designed to test the propositions regarding "fit" and expand on their applicability.

Finally, priorities for this researcher cluster around the focusing questions with which the study began and the action consequences of these concerns. Implications of this study for policy formulation and program management raise additional questions requiring exploration. These will be noted in the course of summarizing the
Action implications.

**Implications for Policy and Management**

Action implications fall into three areas with different, but overlapping audiences:

- implications for artists' selection and training;
- implications for program design and management; and
- implications for policy and funding agencies.

Effective matches between programs and artists can be made by considering artists' backgrounds, their self-definitions, values and beliefs. This information must be considered in recruitment and explored in the hiring process and, used by the artist as he or she considers joining a program. Artists new to residency jobs and those with little or no self-identification as an artist/educator are best placed in situations with clearly defined, arts-related goals or where there is a ready population of receptive teachers with a preexisting knowledge of the arts. Otherwise, these artists will require structures and support personnel that help them bridge the gap that is likely to exist between themselves and the teachers in the setting. This is particularly critical if collaboration is called for.

Artist/educators can be more flexibly placed provided they fit the culture of the setting. They may not be satisfied with a highly bounded role working with a specified group of students on an activity that relates only to art, and may influence the program in a broader direction than intended; however, they are likely to be able to expand
their scope of activity should the program evolve to a broader focus. A danger to be avoided in the search for experienced, flexible artist/educators is the loss of the artist side of their identity. This could happen if artists are seduced into full-time, all consuming jobs in schools and over a period of years lose their commitment to their own creative growth. For the schools the loss may not be directly discernible; it seems a fine line between the artist who is an educator and the educator who used to be an artist so understands and cares about the arts. However, what the practicing artist, involved in his or her own creative activity, is able to bring to students seems irreplaceable. This is, of course, not easily testable, but rather a belief that animates many artists-in-residence programs. The loss to the artist of the centrality of his/her creative identity is, of course, grave.

Veteran artists, who are reflective and articulate about their school experiences, should assist in training new artists-in-residence by relating their knowledge of schools and by giving the new recruits a framework for thinking about what they experience in schools. Additionally, training programs themselves can be employed as an integrative tool provided they are site-specific and involve both artists and teachers. By bringing the two together early in the life of a program for joint planning and a chance for shared learning experiences, the training becomes a means to bridge the different world views and an opportunity to explore differences.

Aside from the choice of artists, the critical implications of
this research for the design of artists-in-residence programs revolve around the clarity and appropriateness of a program's goals and the skills and structures required to implement them. Clearly, design and management issues become more complicated in programs with a broad agenda for reform since the challenge is not only change management but the integration of highly specialized outsiders at a time when the organization itself is experiencing uncertainty. This calls for sophisticated skills on the part of program administrators and a capacity to understand the perspectives of both artists and teachers.

It is evident from the cases studied that project management in these situations entails more than logistics and scheduling. Curriculum reform alone requires conceptual leadership and the ability to relate the knowledge base of an art form to other skill development. Administrators need a model for thinking about artists-in-residence programs that includes the likelihood of conflict and resources for its management. Finally, time and a variety of integrative devices are called for and should be a part of program design. Both artists and teachers will need to be paid for time spent on "bridging" types of activities, and the assumption that student contact hours are the only relevant work hours for artists and educators will need to be reassessed.

What are the implications of this study for policy makers and funding agencies? The answer to this question is two-fold. First, the job of leading decision makers should be to provide a vision for the potentials of artists' residencies that is motivating to those in the
field but grounded in a realistic sense of what artists experience when they work with schools. Program models should be presented which clearly delineate the scope of purpose and outcome. Models that place artists in clearly circumscribed short-term residencies with arts emphasis are certainly of some value provided artists are appropriately matched to the setting. Artists can also contribute to educational reform, but purposes need to be overt at the outset, artists must be selected who have the greatest likelihood of being able to contribute, and these artists should be protected by skilled managers so they can perform and not become burned out, losing that unique part of their identity for which they were initially hired.

Finally, funding agencies, state arts councils and foundations that support education programs with dollars and technical guidance, must also take the lead in providing information and training for school officials who employ artists' services as well as for artists. As pointed out above, this training is most likely to be effective if it brings educators and artists together, providing opportunities for mutual learning and exploration of the operating assumptions of each group. While conflicts will never be eliminated, such a joint program makes it more likely that a basis will be established for discussion and resolution. Where programs require sustained collaboration between artists and educators, funders must also look to the support and financing of the necessary liaison or buffer people and ensure strong local management.

It must be recognized that it will never be easy for
artist-in-residence programs to dramatically change teachers and schools, nor will ambitious goals displace the need for programs that provide students with exposure to working professionals. Nevertheless, there is still ample opportunity for improving educational practices through utilization of the talents of artists. Careful selection, relevant training and skilled management will greatly increase the chances that these programs will genuinely serve young learners.

Final Reflections

Embarking down a research path necessitates choices. This topic was deliberately broad; interviews yielded overwhelming amounts of data that had to be focused. Inevitably some topics were pursued and others ignored. Many important and fascinating routes were left unexplored. In concluding it seem appropriate to specify some of the potentially fruitful areas which fell outside the boundaries drawn to make the study manageable. Rereading the resulting case data and analysis, I am struck with how inflexible the schools appear. This is not intended; rather, the artists emerge as full persons and the schools come through less positively, more as systems--flatter and less appealing. I believe this is because of the emphasis of the research on artists' experiences and because the central concern was to convey something about artists and their adjustment to schools rather than to describe the schools themselves. It seems appropriate, then to make a point of trying to say, by way of conclusion, what this inquiry is and
what it is not.

1. This study is not an assessment of public education or a commentary on the quality of education offered by the schools studied. Rather it is an assessment of the capacity of those schools and programs to make effective use of particular outside resource, ie. the individual artists.

2. The inquiry addresses a single area of school life and does not attempt to comment on what else the schools studied were doing well or poorly.

3. In the cases of change-oriented programs, no attempt was made to evaluate the actual changes brought about by programs or to comment on the effectiveness of the change strategies employed. There is no special discussion of the appropriateness of the arts or artists as tools in the reforms undertaken.

4. The inquiry says very little about literacy or learning in the arts generally and does not deal with the fascinating issues related to schools' historic or current success making aesthetic matters a part of general education.

We live in a period of considerable urgency about the quality of education offered by American schools. School effectiveness and institutional change are themselves immense areas for which this study has implications. The most direct generalizability is in the territory proposed by many critics and commentators on education--schools' capacity to tap the resources outside their boundaries, to work with businesses and cultural institutions and to absorb the talents of specialists in the arts as well as technology. Some critics have argued that to evolve American education must increasingly look beyond its own doors. A better understanding of the forces that make this difficult and of the bridges that need to be built may be crucial to the survival of public education. It is in this area that studies like the one undertaken here may make a contribution.
In addition to schools, other types of organizations struggle with the challenges of integrating creative people into work situations and managing them productively. In this area some of the insights about types and variations in artists' professional identity may prove helpful as well.
REFERENCES


Bloom, K. The arts in education: a new movement. In Arts in


Eddy, J. A review of projects in the arts supported by ESEA's Title III Report to the Ford Foundation, 1970.


APPENDIX A

Sources of Information
Table 1. Sources of Information

1. Interviews

Program: Fundamentals Through Art

Artists:
- Peter Case, Poet*
- Jane Winchester, Photographer

Program and School Personnel:
- Cheryl Flynn, Director
- Paul Vitale, Principal
- Joan Murray, Drama Specialist
- Martin Sugarman, Evaluator
- Pat Rossi, Program Officer
- Iris Green, Third Grade Teacher
- Terry Holtzmier, Fifth Grade Teacher

Program: Artists-in-Schools (AIS)

Artists:
- Henri Pinet, Sculptor
- Sue Duncan, Printmaker

Program and School Personnel
- Nancy Holland, State Coordinator
- Sally Moore, Art Teacher
- Doris Harris, Teacher/Local Coordinator
- Michael Dawes, State Arts Consultant

Program: Arts and Learning

Artists:
- Sam Moer, Filmmaker
- Janet Levine, Poet
- Robin Thomas, Poet

*Names of persons, programs and communities have been changed with the exception of the researcher's name.
Program and School Personnel:
Joyce Cohen, Program Director/Researcher
David Kantor, Principal
Anne Keller, Curriculum Coordinator
Diana Kurtz, Fifth Grade Teacher
Dorothy Monk, Fourth Grade Teacher
Gail Taylor, English Teacher
Kay Knight, Art Teacher

Program: Project Arts
Artists: Steven Woceski

Program and School Personnel:
Jim Lawrence, State Coordinator
Roberto Pedro, Bilingual Teacher
Eduardo Aliva, Teacher and Handicapped Program Liaison

II. Written Documents

Program Proposals:
- Fundamentals Through Art
- Artists in Schools
- Arts and Learning
- Project Arts

Program Log:
- Arts and Learning

Program Files:
- Fundamentals Through Art
- Arts and Learning
- Project Arts

Training Manual and Materials:
- Project Arts
- Artists in Schools

Program Evaluation:
- Fundamentals Through Art
- Artists in Schools

Artists' Files:
- (contains personal letters and notes)
  - Janet Levine
Peter Case
Steven Woceski

Teaching Materials:
Robin Thomas
Janet Levine
Sue Duncan
Steven Woceski

Journal or Diary Materials:
Peter Case
Janet Levine
Steven Woeski
APPENDIX B

Interview Guide
Table 2. Interview Guide

I. Question areas for artist:
   A. Professional identity:
      1. General background age sex education, training, decision to go into art, relationship of schooling to present work. Attitudes about schooling.
   2. Description of Work
   3. Placement of self within artistic tradition, comparison with other artists, differences. Reference group, professional network, formal and informal membership in groups of artists, friends. How do artist friends view your educational work?
   4. What does it mean to be an artist in America, ie role of artist in society.? Is life style conducive to productive artistic growth? Problems?
   5. Income from art work, other jobs.
   6. Work history, jobs in organizations, schools?

B. Questions related to the artist-in-schools job:
   1. How did you get into AIS program?
   2. Initial expectations?
   3. Description of the school?
   4. Description of the experience?
   6. Areas of satisfaction? Problems?
   7. Changes recommended.
II. Question areas for school personnel

A. Describe artist-in-residence program and its relationship to school goals.

1. Why did the school want to have an artist?
2. How did the artist function?
3. Who did artist work with? How?
4. What were expectations of administrators, teachers (differences between teacher groups), specialists, parents, children?
5. Key events that show what occurred.
6. Problems, successes.
7. Evolution of the residency, self-correcting mechanisms
8. What do artists need to know to work in schools? What do teachers need to know to work with artists?
9. What were conflicts about? How were they resolved?
10. Could training or planning make a difference?
APPENDIX C

Table 3. Artists' Work Experience and Future Plans
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ARTIST</th>
<th>WORK EXPERIENCE IN SCHOOLS BEFORE PROGRAM STUDIED</th>
<th>FUTURE PLANS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Peter</td>
<td>8-10 years</td>
<td>complete reading program teach/consult/train teachers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Steven</td>
<td>8-10 years</td>
<td>continue varied educational work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Janet</td>
<td>7-9 years</td>
<td>publish a book for teachers look for new residencies develop performances with poetry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henri</td>
<td>5 years short residencies</td>
<td>part time residencies, carpentry for income</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sue</td>
<td>3 short residencies</td>
<td>part time residencies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robin</td>
<td>3 short residencies</td>
<td>write poetry, only short residencies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jane</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>freelance photography only short term residencies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sam</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>filmmaking and freelance work possible short residencies with</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3. Artists' Work Experience and Future Plans
APPENDIX D

Table 4. Degree of Identification as an Educator
Table 4. Degree of Self-identification as an Educator